Guide to the FL11 Luo file

/Most of the literature on the Luo (Nilotic Kavirondo) has been written by colonial officials and missionaries. Evans-Pritchard and Southall are the few anthropologists who have done field work among them. Consequently many of the sources included in this File are descriptive accounts and general surveys. Of these, 14: Johnston is most useful for information on the Luo prior to the intrusion of European influence. 1: Butt is adequate as a summary of existing knowledge. Since Luo social and economic organization is highly integrated with their kinship system, particular attention has been focused on the latter by various observers. Two sources, 2: Evans-Pritchard and 17: Southall describe and analyse this complex subject from different approaches. In regard to marriage customs 3: Evans-Pritchard and 8: Shaw complement each other as their information came from different parts of the Kavirondo region. On economic activities, aside from general surveys, the File includes 6: Dobbs on fishing, 9: Owen on agriculture, and 13: Odede on animal husbandry. Information on legal and political controls is available in articles on the kinship system and in general surveys written by colonial administrators such as Roscoe and Hobley. Religious beliefs and

[pp. 1-107 not processed]

THE LUO OF KENYA

GENERAL(4)

[101] 133 The Luo; or Nilotic Kavirondo, inhabit the territories bordering Victoria Nyanza, north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf. Kavirondo is in the south, a flat plain relieved by a few rocky tors and ridges upon which the people build their homesteads; in the north the country is hilly. The rolling, grassy savannahs, the swamps, numerous water-courses and patches of thornwood forest make it comparable to the environments of the other more northern Nilotic tribal groups.

105 The country is suitable for pastoral and agricultural activities, and the lake is rich in fish. The people are mainly agricultural and grain foods form the chief part of their diet. Cattle, sheep and goats are kept. Cattle are the chief criterion of wealth. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to have anything to do with them and there is every indication that cattle enter into the social life of the people to the same degree as among the Nuer and Dinka. Fishing plays a large part in

(1) Driberg, *The Lango*, 1923, pp.148-52.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.152. (3) *Ibid.*, pp.166-7.
(4) Except for three articles by Evans-Pritchard, there is practically no information on the Luo of Kenya.

[p.108]

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Mwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Seme and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).
2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as *wasigu*, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the imme-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

2

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations: North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 515), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo: Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,041 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Joiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jooko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Mwa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Langu*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakac, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo, and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu, Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoc, and Sakwa. The other locations on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location) and the Mohoru; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the Kasigunga, Kaksingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are fraternal to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them '*Jamwa*' or '*Langu*'. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Waholo, who speak both Luo and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokakan lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Kamageta tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulu and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in those areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Seme, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thornwood savannah plain with patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Seme takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

231 241 361 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema.*" The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch [824] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly [439] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 501 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

441 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

§ 2. Nilotic Kavirondo.

101 The generic name of the Nilotic Kavironda is Ja-Luo. By the Bantu Kavirondo they are called Awa-Nife or Nyife, also Awa-Nyoro.

193 *Ja*, *Ka*, and *Ku* are all prefixes signifying "clan" or "tribe" among the Nile tribes.

The prefix *Tho* signifies language among these people.

Kami or Gemi (call themselves *Gemi*).

101 Situated to south of River Nzoia between Mumia's and Ugowe Bay. Tribe
619 second in importance in Kavirondo. Nilotic origin; belong to Ja-Luo family.
131 Head chief, Odera Ulalo, son of Umoli. Chief next in importance, Odera Sandei, son of Ulo. Other chiefs: Ilari Atanda (son of Lochi), Wayoti Aratieri.

Subdivisions:—

-Juothi—Odera, Ulalo, Odera Sandei, Atanda Agura.
-Karareo—Ogwel.
-Kagelo—Serua.
-Katumo—Ngaga.
-Kanyadeti—Siwa.
-Kanikwaya—Njwang Kiliko, Ilari, Aratieri.

Lego.

Situate to south of River Nzoia and south-west of Mumia's Nilotic tribe. Part of the tribe acknowledges suzerainty of Mumia. Important chiefs: Ukola Ndonya or Ndong, Ngonga.

Subdivisions:—

-Lafu—Unyango.
-Kukwiri—Othiambo.
-Anyango—Ngonga.
-Kaluo—Ndonya.
-Karuothi—Ukola, Ukelo, Aponyo.
-Yanyujuok—Odero.
-Jamoro—Ogoti, Tao Mwana Uguto.
-Yasiji—Udongo.
-Yakadengi—Otwera.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Nife or Nyife.

Situate north bank of Nzoia River on the road from Mumia's to Port Victoria; a few live on south bank of the river. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Kero, Mulasi, Atipu, Unyango.

Subdivisions:—

-Punji. Chiefs: Kero, Mulasi and Atipu.
-Techi—Unyango, Nyatengi.

Kisumu.

Situate on south-west flanks of the Maragolia Hills and on the lake shore north and west of Railway Inlet. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Ngola or Ugola and Ugada.

Subdivisions:—

-Kisero. Chiefs: Onduu.
-Karatenya—Ngola or Ugola.
-Kadongo—Utuma, Wongo, Ugonyi.
-Korando—Ugada, Ogalo.
-Kaponja—Yareri, Magutha, Wambi.
-Sagami—Opio, Mdieki, Kagonyo, Ndumo, Andoka.
-Kadedi—Kimea.
-Yakamenya—Umuchi.
-Yakagonya—Onduu, Aiyeko.
-Kanyawegi—Uchieng.

The Kisero and Yakagonya clan are now amalgamated under Onduu.

Semi.

Situate south of the Kami tribe between that tribe and Ugowe Bay. Formerly unfriendly with the Kami people. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Wadego, Yagudi, Awina.

Subdivisions:—

Kongo. Chief: Wadekwa.
Tieno—Awina, Abong.
Kalunji—Okechi, Okoko.
Kadipelo—Yagudi, Achola, Ndolo, Hukum.
Kombewa—Okoti, Gumba, Okola.
Were—Wadego.
Kokeri—Abuma, Achachi.

The Kadipelo or Kadipel clan is subdivided as follows:—

Kumbija—Uiti, Okech, Nyabenda.
Konyiwera—Mbima (son of Yagudi).

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Kobita—Undijo.
Kaura—Abundi.
Kanyabong—Hukum.

With the Were clan are incorporated the Kanyadwero, chief Ochanyo. With the Tieno clan are incorporated the Dero.

Sembo.

Situate on north shore of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic tribe. In a measure admit suzerainty of Odera Ulalo. Principal chief: Adola.

Subdivisions:—

Umia—Orero, Yadera.
Kalei—Adola.

Uyoma.

Nilotic tribe, situate at entrance to Ugowe Bay on north shore. Principal chiefs: Lochi (died 1899), Naiya.

Subdivisions:—

Kabuda—Naiya, Kivera.
Katwenga—Lochi (dead), Oginga, Ubuya.
Kobong—Okelo.
Kukwiri—Kariech.

The Kabuda clan live around Laiya Hill, the Katwenga to the east and the others to the north.

Sawakwa or Sakwa.

Nilotic tribe on lake shore to the west of Gemi. Principal chiefs: Ugada, Undieki.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyamwanda Nasimwa—Ugada, Urimba, Ubondo.
Karabori—Nyela, Odero Opio.
Kamiyawa—Buru.
Yakakodi—Odero, Ukumugwam.
Kuduoli—Mbewa, Ngewira.
Kanyavinya (incorporated with Yakakodi).

Timu or Utimu.

Situate on lake shore south of Nzoia mouth. Country called Kadimu; called Wayimbo by Mumia's people. Nilotic origin.

Subdivisions:—

Kadimu—Anam.
Rodi—Uwori.
Niaton—Ugia.

The Kadimu live on the lake shore, the other clans inland.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

101 131 619

Songa.

Situate on the south bank of River Nzoia near Port Victoria. Nilotic origin. They are quite a small tribe. Principal chiefs: Unyando (Wa-Mtoni), Unyando (Wa-Juu).

Kanu or Kadibo (often called Wa-Kitoto).

A Nilotic tribe living in an alluvial plain east of Ugowe Bay. Friendly, vast quantities of food, population large. Principal chiefs: Kitoto, Amimo and Niagoli.

Subdivisions:—

Nyamoga or Moga. Chief: Kitoto.
Kajulu—Abongo (this clan is now all scattered).
Kadibu or Kanu—Yosanga, Hongo.
Kumulu or Koloa—Okwachi, Oyaro, Niagoli.
Kubura—Amimo, Hongo, Unongono, Uyangi, Uyoo, Arudi
Kamagaga—Unyoro, Unyangnoro.
Kabonya—Mbuya, Kitaga, Unyanga.
Kamrungu—Undieki.
Kimera or Sua—Mlema, Ugundi, Ununga, Ora, Yabedo.

The big chief Sendegi, now deceased, belonged to the Sua clan.

Khoro.

A Nife tribe situated between the Lego and Kami. Head chief: Uluma, also Kahuri or Nyango. The Kanyamoti (chief, Handa) are allied to Khoro. They formerly lived near River Nzoia, but fled during Nife fighting; settled near Odera Ulalo.

Subdivisions of the Khoro people:—

Makhoya. Chiefs: Orodi, Chiwani.
Umwangwi—Uluma.
Winyi—Meto.
Mache—Ndeta.

Kabi.

Nilotic tribe, allied to the Lego and Songa tribes. Live near Gangu lake, in the vicinity of the delta of the River Nzoia. Chief: Masingo.

Aiendi.

They live on mainland opposite Lusinga country, called Kasagunga. Nilotic origin. Head chief: Abomba.

Subdivisions:—

Aiendi—Abomba.
Sali—Mahinya.
Diang—Okech.
Tema—Usambo.
Kanireri—Urua.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ramba.

101 131 619 Live on south side of Ugowe Bay, opposite Uyoma country Nilotic people. Head chief: Gori Kogalo.

Subdivisions:—

Kadweti. Chief: Awino.
Kabonyo—Osewi, Magolo.
Kajuang—Yariwo, Arani.
Kanyamwa or Kanyambo—Kogalo and Ogalo.
Yahunda—Chikungi, Uyamu.
Saki—Usodo, Uyumbi, Monguwiri.
Kachola or Kologi—Othina.
Kumungu—Mwai.
Kuchieng—Owino, Tigo.
Kasudu—Ukoli.

[578] The Saki people live near Usau hill, and there is a feud between them and the Kanyamwa owing to the latter having been driven from the lake shore, and thus losing their fishing rights. The Saki are very friendly with the Uyoma tribe and the Kanyamwa with the Sawakwa.

Nyakatch.

Live at south-east corner of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic origin. Very frien dly people, live in great dread of the Lumbwa. Head chief: Uhuri.

Subdivisions:—

Kadianga. Chief: Uhuri.
Kabodo—Magero.
Jimo—Mwana.
Kajembo—Atek.
Kandaria—Omono.
Kuguta—Sewe.

Kalachonyo.

A large tribe of Nilotic origin on the south side of Ugowe Bay. They stretch from the west of the Nyakach people to the west side of Uma or Oma Mountain. The head chief is Nyakiti.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyajok. Chief—Nyakiti.
Uma—Ugwan.
Nyaluo—Ngar.
Kanyiperi—Umolu.
Adueti—Nyangu, Odondi.
Yakandaiya—Ugalu, Oyugi.
Utienu—Ngare.
Kodera—Opiawili.
Unyango—Ugalu.
Akelu—Achieng.
Ojuach—Ogado.
Ukwainu—Kimuto.
Kabondo—Laiila.

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

HOBLEY. EASTERN UGANDA. Plate I.

Map of KAVIRONDO and neighbouring country, Brit. E. Africa, showing racial distribution.

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[End Map and plate I]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13

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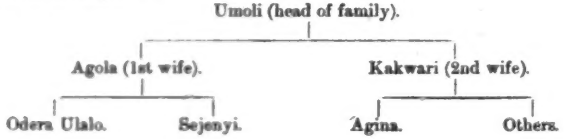
About 30 miles east of Kisumu in Nandi country, there is a forest-clad extinct volcano named Tinderet, and the Kamililo Nandi, who inhabit its southern and western flanks, tell a legend that high up on the mountain there is a cave, in which Ilet, the spirit of the lightning, who descended there in the form of a man, took up his abode. After his descent it rained incessantly for many days, and the Oggiek or Wandorobbo hunters who lived in the forest were nearly all killed by the terrible downpour. Some of them, while searching for the cause of the rain, found Ilet in the cave and wounded him with their poisoned arrows. Thereupon he fled, and died in Arab[1] Kibosone's country; directly he was dead the rain ceased.

Laws of Succession Among the Ja-Luo.

L 622

In the Gemi tribes, and several others of Nilotic origin, the following rule holds with regard to the chieftainship. The chief is always the eldest son of the wife whom his father married first.

To give an example :—



Agola was married to Umoli before Kakwari, therefore the chiefs are henceforth chosen from the offspring of Agola, and upon the death of Odera Ulalo, his son being quite small, the second son of Agola, Sejenyi by name, was elected chief. This rule was observed, although Agina is an older man than either Odera or Sejenyi.

It is possible that this may point to the existence in past times of uterine filiation among this race.

Origin of Name of District of Kavirondo.

L 101

I have often made enquiries into the origin of the name of Kavirondo, and the Kisumu elders inform me that it is the name which the people of the south side of Kavirondo Gulf apply to the people of the north side; it is, however, a term only used when they meet at a dance and smoke bhang and sing about old times. They call the people of the north side Kavirondo, because they were vanquished by the latter and driven across to the south side of the bay; it was thus, originally, more or less an epithet of reproach.

N 193

[1] In the Nandi language *Arab* in front of a prefix name means "son of," thus Arab Kibosone means "son of Kibosone."

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER XXV

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO AND THEIR COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT, MARRIAGE, BIRTH AND PUBERTY

The tribe and their district—origin of the tribe—chiefs as rulers—land tenure—the local chief as the magistrate of his village—courts and court fees—making peace between two sections of the tribe—theft—adultery—murder—inheritance—marriage customs—distinctive dress of married women—birth customs—birth of twins—initiation at puberty.

● 101 **The tribe and their district.** The Nilotic Kavirondo are so named to distinguish them from the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo. They are a branch of the great family known as Nilotic tribes or tribes of the Nile Valley, and are quite distinct in language and custom from Bantu tribes. This particular branch may be found extending southwards from Mount Elgon along the coast of Lake Victoria Nyanza into German territory. They are settled in groups of villages among the Bantu and yet are quite distinct from them and do not intermarry with them. The clans met with live chiefly in the hills bordering on Lake Victoria. The mornings and 291 evenings are comparatively cold in these hills, yet the people are absolutely destitute of clothing; indeed they consider clothing as indecent, and members who have been abroad and have adopted clothing are requested to put it away during 142 their residence in their old homes. The features of the people are more closely allied to those of the pastoral tribes than to the Bantu. In stature the men are not, however, quite so tall as the Bahima, few of them reach six feet, five feet six to five feet eight being more usual. Their frame is slim like that of the Bahima, and the nose inclined to have a bridge. Again their love for cows is stronger than that of the Bantu. The women are shorter than the men, they are slim and athletic, a stout woman being seldom found; this may be accounted for by the amount of exercise they take and their constant activity in the field and home.

[p. 275]

[pp. xi-xii, 1-274 not processed]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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The manners and customs of the *Ja-luo*, a fragment of the Nilotic peoples which is now isolated, are very similar to those of the Aluru (to the north-west of the Albert Nyanza) and the Japalua (incorrectly called "Shefalu"), who live in the northern part of Unyoro. It would seem, indeed, as though at some time or other the Ja-luo of Southern Kavirondo had not come down direct from the north-west, from the Lango country where their nearest relations reside at the present day, but that a large tribe of Nilotic people closely allied to the Acholi and Lango had formerly

14: Johnston G-4. 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [626] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably [262] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the 291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [30] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[58] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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THE KAVIRONDO LUO & CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[p. 2]

[p. 1 has no textual material]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

I. THE SETTING

The Luo people constitute the third largest tribal unit in eastern Africa, and are by far the largest of the Nilotic-speaking peoples, numbering, by 1947 estimates, some 800,000 individuals. They are entirely contained within the three Kavirondo Districts of the Nyanza Province of Kenya except for some thousands who have now crossed its southern border into the Musoma District of the Lake Province of Tanganyika.

In terms of racial distribution the Luo are the spearhead of the great southward thrust of the Nilotic peoples from the Sudan, and of this spearhead the Luo of South Kavirondo and Tanganyika are the tip. The nearest Nilotic neighbours of the Luo are the Padhola of the Eastern Province of Uganda, whose territory comes within a few miles of the northern Luo boundary; but linguistically their nearest relatives are the Alur who now live 500 miles away, partly in the south-western corner of the West Nile District of Uganda and partly over the border in the Belgian Congo. In geographical terms the Luo occupy the coastal plains which border Kavirondo Gulf and the open expanse of Lake Victoria for fifty miles or so on either side of the entrance to the gulf, and also the foothills and uplands to which these plains give way a few miles inland. Although their territory forms a continuous block all round the gulf, it bears no correspondence to the boundaries of the North, Central, and South Kavirondo Districts, but within each of these consists respectively of 1 out of 19, 14 out of 15, and 19 out of 30 locations.[1] These locations form the territory of lineages or groups of lineages.[2]

II. PRELIMINARY ARGUMENT

The purpose of this article is to document certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.[3]

If formally questioned on the point, Luo would admit that the members of a lineage are all the agnatic descendants of its founding ancestor, both male and female, living and dead. However, as Mayer remarks (see *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, I.A.I. Memorandum XXIV, p. 7), 'it is no straightforward matter to define the lineage allegiance of women', and the operative members of a lineage in its observable activities are not those who would have to be included in it according to a strict

[1] The word 'location' is in Kenya applied to the territorial subdivisions of administrative districts and has a quite different connotation from that with which it is used in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere.

[2] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, where these groups are described.

[3] For note, see next page.

[p. 5]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

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HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 THE Luo ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 178 [717] The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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INTRODUCTION

THIS piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits —are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved, to provide a structure on which

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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

1: Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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THE LUO OF KENYA

GENERAL(4)

[101] 133 The Luo; or Nilotic Kavirondo, inhabit the territories bordering Victoria Nyanza, north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf. Kavirondo is in the south, a flat plain relieved by a few rocky tors and ridges upon which the people build their homesteads; in the north the country is hilly. The rolling, grassy savannahs, the swamps, numerous water-courses and patches of thornwood forest make it comparable to the environments of the other more northern Nilotic tribal groups.

●105 The country is suitable for pastoral and agricultural activities, and the lake is rich in fish. The people are mainly agricultural and grain foods form the chief part of their diet. Cattle, sheep and goats are kept. Cattle are the chief criterion of wealth. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to have anything to do with them and there is every indication that cattle enter into the social life of the people to the same degree as among the Nuer and Dinka. Fishing plays a large part in

(1) Driberg, *The Lango*, 1923, pp.148-52.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.152. (3) *Ibid.*, pp.166-7.
(4) Except for three articles by Evans-Pritchard, there is practically no information on the Luo of Kenya.

[p.108]

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Mwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Seme and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as *wasigu*, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the imme-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

LUO TRIBES AND CLANS

by

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

IN 1936 I had an opportunity, through the generosity of the Leverhulme Grants Committee, to spend a few weeks in Kenya. In the conditions then prevailing in that colony the Kenya Government considered it unwise for me to visit either the Masai or the Turkana, as had been my intention, so I decided that my time would be best employed in making a short survey of the Luo people, very little having been written about them and much of that of poor quality. [1]

Some six weeks were spent in Luoland. In view of the shortness of time at my disposal, made yet shorter by exceptionally severe fever, my enquiry was limited to certain features of Luo social organization. It was particularly directed towards a survey of political structure to discover how similar was Luo political structure to that of the Lango, Nuer, Anuak, and other Nilotic peoples. Some of the results of this survey are now recorded. They would have been published earlier had not the war prevented my giving any attention to anthropological studies. Statements made in this paper refer to 1936.

I had hoped that the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen, who knew the Luo better than anyone has known them, would have read this article. The Archdeacon died in 1945. I am most grateful to him and to Mrs. Owen, for without their support I would certainly not have been able to make so rapid a survey. My thanks are also due to the many Luo who, largely out of regard for the Archdeacon and Mrs. Owen, assisted me in my enquiry.

The Luo of Kenya are a Nilotic people of some 500,000 souls bordering Lake Victoria Nyanza to the north and south of Kavirondo Gulf. Some outlying sections also stretch into Tanganyika. The parts of Luoland which lie back from the lake, e.g. Alego and Ugenya tribal areas, are undulating country in which the homesteads are built along the slopes (*thuce*, sing. *thur*. also meaning 'home') of the successive ridges. The country near the lake is less broken. The rainfall is everywhere heavy and well-distributed. The people are mainly agricultural, though they keep

[1] C.W. HOBLEY, 'Kavirondo', *The Geographical Journal*, 1898; Sir HARRY JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, 1902; C. W. HOBLEY, 'Eastern Uganda', *Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, No 1, 1902; G. A. S NORTHCOTE, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.* 1907; The Rev. N. STAM, 'The Religious Conceptions of the Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1910; C. M. DOBBS, 'Fishing in Kavirondo Gulf', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.*, 1927; The Rev. H. HARTMANN, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1928; K. C. SHAW, 'Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.* 1932; Archdeacon W. E. OWEN, 'Food Production and kindred Matters amongst the Luo', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.*, 1933.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

2

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations: North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 515), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo: Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,041 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Joiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jooko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Mwa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Langu*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

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Identification

The Luo (Jaluo, Luwo, Nyifwa, Nilotic Kavirondo) include numerous small tribes totaling about 800,000 in population (in 1947) and speaking related languages of the Nilotic subdivision of the Southern branch of the East Sudanic linguistic stock. They include two detached groups--a rearguard tribe in Uganda called Jopadhola (Dama) and an advance-guard tribe in the south called Gaya (Girange, Wageia). Of the main body, those mentioned incidentally by Butt--the Alego, Asembo, Seme, and Uyoma--do not coincide with any mentioned by other authors: Gem, Kabwoc, Kadem, Kano, Kanyada, Kangadoto, Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo, Kocia, Kurungu, Kwabwai, Nyakac, and Sakwa. The reason is presumably that "tribe" in most cases applies only to a local community.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with a strong secondary dependence upon animal husbandry. The staple crop is "grain" (Meinhardt), "millet" (Stigler), "mtama" (Hobley), but sweet potatoes, maize, pumpkins, beans, sesame, a little "wimbi," (and a very few bananas are also raised. Cattle (very numerous before the 1890-91 cattle plague), sheep, goats, dogs (for hunting), and chickens are kept. Butter is made. Milk and blood drawn from living cattle are drunk. Fresh milk and chicken are taboo to women. A little hunting is done. Fishing is very important on rivers and Lake Victoria; dried fish are traded to the inland tribes.

Sex Division of Labor

Men tend the livestock and milk cattle, which are taboo to women and girls. Both sexes fish (women catch small fry) and engage in agriculture.

Property

Hoes, beads, iron wire, and brass rings and bracelets are valued, but livestock constitute the chief possessions. Land is owned by clans (localized lineages). Grazing lands are common. Individuals have the right to cultivate clan land, and acquire heritable but not salable usufruct to plots brought under cultivation.

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Inheritance is patrilineal--by sons, in default thereof by a Br. Most of man's property is allocated among his wives, the chief Wi having the largest share, and such allotted property is inherited by each wife's ElSo, who commonly gives his younger brothers a share. If the chief Wi has no sons, the ElSo of the second Wi inherits her and her share of the father's property.

Social Stratification

No source mentions slavery or important class distinctions.

Marriage

A substantial bride-price in cattle, sheep, and goats is paid in installments--formerly 20 cattle or more, today only about 7. Most go to bride's Fa, but her MoBr receives one heifer. After the initial installment (Hartmann says 2-3 cattle, Hobley 1 cow and 20 sheep) is paid, the bride is removed by mock capture to her new home. An alternative mode is marriage by elopement; it is considered shameful and is usually regularized by a subsequent bride-price.

Polygyny is general, and is very commonly sororal. The first Wi is chief Wi. Each co-wife has her own hut (sometimes in different settlements), and the Hu rotates; he may, however, spend more time with his favorite Wi than with the others. There is preferential sororate, with a reduced bride-price, and preferential levirate with BrWi. Hartmann reports that if a widow marries anyone other than her levirate spouse, her children belong to her deceased, not her new Hu.

Family

The patrilocal extended family, occupying a kraal is the residential norm. An ElSo nearly always remains in his father's kraal, but younger sons often set up new ones; however, they may, and frequently do remain with their Fa, sometimes even with their ElBr after the father's death.

Residence

Patrilocal residence is the norm--in the kraal of the groom's Fa for ElSo and some younger sons (Hartmann says in those cases where Fa contributes substantially to their bride-price). Younger

sons desiring independence commonly follow neolocal residence, setting up a new kraal in their father's community or sometimes moving to a new community. The unmarried boys after puberty live in a separate bachelors' hut in the kraal, unmarried girls in another under the supervision of an old woman. The girls visit the boys and have intra crura intercourse with them. A newly married couple lives in the men's bachelor hut of the groom's kraal until the first child is born, removing then to a hut of their own.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is the rule because of clan localization and the wide extension of incest taboos.

All cousin marriages are forbidden. Unions are forbidden with known paternal kinsmen and with members of the lineages of Mo and MoMo.

There are numerous patri-sibs (dho-ot), of which one is dominant in each community. They were formerly exogamous and are still so in most instances, although unions between members of remote major lineages in large sibs is now permitted. Evans-Pritchard and Butt comment on the resemblance of the "segmentary lineage structure" to that of the Nuer.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--won. Mo, MoSi, MoBrDa--min. Hu--chwor. ElBr (m.s.)--kayo. Si (m.s.)--nyamin.

FaBr--omin won. MoBr--ner. FaSi--wa.

Cousin terminology is descriptive or of Sudanese type except for FaBrCh (owat) and MoBrDa (Omaha usage).

Settlement Pattern

Settlements consist of a cluster of hamlets, separated from others by strips of unoccupied territory. Each hamlet is a kraal, consisting of 10-50 huts irregularly grouped in polygynous (or small extended) family compounds around a cattle corral and surrounded by a thick circular euphorbia hedge, formerly often by a stone or mud wall. The huts are round with cylindrical walls of wattle-and-daub, conical thatched roofs, and floors usually sunk 18-24 inches below the surface of the ground. Butt confusingly calls the cluster of hamlets a "tribe").

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Community Organization

Each hamlet is a patri-family or localized minor patri-lineage. A cluster of hamlets is essentially a patrilocal clan-community since it is associated with and normally occupied by the males of a single sib or major patri-lineage. Not infrequently, however, there are present in the community a few retainers with their families; these establish "stranger lineages" or "in-law lineages," affiliated with the dominant lineage as its affines or "sisters' sons" since marriage is permitted with their members. The lower incisors of both sexes are extracted at puberty, but circumcision is not practiced. The sources make no mention of age-grades.

Local Government

The cluster of hamlets forming a community constitutes an autonomous political unit, within which compensation for murder occurs and there is provision for the settlement of feuds. It is also unified by association with a single dominant patri-sibs or major lineage. A member of the latter is "father of the land"; he settles land disputes and sacrifices to the sacred spear of the sib or lineage; he is advised by elders and heads of minor lineages or patri-families. There are also influential rich men, noted warriors, and ritual experts with divinatory and rain-making functions. Succession to office is patrilineal--by a So.

State

There are no paramount chiefs, even over sub-tribes. The local community (cluster of related hamlets) is politically autonomous.

Warfare

Intra-tribal warfare and cattle raiding are common.

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● 105

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HRAF Copy

/This brief secondary survey of Luo culture by an anthropologist is based mostly upon original work by Evans-Pritchard. It includes information on social organization, marriage ceremonies, religious beliefs and life cycle of the Luo.--Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1959

2: Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evans. Luo Tribes and Clans. The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 7, pp. 24-40. Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949.

Yale: Bk21.2nc 6-10

/This article deals with the tribal and kinship structure of the Luo people, and the importance of kin relathionships in political, social and economic matters. The author observes that the Luo lineage system has many features in common with the Nuer and other Nilotic groups. All references to the clan in this and other sources on the Luo have been marked for 614 (Sib). --Analyst/

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

FL11 Luo

3: Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evans. Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya. Africa, Vol. 20, pp. 132-142. London: International African Institute, 1950.

Yale: Bk2.10.20

/The author, a professional anthropologist, obtained his information for this article mostly from the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. It contains descriptions of pre-marital love-making (codo), marriage ceremonies, bride-wealth, divorce, and in-law avoidance.--Analyst/

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
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Pp. 95; 5 plates; 1 map.
Omitted from the files because they deal with tribes other than the Luo:
Pp. 1-8, 11-25, 35-51, 57-60, 89-95, plates III-V.

Yale: Nk10 ~~+~~ R81e v.1

/Hobley was a colonial official in the Uganda Protectorate. This paper is the result of his personal observations. The information presented includes material culture, social customs, and tribal divisions. There is a comparatively long list of Bantu Kavirondo, Luo, and Nandi words as well as a brief discussion of native grammar. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1959

5: Hobley, C.W. Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 33, pp. 325-359. London: 1903.

Yale: Nk10 R81 33

/Hobley was a colonial official of the British East Africa Protectorate which had under its jurisdiction the peoples of the Kavirondo Bay area. This article deals with various customs and legends of the Luo, Bantu Kavirondo, and Nandi groups. The major topics included are: myths and folklore, religious beliefs, totems, clothing, clitoridectomy, tattooing, naming, and birth statistics.--Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1959

6: Dobbs, C.M. Fishing in the Kavirondo Gulf, Lake Victoria. The Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, No. 30, pp. 97-109, 7 plates. Nairobi, Kenya: 1927.

Yale: S11.45 8

/In this brief article the author describes all aspects of commercial and native fishing in the Kavirondo Gulf. Several illustrations of Luo boats and fishing gear are given. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1959

7: "Nyangweso." The Cult of Mumbo in Central and South Kavirondo. The Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, No. 38-39, pp. 13-17. Nairobi, Kenya, 1930.

Yale: S11.45 10

/This is an account of the origin and practices of the Mumbo cult which made its appearance in 1913. The author believes that the cult is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship and of an even older, but forgotten religion. "Nyangweso" is probably a pseudonym. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Unknown--4
Processed in 1959

8: Shaw, K.C. Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs. The Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, No. 45-46, pp. 39-50. Nairobi, Kenya, 1932.

Yale: S11.45 11

/Shaw obtained his information on Luo marriage customs as they existed in Central Kavirondo from tribal elders. It is a detailed description touching upon marriage regulations, bride price, betrothal and wedding ceremonies. In spite of the "To be continued" note at the end of this article, there is no record of the final portion every being published. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1930
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1959

9: Owen, W.E. Food Production and Kindred Matters Along the Luo. The Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, No. 49-50, pp. 235-249. Nairobi, Kenya, 1933.

Yale: S11.45 11

/This article provides information on Luo agricultural methods and beliefs, the status of women, family relationships, and treatment of the aged. The impact of European influence upon Luo life is noted in each instance.--Analyst./

Field date: ca. 1920
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1959

FL11 Luo

10: Roscoe, John. The Northern Bantu: An Account of Some Central African Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.

Pp. xii, 305; 22 plates; 1 map; index.
Only pp. ix-x and 275-93 have been processed for this file since the remaining portion of the book deals with tribes other than the Luo.

Yale: Nkd87.915r

/The portion of Roscoe's book processed for this file is part of a general survey of Northern Bantu tribes. It is based upon observations and notes made by the author during his many years of residence in Central Africa where he was a missionary stationed at Mengo, the capital of Uganda. His description of the Luo includes tribal structure, economy, legal customs, marriage, birth, initiation, death, treatment of the sick, and warfare. -- Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1959

11: Hartmann, H. Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) Living in South Kavirondo. Anthropos, Vol. 23, pp. 263-275. Wien: Anthropos Administration, 1928.

Yale: Nk10 + An89 v. 23

/In this brief article Hartmann describes in detail the Luo customs regarding birth, betrothal, marriage, burial, and mourning. The differences between Hartmann's account and those of Hobley, Roscoe and others may be a regional variation. Hartmann worked in the area south of Kavirondo gulf in contrast to the other authorities who mostly reported on the northern areas. Evans-Pritchard observed considerable local variation among the Luo. -- Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1920
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1959

12: Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evans. Ghostly Vengeance Among the Luo of Kenya. Man, Vol. 50, Article 133, pp. 86-87. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1950.

Yale: Nk10 / M31 50-51

/The author, a prominent British social anthropologist, discusses in this article the Luo belief that an aggrieved ghost will cause sickness and injury to those who wronged it in life, and the means by which its wrath could be appeased. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

13: Odede, Walter. Luo Customs with Regard to Animals (with Particular Reference to Cattle). The Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society, Vol. 16, No. 2 & 3 (71 & 72), pp. 127-135. Nairobi, Kenya: Coryndon Memorial Museum, 1942.

Yale: S11.45 16

/The author is a Luo veterinarian. This article discusses the native attitude toward various kinds of domestic animals, the place of animal husbandry in Luo economy and customs, and information on dairying and treating of animal diseases.--Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Indigene-5
Processed in 1959

14: Johnston, Harry. The Uganda Protectorate, Vol. II. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1904.

Pp. xiii, 471-1018; 6 colored drawings; 251 black and white drawings and photographs; 2 maps; index.
/Only pp. 779-795 dealing with the Luo have been processed for the Files.)

Yale: Eff899Jc v.2

/This source contains descriptive accounts covering Luo clothing and ornaments, food and drink, fishing and hunting, marriage ceremonies, religious beliefs, life cycle, medical remedies, and games. Johnston served as Commissioner of the Uganda protectorate.--Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1959

111 FL11 Luo

15: Millikin, A.S. Burial Customs of the Wa-Kavirondo in the Kisumu Province. Man, Vol. 6, Article 35, pp. 54-55. London: The Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1906.

Yale: Nk10 + M31 v.6

/This is a brief description of Luo burial and mourning customs which supplements information available in other sources processed for the Files. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Unknown - 4
Processed in 1959

16: Northcote, G.A.S. The Nilotic Kavirondo. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 37, pp. 58-66. London, 1907.

Yale: Nk10 ≠ R81 37

/Northcote's article is a brief survey of Luo culture. Aside from such material aspects as clothing and weapons, the author devotes his attention mostly to land tenure, marriage, inheritance, funeral rites, witchcraft, and magic. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1959

FL11 Luo

17: Southall, A. Lineage Formation Among the Luo. International African Institute Memorandum 26. London: International African Institute, 1952.

Pp. 43, 1 map, 6 text figures.

Yale: Bk2.11 21-30

/The purpose of this article, as stated by the author, a professional ethnologist, is to document certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.--Analyst/

Field date: 1946-47
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist -5
Processed in 1959

18: Allison, A.C., Elizabeth W. Ikin, A.E. Mourant, and A.B. Raper. Blood Groups in Some East African Tribes. I. Blood Groups in some Kenya Tribes, by A.C. Allison, Elizabeth W. Ikin, and A.E. Mourant. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 82, pp. 55-59. London, 1952.

Yale: Nk10 / R81 81-82

[This report embodies the results of A_1A_2BO, MNS, and Rh tests on the luo and Kikuyu tribes, together with P tests on the Kikuyu and ABO tests on the Masai. The authors conclude that there are only slight differences in blood groups between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. Only Part I of this article was processed. The authors are trained specialists in serology. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1949
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Physicians - 5
Processed in 1959

19: Wilson, G. M. Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya. In, African Homicide and Suicide, Paul J. Bohannan, ed., pp. 179-213, 273-274, 287-288. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.

HRAF copy.

[The aim of this source and the others in the collection "is to provide description and analysis of the culture patterns which involve homicide and suicide in several African societies." The author provides brief background data on the identification of the Luo, their location, social organization, and recent changes brought about by European contacts. He then discusses several aspects of the society particularly related to the subject, such as attitudes toward death in general, violence, the effect on kinship and community groups of homicide and suicide, and the reaction usual to such events. The body of the source is devoted to specific cases of homicide and suicide selected from numerous examples to indicate the variety of motives, methods and results encountered. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1950
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1960

20: Ominde, Simeon H. The Luo Girl: From Infancy to Marriage. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1952.

Pp. x, 70; 5 photographs; 1 text figure; 1 chart.

Yale: Nkd79 L86 952P. DLC: GN650.05. DLC card no: 62-227.

[This book describes the usual course of life of the Luo female from birth to motherhood, considering also a few possible situations of crisis; illegitimacy, celibacy, and sterility. The author, a Luo himself, student at Makerere college (Kenya), made his observations within his local group of origin, specifically amongst his relatives. The objective of his study is to make officials of the school system aware of the specific conditions and needs of the Luo girls in respect to education.]

Field date: ca. 1948
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Indigene-5
Processed in 1967

21: Huxley, Elspeth. A New Earth: An Experiment in Colonialism. London: Chatto & Windus, 1960.

Pp. 288; 32 plates; 3 maps; 3 appendices; index.

Yale: Nn97 B71 960H. DLC:HN800. K4H9. DLC card no: 60-4455

Only pp. 97-109, 152-61 and 231-52 have been processed for the Files.

[This book, written by an East African journalist, discusses the changes in the way of life of the Luo, Masai, and Kikuyu, brought forth by overexploitation of the country and following counteractions by government agencies. These counteractions consist foremostly of land consolidation among the Luo and Kikuyu, and the establishment of forest preserves in the Masai country. The material is based upon personal observations and interviews with Luo and Kikuyu - mainly of outstanding position - as well as with government officials.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Humanist, Traveler-5
Processed in 1967

Lindblom, Gerhard. Notes Ethnographiques sur le Kavirondo Septentrional et la Colonie du Kenya. Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. 2, pp. 395-440. Tucumán: 1932.

Yale: Argentina Nk10 + T79e 2

/This source contains material primarily on the Bantu Kavirondo living just south of Mt. Elgon in Kenya. It is based on short periods of field work in 1911 and again in 1920, plus a survey of the literature. Since the data contained herein are not primarily on the Luo, this source has not been processed for the FL11 Luo file. --Analyst/

Stam, N. The Religious Conceptions of the Kavirondo. Anthropos, vol. 5, pp. 359-362. Mödling/Wien: Anthropos-Institut, 1910.

Yale: Nk10 An89 5

/This source contains brief observations on the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo by a missionary. The Author stresses the belief of the Kavirondo in a "Supreme Being." Since the subject matter is covered more fully in other sources, this article has not been processed for the FL11 Luo file.--Analyst/

Stigler, Robert. Ethnographische und Anthropologische Mitteilungen über einige Wenig Bekannte Volksstämme Ugandas. Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Vol. 52, pp. 197-261; v. 53, pp. 113-89. Vienna: 1922-1923.

Yale: Nk10 + An88 v.52, v.53

/This source deals mostly with groups other than the Luo. Section XII, pp. 173-189 of vol. 53, is concerned with the Luo but does not add significant new information on them. There are some animal stories and other folk-tales of doubtful value included. Stigler was the physician on the Rudolf Kmunke expedition to Uganda in 1911 and 1912. Since this source contains little or no new data on the Luo, it has not been processed. --Analyst/

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

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resemble those of the Ankonde of Nyasaland who possibly contain an Asiatic strain. The high B frequency of the Masai cannot be explained in a simple manner as being derived from Egypt, since the Egyptians have a very high frequency of A as well as of B.

No previous determinations have been published of A_2 frequencies in East Africa, and indeed very few from Africa at all, but it is known, mainly from observations on American Negroes, that A_2 is about as common in Africans as in Europeans. Our observations confirm this.

The MNS results support the slowly growing mass of data showing that pure Africans generally have about equal M and N frequencies, and that the gene S is much rarer than in Europe and about equally divided between the M and N genes. The scattered data will shortly be collated and discussed by Mourant (1953).

The high P frequency found among the Kikuyu is similar to that found in all African populations that have been tested. The strength of P reactions varies widely from one individual to another in all populations, but in the Kikuyu as in other African populations the average strength of the P reactions is much greater than among non-Africans.

Twenty Luo were also tested for the Kidd or Jk^a antigen. All but one were found to be positive. Thus in this population as among West Africans the frequency of this antigen is much higher than among Europeans.

The Rh results are the most difficult to interpret, and especially those of the Luo. It is quite clear that the latter have a very high frequency of the chromosome cDe and a very low one (for Africa) of cde. However, though observed and calculated phenotype

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113

[Bibliography - see also p. 59b]

Bernstein, F. 1930

Elsdon-Dew, R. 1950
Henningsen, K. 1950
Mourant, A. E. 1953
Race, R. R., and Sanger, Ruth .. 1950

[p. 59a]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

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frequencies agree well, it cannot be said with certainty that all the C and E genes are, as assumed, in the respective combinations Cde and cdE; it is possible that the chromosomes CDe and cDE are present in the phenotypes CcDee and ccDEe. The Kikuyu Rh groups are easier to interpret. The chromosome cDe is still very abundant though less so than in the Luo, while cde remains rare.

The mixed series of specimens shows less extreme values for both cDe and cde than either of the pure series, suggesting that the extreme character of both of the latter series is in part an accident of sampling. Moreover, individual batches of specimens from different areas seemed to have characters of their own and, though these variations were scarcely significant statistically, it is possible that there is some heterogeneity of Rh constitution even within racial groups. Much more numerous tests must be done on both tribes before their Rh constitution can be clearly interpreted.

Taking all blood group systems into consideration, it is surprising to see how slight are the differences between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. From the present study and the results of Eladon-Dew (1939) the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the East African native population (apart from the Masai and other Hamitic tribes) is, on the whole, fairly uniform.

Acknowledgements

FDD Our thanks are due to colleagues in East Africa who facilitated the collection of the blood, and to Captain T. H. C. Allison who arranged the dispatch of several batches of specimens. We also wish to thank Miss P. J. Brooks and Miss K. E. Garner for skilled technical assistance in the numerous tests involved. The investigation was made possible by generous financial grants from the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Viking Fund, Inc., New York.

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[B. Wagenaby – see also p. 59a]

References

Zeitschr. f. indukt. Abstamm. u. Vererbungslehre, 54, 400, cited by A. E. Wiener, *Blood Groups and Transfusion* (Springfield, Ill., 3rd ed., 1945), p. 187.

"Blood Groups in Africa," *Publ. S. Afr. Inst. med. Res.* 9, 29-64.

"Etude d'ensemble du facteur sanguin P," *Revue d'Hématol.* 9, 279-294.

The Distribution of the Human Blood Groups, Oxford (in the Press).

Blood Groups in Man. Oxford.

[p. 59b]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum XXVI, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

797 871 fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

[291] [436] [301]

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

[873] [874] So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

668 At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

[113]

*From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press. 1956.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

LUO TRIBES AND CLANS

by

E. E. Evans-Pritchard

In 1936 I had an opportunity, through the generosity of the Leverhulme Grants Committee, to spend a few weeks in Kenya. In the conditions then prevailing in that colony the Kenya Government considered it unwise for me to visit either the Masai or the Turkana, as had been my intention, so I decided that my time would be best employed in making a short survey of the Luo people, very little having been written about them and much of that of poor quality.[1]

Some six weeks were spent in Luoland. In view of the shortness of time at my disposal, made yet shorter by exceptionally severe fever, my enquiry was limited to certain features of Luo social organization. It was particularly directed towards a survey of political structure to discover how similar was Luo political structure to that of the Lango, Nuer, Anuak, and other Nilotic peoples. Some of the results of this survey are now recorded. They would have been published earlier had not the war prevented my giving any attention to anthropological studies. Statements made in this paper refer to 1936.

I had hoped that the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen, who knew the Luo better than anyone has known them, would have read this article. The Archdeacon died in 1945. I am most grateful to him and to Mrs. Owen, for without their support I would certainly not have been able to make so rapid a survey. My thanks are also due to the many Luo who, largely out of regard for the Archdeacon and Mrs. Owen, assisted me in my enquiry.

The Luo of Kenya are a Nilotic people of some 500,000 souls bordering Lake Victoria Nyanza to the north and south of Kavirondo Gulf. Some outlying sections also stretch into Tanganyika. The parts of Luoland which lie back from the lake, e.g. Alego and Ugenya tribal areas, are undulating country in which the homesteads are built along the slopes (*thuce*, sing. *thur*, also meaning 'home') of the successive ridges. The country near the lake is less broken. The rainfall is everywhere heavy and well-distributed. The people are mainly agricultural, though they keep

[1] C.W. Hobley, 'Kavirondo', *The Geographical Journal*, 1898; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, 1902; C. W. Hobley, 'Eastern Uganda', *Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, No 1, 1902; G. A. S Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.* 1907; The Rev. N. Stam, 'The Religious Conceptions of the Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1910; C. M. Dobbs, 'Fishing in Kavirondo Gulf', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.*, 1927; The Rev. H. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1928; K. C. Shaw, 'Luo Marriage Customs' *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.* 1932; Archdeacon W. E. Owen, 'Food Production and kindred Matters amongst the Luo', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.*, 1933.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

on which a *gunda*, homestead site, of one of them is situated ; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use ; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it ; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

7

This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage sy tem on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

114 combined with apical features in different forms of chieftainship and
171 kingship. On the other hand the Lango appear to have a lineage system like that of the Luo and are also like them an acephalous society. Unfortunately it is not possible to judge from Driberg's account how close is the resemblance between Luo and Lango lineages or what is the political function of the Lango lineage, and further research would be required before the Lango can be placed on the basis of this feature in a typological series of the Nilotic peoples.

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simba

Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love to girls (*cudo*) in the *simba* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simba*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *rite*, the final ceremony of marriage. I was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simba* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

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5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND NANDI.

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc. M. Inst. C.E., and Assistant Deputy Commissioner, E.A. Protectorate.

[With Plates XXVIII–XXX.]

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The disappointing feature in researches of this nature, to the observer in the field, is that no reason is obtainable from the people themselves for the existence of many of their strange customs, but I have no doubt that anthropologists in Europe, with their advantages of a wide range of comparative study, will see daylight where the local observer, with his limited vision, flounders in darkness when he tries to work back and find the origin of some custom, now a mere relic of its former self.

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I have no doubt that, as y[illegible]many of the matters dealt with herein may become much clearer, bu[illegible] thought it best to publish the material without further delay, as it may help to stimulate further research, and I also fear that as civilization develops, many of the strange customs and legends may become lost; in fact, there are already signs that the younger generation of natives are losing interest in the old order of things.

LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE JA-LUO RACE.

Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I believe I am correct in stating that, in Africa, it is generally among those of Bantu origin that such myths are found. However, in the whole of the country in the vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kadimu belief that their common ancestor was a huge python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apŏdtho, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Uganda chief of Usukwa.

Apŏdtho was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apŏdtho descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north of Uganda, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one woman, whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters. These sons were named Ramogi and Anyango, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimu country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

Anyango, the other son of Apŏdtho, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Baganda and Banyoro. On the day that Apŏdtho

775 He goes straight to the hut of the *pim*, the old woman
783 of the home, and there a goat is thumped and kicked to death. Afterwards it is skinned and cut open. The heart is extracted and bits of it are put by the *jagut* to the lips of the slayer and of some of his companions. He cuts strips from the skin of the goat and lays them along the backs of the slayer's fingers. He also gives the slayer medicines, among them a wild pig's tusk, which the slayer wears round his neck. The man is now purified and may drink milk again. [114] Roscoe's account is very different from that given to me by Luo, which I have recounted above.

775 Clearly there is much more to be discovered about Luo beliefs about ghosts than what I have recorded, but I can only add to my account that the word *jociendi* is sometimes used for ghosts in general—and not with special reference to troublesome ghosts—and that some ghosts appear to be thought to become nature spirits dwelling in water and in the air, and others to occupy the gourds used by diviners and to answer questions the diviners put to them.

[p. 87b]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kanjpul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 5) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awandu, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

THE most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *nyuon dala* or *nyuon pacho*; *jadwong* (elder) may be substituted for *nyuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *nyuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *nyuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Luo family has a 'home-property complex' of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often nothing to stand. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10

I.—Blood Groups in some Kenya Tribes

By A. C. Allison, *Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford*, Elizabeth W. Ikin *and* A. E. Mourant, *both of the Blood Group Reference Laboratory (Medical Research Council), Lister Institute, London.*

L K 114 143

This communication embodies the results of A_1A_2BO, MNS, and Rh tests on the Luo and Kikuyu tribes of Kenya, together with P tests on the Kikuyu and ABO tests on the Masai. The specimens were collected as part of the anthropological investigation carried out while one author (A.C.A.) was a member of the Oxford University Mount Kenya Expedition, 1949.

The only previous anthropological blood group study carried out in this area is the work of Elsdon-Dew (1939) on the ABO groups of some East African native populations.

L K 144

The Luo and Kikuyu are two of the largest tribes in the country and although neither is "racially pure" they differ in language and custom and are generally believed to differ in origin. The Luo may be taken as representative of the Nilotic group and the Kikuyu of the Eastern Bantu.

L K 125 143

The subjects were hospital patients and groups of labourers, the Luo from Nairobi and Nakuru districts, the Kikuyu from Nairobi, Kiambu and Embu districts. Individuals who were tested were unrelated to one another and were not aware of having any forebears from other tribes. Specimens were taken in the form of clotted blood by means of "Venules" and sent by air to London. Specimens were taken without mishap or complication from 128 Luo and 124 Kikuyu. Specimens were also taken from a further 61 Luo and 111 Kikuyu, but owing to an unsatisfactory system of labelling became mixed in transit. As will be shown below, the Luo and the Kikuyu differ little in their blood group frequencies and the mixed specimens differ little from either of the pure batches. Moreover, the total number of

[p. 55b]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

FOREWORD

THIS work was done during the period in which Mr. Ominde was a student at Makerere College. The practical investigations were made in successive vacations, and Mr. Ominde had what advice I could give him in connection with these. He was able to approach his field of studies with the great advantage of experience derived from his own childhood upbringing coupled with the maturity and detachment required as a student, and this has enabled him to produce a work of real value despite the fact that he had little chance for a full study of scientific techniques before he began his work, and that he could not spend nearly as long in the field as he would have liked or the subject merited. By his clear statement of the conditions, methods and limitations under which his research was carried out he has ensured its value as a reliable contribution to knowledge in a field where it is badly needed.

It is to be hoped that he will himself be able to continue the work that he has begun in this promising way, and that his example will encourage others to do likewise in this and similar fields.

A. W. SOUTHALL

MAKERERE COLLEGE

[p. vi is blank]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

INTRODUCTION

This piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits—are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved; to provide a structure on which

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simbo

Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love to girls (*yudo*) in the *simbo* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simbo*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *rim*, the final ceremony of marriage. I was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simbo* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

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Legends of the Origin of the Ja-Luo Race.

773 Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I
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184 vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kadimu belief that their common ancestor was a huge python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apôdtho, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Ugada chief of Usukwa.

Apôdtho was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apôdtho descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north [illegible] Ugando, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one [illegible] whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters [illegible] sons were named Ramogi and Anyango, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimu country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

Anyango, the other son of Apôdtho, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Baganda and Banyoro. On the day that Apôdtho

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet these people.

Ramogi, the great grandson of Apôdtho, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk.

Mbunga, the eldest son of Ramogi, was the first member of the Ja-Luo to migrate southward into Kavirondo, and his brothers followed him; upon their arrival, they found the Bantu Kavirondo in possession of the land, but gradually drove them back.

The Bantu Kavirondo are descended from one Mugirango.

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating herbs and drinking milk to this day.

The Nandi and Lumbwa are descended from Alangu, a son of Ramogi.

Rajoki, a son of Apôdtho, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

This account was given me by an old chief living away in the hills to the south of Kavirondo Gulf, a man who has probably not seen half a dozen Europeans in the whole of his life. He told me that, in his youth, the old chiefs had many more legends, but the young men of to-day took but little interest in such things, and they were all rapidly being forgotten. He confided to me that his neighbours imputed to him the power of being able to transform himself at will into the shape of an ox and other animals, but he gravely assured me that these slanders were quite unfounded, and were a source of great embarrassment to him.

The version of the legend, given above, differs considerably from those previously recounted, and many new names appear. Most of the new names, however, are the names of tribes living in South Kavirondo, or Ugaya as it is often called, *e.g.*, Nyamkago, Kalachonyo, Kabondo, Kaboch, Kadem, Uchiong. As these were near neighbours of his ancestors, their names would be more likely to be remembered.

There is, I think, enough internal evidence to show that this is really a very ancient genealogy, brought down from the Nile valley by the people when they migrated to the south.

An examination of the three versions of the genealogy of the Ja-Luo just given will lay bare many discrepancies, the presence of which, to my mind, gives an air of great genuineness to the information, and is, in a way, proof of the age of the myth.

Like the genealogy of the Uganda kings given in Mr. Roscoe's paper,[1] and, for the matter of that, like many other genealogies of world-wide fame in the ancient history of more civilized countries, we have in the Ja-Luo genealogy a succession of mythical personages and demigods at one end of the line, and at the other end,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

8:Shaw G-5 (ca.1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON LUO MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

By K. C. Shaw.

I. Introductory.

This account of Luo marriage customs was given to me by half a dozen elders of the Luo tribe, living in a location called Nyahera about seven miles from Kisumu. All of them were over fifty, and two at least must have been nearing seventy, if they were not older. The question of the age of my informants may seem irrelevant, but in fact it is not. In the first place their advanced age, as age is counted among primitive people, entailed that they had been brought up, and had passed their early manhood during a period when the customs of the tribe had still not been affected by contact with European civilization. Their view of life, and of their duties as members of the Luo tribe was the view that had been taken by their fathers and their grandfathers before them. In this they differed from their own sons and grandsons whose attitude towards tribal customs has been and continues to be profoundly modified by white influences. This falling away from the traditional ways on the part of the younger generation is not only a source of grief to the old men: it is also a source of profound annoyance. For it robs them of a large part of the prestige and authority which among the Luo, as among other primitive people, is traditionally the due of those who attain to a ripe age. In the old days this prestige and this authority carried great weight. It was the head and fount of power in the tribe, and the exercise and enjoyment of this power became the chief interest of a man's life as his years increased and his sons grew up and took from his shoulders the family duties and cares of his earlier days. It follows that the decay in the importance of the old men, which is such a marked feature in nearly all the Kenya tribes to-day, makes the elders not only resentful, but also very willing to dwell on the old days, the good days, when their word was law, and the young were still in due subjection to the old and the wise. For these two reasons then, their exact personal knowledge of the traditional mode of life of the tribe, and their interest in the days when this mode of life was still the accepted one, the advanced age of my informants was a valuable factor. Also it pleased and flattered them to be appealed to as authorities, and from the beginning to the end of our intercourse they were only too pleased to tell me all they could of the days when they were young. Apart from a natural inclination to view the past through rosy spectacles they took great pains to give me an accurate account of what the tribal customs used to be before the white man came. Long discussions used to go on over points of detail, and it was only when they were all agreed that I was allowed

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *wacuc*,
885 that for a married man *jaiť*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *mazombe*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defense of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilized ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

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ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF AFRICA

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DARYLL FORDE

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EAST CENTRAL AFRICA

PART IV

THE NILOTES OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN AND UGANDA

by

AUDREY BUTT

[Title Page]

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[pp 1-107 not processed]

THE LUO OF KENYA

GENERAL[4]

[101] 133 The Luo; or Nilotic Kavirondo, inhabit the territories bordering Victoria Nyanza, north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf. Kavirondo is in the south, a flat plain relieved by a few rocky tors and ridges upon which the people build their homesteads; in the north the country is hilly. The rolling, grassy savannahs, the swamps, numerous water-courses and patches of thorn-wood forest make it comparable to the environments of the other more northern Nilotic tribal groups.

105 The country is suitable for pastoral and agricultural activities, and the lake is rich in fish. The people are mainly agricultural and grain foods form the chief part of their diet. Cattle, sheep and goats are kept. Cattle are the chief criterion of wealth. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to have anything to do with them and there is every indication that cattle enter into the social life of the people to the same degree as among the Nuer and Dinka. Fishing plays a large part in

(1) Driberg, The Lango. 1923. pp.140-52.
(2) Ibid., p.152. (3) Ibid., pp.160-7.
(4) Except for three articles by Evans-Pritchard, there is practically no information on the Luo of Kenya.

[p.105]

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Bwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."[1] The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Seme and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 691 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Jotye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooks* (the outside people).[2]

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as wrigs, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the inne-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

619 dicte kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having
close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation,
and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensa-
tion for homicide emphasized a distinction they are anxious to obliter-
ate.(1) A Lao tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for
homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the
settlement of the feud.

The Tero Hara

619 Lao tribes were formerly separated from each other by the thio - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same
tribe there was no thio. The ritual demonstration of *tero hara* took
place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Lao in the past
not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military
ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the
thio and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe.
The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the
tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging
party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such
demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Hmôn who had a similar
structure to that of the Lao tribes. The demonstrating party was not
usually attacked unless two hara parties of opposing tribes met. Some-
times, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of
the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the tero hara are the two main indica-
tions of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a
specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

603 Each Lao tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan (*thu-ot*),
has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
604 name of the clan or larger lineage on end the individual name of the
smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger
clans are not always so. Within the large clans minimal lineages can
intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

336 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far
enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recog-
nized form of love-making called *cuak*, which takes place between the young
men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage (*pur*) may be permitted. This is marriage by ab-
duction and is eventually replaced by the ordinary form (*sabo*) when
the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognized.(2)

583 A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a *sat*, a cognatic relation.

(1) Cooper-Chrisfield, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VIII, p.6.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only *wasigu* (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy assists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Denge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *japiny* or *jogweng* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *jodak* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kaurce* - lineages of in-laws, or *koner* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *japiny* and *jodak* are on equal terms and co-operate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *japiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *japiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 578

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Sudan Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No. VII, pp. 10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *ruodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Wun Gweng

The *wun gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peacemaker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jabith* or *wun bith*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the political importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headmen, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pamo* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original man *dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci lieal*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given, in 1922 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. *The dho kony*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* VII, 1934, p. 161. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

583 certain relatives. According to Shaw these represent the conventional payment which is made without question or discussion.(1) They are the basic minimum required if the marriage is to be concluded. One or two at a time are transferred over a period of about two years.

2. *The ebe i kenyi* additional cattle, the number of which is determined after lengthy negotiations between the husband's people and the wife's people. They average about 5 to 7. A number of goats are also handed over. If the two families are very friendly the transfer of the last animal may be postponed until the marriage of a daughter of the union.(2)

The father of the bride gets the bulk of the animals, most of which will be used as bridewealth for the marriages of his sons. The bride's maternal uncle gets a heifer and, according to Shaw, her paternal uncle gets a bull and heifer.(3) Usually the bride's family make some return gifts to the bridegroom's people, amounting to at least three head of cattle.

686 If there is a divorce the husband can demand the return of the cattle with their progeny. Usually every effort is made to avoid repaying bridewealth and the wife is often replaced by a sister or cousin. If two children have been born no bridewealth cattle would be returned if the wife died or left her husband; if there were only one child the bridewealth would be returned but two or three beasts would be retained.

Marriage Ceremonies

583 According to Evans-Pritchard, there are two forms of marriage: *pur* and *ambo*.(4) *Pur* is marriage by elopement, and is regarded as shameful. Usually the girl's parents accept the situation and the union is regularised by the acceptance of some cattle - but fewer than is normal. *Ambo* is the correct and usual form of marriage; a long chain of events intervenes between the time of obtaining the parents' permission to marry, and the marriage itself. It takes several months to complete a marriage, sometimes several years, according to the individual family circumstances.(5)

585 When the parents on both sides agree to the proposal of marriage, *there follows the ceremonial capture of the bride - the ambo ayaka.* A mock fight occurs between the bride's people and the bridegroom's party, and the bride resists to show that she is not eloping. She goes to the bridegroom's village and is deflowered in the presence of witnesses. She is given a girdle with a tail *(ruom)* which she wears as a sign of her new status.

The dwora and lapu ceremonies take place within a few weeks and are followed by the *dambo* party, which consists of a visit to the bride's parents and the paying of respects to her mother. There is feasting, singing and drinking through the night, and a few days later the bride returns to her parents' home. The bride now spends part of her time with

(1) Shaw, *Kitabu*, 1930, Doc 69-4, p. 45.
(2) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, VI, 1933, p. 390.
(3) Shaw, *op.cit.*
(4) Evans-Pritchard, *op.cit.*, p. 390.
(5) Shaw *op.cit.*

the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridesmalth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to return he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognised as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home. 585

The *riso* ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to redress if the wife has intercourse with other men. As the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents, he presses for the *riso* ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The *riso* ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each gift being named as it is presented to her. She herself keeps none of them and they are taken by the girls of the *riso* party from her parents' village. [431]

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband tells his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to built an *ot* - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut *(ciele)*. Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT *(LUO)*

The Luo practise extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation. 576 606

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2) 606 [43]

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is 776

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, 59, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Bowen, Nyai is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.[1]

[773] Johnston states that the Lao believe in a supreme god, Chieng, which is the name for the sun.[2] Sirn, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.[3] Northcote states that Lao worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.[4]

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Lao beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost (*jaciem*, pl. *jaciendi*) and the Lao methods of dealing with it. *Jaciem* is the Lao equivalent of the Shilluk *ciem*, the Ashanti *kra*, Lango *okyen* and the Azande *ariori*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any of these may become a *jaciem*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The Lao regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.[5]

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785 The diviner (*nyangs*) discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is
775 due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appropriate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the magela. To protect the sick man's homestead the magela buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort, the *jaciem* is called in[illegible] to sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his molestations his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-
783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *yaguc* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the guards used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Bowen, *The Northern Shans*, 1910, p.[illegible]
(2) Johnston, *The Upper Mekong*, [illegible], Vol.II, p.[illegible].
(3) Sirn, *Siamese*, 1910, p.[illegible].
(4) Northcote, *[illegible]*, [illegible], p.[illegible].
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer*, 1940 [illegible], No.[illegible], p.[illegible].

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a mosage priests who lives among the people for this purpose.[1] According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.[2] Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *mon kith* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jabith* and are often consulted. 789

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.[3] In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' (*jawings*) which, among the Gemi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.[4] 753 756 [759]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, J.R.A.I., 1907, p.66. (3) Ibid.
(4) The Uganda Protectorate, Vol.II, 1902.

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304 friends and receiving presents of food. Girls, in addition, have their bodies scarified on the sides and back. From this time on until marriage the boys live in the bachelors' hut and the girls in the unmarried women's quarters. There is no mention by any of the authorities of an age-set system.

DEATH

764 The dead are buried close to their homes, a man on his right side with the hand under the head and a woman on her left side, also with the hand under the head.(1)

765 Friends and relatives gather shortly after death and, if the deceased was a man of importance, the whole of his clan is represented. Every man brings his companion bull and rides it. All dress up as if for war and the burn party takes place. If the dead man was not very important the mourning is limited to shaving the head and painting the body with white clay. Offerings are put on the grave of the deceased.

/Information on Luo "clan" will be found in category 614./

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

LUO TRIBES AND CLANS

by

E. E. Evans-Pritchard

In 1936 I had an opportunity, through the generosity of the Leverhulme Grants Committee, to spend a few weeks in Kenya. In the conditions then prevailing in that colony the Kenya Government considered it unwise for me to visit either the Masai or the Turkana, as had been my intention, so I decided that my time would be best employed in making a short survey of the Luo people, very little having been written about them and much of that of poor quality.[1]

Some six weeks were spent in Lowland. In view of the shortness of time at my disposal, made yet shorter by exceptionally severe fever, my enquiry was limited to certain features of Luo social organization. It was particularly directed towards a survey of political structure to discover how similar was Luo political structure to that of the Lango, Nuer, Anuak, and other Nilotic peoples. Some of the results of this survey are now recorded. They would have been published earlier had not the war prevented my giving any attention to anthropological studies. Statements made in this paper refer to 1936.

I had hoped that the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen, who knew the Luo better than anyone has known them, would have read this article. The Archdeacon died in 1945. I am most grateful to him and to Mrs. Owen, for without their support I would certainly not have been able to make so rapid a survey. My thanks are also due to the many Luo who, largely out of regard for the Archdeacon and Mrs. Owen, assisted me in my enquiry.

The Luo of Kenya are a Nilotic people of some 500,000 souls bordering Lake Victoria Nyanza to the north and south of Kavirondo Gulf. Some outlying sections also stretch into Tanganyika. The parts of Lowland which lie back from the lake, e.g. Alego and Ugenya tribal areas, are undulating country in which the homesteads are built along the slopes (*thare*, sing. *thar*, also meaning 'home') of the successive ridges. The country near the lake is less broken. The rainfall is everywhere heavy and well-distributed. The people are mainly agricultural, though they keep

[1] C.W. Hobley, 'Kavirondo', *The Geographical Journal*, 1898; Sir Hesketh Bell, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, 1902; C. W. Hobley, 'Eastern Uganda', *Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, No. 1, 1902; G. A. J. Hattersley, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.*, 1907; The Rev. N. Shaw, 'The Religious Conceptions of the Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1910; C. M. Dobbs, 'Fishing in Kavirondo Gulf', *J.E.A.N.H.S.*, 1927; The Rev. H. Hattersley, 'Some Customs of the Lowveld Nilotic Kavirondo Living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1928; K. C. Shaw, 'Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A.N.H.S.*, 1932; Archdeacon W. E. Owen, 'Food Production and Kindred Matters amongst the Luo', *J.E.A.N.H.S.*, 1933.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE JOURNAL NUMBER SEVEN

HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

VII

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many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature. 105

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *miar*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups. 592

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At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (33,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations: North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 518), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo: Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,047 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,924 with density of 42). 631 162

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,642 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (23,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development. 174 177

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Jojo*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Joabo*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Maa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Longo*) tribes. The conquest and cultural 181 174

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101 assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation
174 of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakor, Kavirondo, Dhiambo, Kabondo, and Kavirondo), Kwia, Kanyala, Gem, Kanyamwa, Kanagi, Kabras, Kwavirondo, Kanyadoto, Kabras, and Sakwa. The other localities on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagwa (included in the map in the Kwia location) and the Maharo; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the [41] Kamagoga, Kakamigiri, and Gwasi. In our instance, that of the Wanjara, who are immediate to the Kavirondo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them 'Kamasi' or 'Lango'. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day [50] there is also some intermarriage with the Kisi Bantu, though I was told 96] that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the sense of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Wakedo, who speak both Luo [41] and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shooting 174 crabs, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation 69 from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes priorly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Kanyamwa and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the minorities are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo. Lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokadem lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kwavi and Kanyamwa tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulo and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in those areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the Luo conquer who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. [33] This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Sasa, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a discovered savannah plain with patches of swamp and riverine grassland, from which Sasa takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the lowerlands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

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619 Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminous in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit.
682 As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cat*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cat* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *furu*,[1] for they were *mongo*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

619 In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of
682 strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was
184 not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in
673 cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that *cat* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

361 The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced
619 hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *rhin*. The *rhin* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war, raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kaluo man who was taking cattle to his in-love in Karacuonyo territory.

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lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the Jolieje, the Jokakam, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The skin was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

Tribe raided tribe across the skin dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of two hosts. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the skin and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of bravery at his door and to compel the brave party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Sauri against Asembo, Kwanza, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kanyamkoyo, Kabwor, Kanyamwa, and Kanyamwa, Kanyamkoyo against Kwia, Gem, Myakor, the Kanii Banta, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Banta tribe they made love against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Banta tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when brave parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the skin where the people smash the shields and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw them on the roof of the dead man's hut.

There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his house to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thuondi*, *bulle*) were renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thuon jatula*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *wuon gweng*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Lowland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war. 554 621

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jabuth* or *nose buth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides. 554 741 [629]

4

In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer. 613 614

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho adi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joojo ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joojo maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kamyigo*, presumably from *ayicha*, co-wife, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the Jofuje and the KaDongo quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRaruompo of Kararuompo, and 613 614 582

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S12 the JoOwila of Uyoma; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuomyo,
614 Kinoma, Kodem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling against the prohibitions. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *cado* is permitted. *Cado* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
[illegible] court the girls and bring them to the *siedu* or bachelor's hut and sleep
[illegible] with them there and have relations with them *dera crera*. Thus the KaAbudha and KaObelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *cado* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago; likewise the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOpol of the KaRacuomyo of Karacuomyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
614 and are beginning to *cado* between them it is done at first with discretion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open
[illegible] affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
[illegible] eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*pur*) and then the ordinary form (*nodo*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fusion, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the polito-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

S12 A man may not marry a *syafeno*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry
614 her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan, though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle
[illegible] of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards as a sort, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *sost*, kinsfolk, or *wasiga*, enemies. A man cannot marry his and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuomyo man of the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lima*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Coanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its own *gaung*, 'father of the land' the own *gaung* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kuer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *ening jaub* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wad* (son of) KoOkelo, *wad* KoJeje, and *wad* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, especially at large beer parties.

A feature of classship which would seem to be of some importance in the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as Uyoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the KoOkwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

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613 section where are recorded some notes about the JoAlego clan of Alego
tribe, the JoOwila clan of Uyoma tribe, the KaNyikal clan of Seme
614 tribe, and the KaRacuonyo clan of Karacuonyo tribe. It must be borne in mind in reference to these examples, as in regard to the rules of exogamy noted earlier, that these clans are associated with tribal territories and that there are many small lineages, many of them of Bantu origin, which have not the same spread in genealogical or physical space and have not the same depth in lineage structure; also, that all the main clans ultimately trace their descent from the same mythological names of Podho and Ramogi so that it would be possible to place them all on a single chart of descent. Since the smaller stranger lineages have points of graft on the trees of the dominant clans it might be possible to place the whole Luo people on a single chart. The clans, as I have described them, are, however, the largest descent groups which have eponymous ancestors, who are considered by the Luo to be the points at which an exact record of ascent passes into a hazy plane of tradition where a single line of mythological ancestors is finally lost in the beginnings of the world. They are the points at which genealogical structure begins.

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173 In the Alego tribe the dominant clans are the JoAlego with its maximal
lineages, the JoSega and the KaDenge. There are a number of other
613 clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory, apart from small
stranger groups and individuals. The two most powerful of these stranger
614 clans are the Karuoth and Kakan (JokAnyango). Other clans or lineages of some importance are the KaLuo, JoMae, JoAgoro, JokOgelo, KaNyinek, KaRapol (JoKato), JoUmala, KaLikada, and JoUyawa. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego and their intra-tribal relations with the JoAlego are accounted for in a number of traditions or myths. These myths relate that when Alego entered the country from the west (Yimbo or Kadimo) he found there a people called Kombokombe and they and Alego's people live together in peace. Then the Kombokombe people began to disperse and were lost and the whole of the land came into possession of Alego and his sons. Then came other clans after Alego into the country but Alego fought them and compelled them to settle elsewhere. Then the elder sons of Malijuok crossed the gulf and settled in what is now called South Kavirondo and Malijuok was left with his younger children, Seje, Nyidenge, and three daughters, Nyiwat, Anyango, and Ajonga.

Other clans now entered the country with the permission of the Alego folk (the story is told by them). Came Ragok and married Nyiwat and Anyango and begat the clan of the Kakan, who count as *ewke*, in-laws, to the JoAlego. Then came Ager (from Kadhola or Budama) and asked Malijuok for permission to settle on the land and Malijuok agreed that he and his people might live on hill Abara. When Malijuok died Ager plotted to kill his sons Seje and Nyidenge to wrest the soil from them. Seje heard of this plot and summoned Nyinek, Uyawa, Agoro, Ragok, and others (the lineages are personified in the story) to make war against

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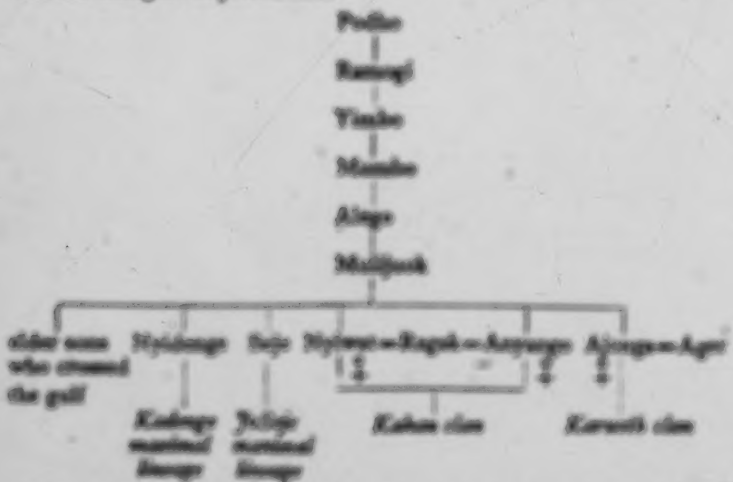
the people of Ager, whom they defeated. Ager later asked for the hand of Ajonga by whom he begat the Karuoth clan, who also stand to the Alego folk as relatives-in-law. The genealogy given below illustrates the story. From Muljuok to the present day there are nine to ten generations. Other stories, which I do not recount here, explain the relations between the Kakwa and the JoUyawa and other clans in Alego tribal territory. In these myths the tribal structure is presented in terms of lineages and the lineages are personified. 173 613 614



The JoAlego genealogy has been presented in its simplest form, pruned of all subsidiary branches. The JoOwila clan is shown in slightly fuller form to illustrate better the lineage structure of a typical Luo clan. The JoOwila are the dominant clan in Uyoma (pop. 21,094, density 91·2). Owila, the ancestor of the clan, came from Alego and brought with him the various clans now living in Uyoma together with the people who now occupy Asembo (where the dominant clan are the Kale) to which country the Uyoma people drove them after a quarrel. Though there are many stranger lineages living in Uyoma its population is probably less mixed than is the case in most tribal areas. 613 614

The JoOwila clan divides into four main branches or maximal lineages, as shown in the chart below, the JokOkolo or JokObong being the senior line. These four lineages do not intermarry. Each owns a distinct part of the tribal territory though the members of one lineage are frequently found living in the territory of another. The KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, having the same ancestress regard themselves as a single segment in relation to KoOkolo and KoOkwiri. Genealogical links through females with stranger lineages living with the clan are not shown on the chart.

The relativity of lineage values, to which I have given some attention in my book on the Nuer, may here be touched on, using the JoOwila

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G13 G14 clan as an illustration. Lineage names are in italics. Only one line is shown to its full depth. When Okwiri is asked what is his lineage in his tribal area he will probably say: '*dhu odwa KoOtual*', 'my lineage are the Ko-Otual'. If further asked: 'Which branch of the Ko-Otual?' ('*Ko-Otual mu dhu ot mam*') he would reply: '*KoOtual mu KoJojo*' and in situations in which Kojojo stand opposed to JokOrua he would probably give KoJojo as his lineage in the first instance. When speaking of the Jok-Akech or any other medial lineage he would call himself a KoOtual man. In speaking of the KoAbudha or another of the minimal lineages he would call himself a member of the KoOkelo lineage. This feature of the lineage systems is too well known to be elaborated further.

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In Seme (pop. 29,519, density 211·6) the dominant clan is the KaNyikal, the main divisions of which are the Kadepir and the KaGumba, Gumba being a foundling adopted and brought up by Nyikal. I omit a genealogy of this clan for reasons of space but would draw passing attention to the common feature of lineage systems by which stranger lineages are grafted into the structure of the dominant clan of the tribe by mythological fictions. The KaGumba, to whom I have just alluded, is a very powerful lineage. Another strong lineage in Seme are the KaYila. According to the myth Yila was an Alego man who took to the bachelors' hut Amolo daughter of Nyikal and made her pregnant. He then fled the country. Amolo was an Amason with a will of her own and she later went to fetch her lover and brought him back to Seme with his sons from whom are descended lineages, by a wife whom he had married in his exile. Another big clan in Seme are the Kolunje. Nyikal had a servant called Anam who used to take his sons to the edge of the lake to collect fodder for the calves. One day they found there a man called Onyango. Nyikal adopted this stranger together with Anam, and Kolunje is the joint name for their descendants, the KaAnam and the KaOnyango.

The last clan of the structure of which I shall give an outline are the KaRacuonyo. Jok, who appears to be the same as the Muljuok of the Alego myth, begot two sons. One of them, Cuonyo, is the ancestor of the principal lineages in the tribal areas of Kosomo, Kaccuonwa, Kabwa, Karungo, and Kadem. The other is the ancestor of the KaRacuonyo clan, who are dominant in the locations of Karacuonyo (Kaduong), Mumbo and Kabondo. According to the Alego myth there were two other brothers, Soje and Nyidenge, as has been noted, but these are not given in their genealogies by the people to the south of the gulf. According to some the ancestor of the now Bantuised Wanjara was another of Jok's sons.

The story current to the south of the gulf is that Jok was accidentally killed by his sons in an elephant hunt. A certain man called Cen took Racuonyo and made him his servant and after various adventures together adopted him as his son. When Cen died Racuonyo took one of his wives, Omiri, and by her begot Sepol, who is the ancestor of the dominant lineages in the Kabondo and Mumbo tribal divisions, the JokoOwidi and the JokOmala. According to Luo custom Sepol was a son of the dead Cen and not of Racuonyo but the sons of Cen said they did not wish him to be known by the name of their father, so he was called after Racuonyo. The descendants of Cen by a different wife claim to be the owners of the Mumbo lands, but they are now a very small people, due it is said to their having insulted their father who haunted them after his death. The descendants of Racuonyo are shown in the chart below. Only the principal lineages are given, except in the line of descent to one man for illustration.

The man Rapemo can, according to the context, describe his lineage as KaMuma, JokOnyango, KaNdeya, SetOkoth, JokOwidi, KaSepol, and KaRacuonyo.

Each of the big lineages of the KaRacuonyo clan owns its own part of the tribal territory and within a station owned by a large lineage the

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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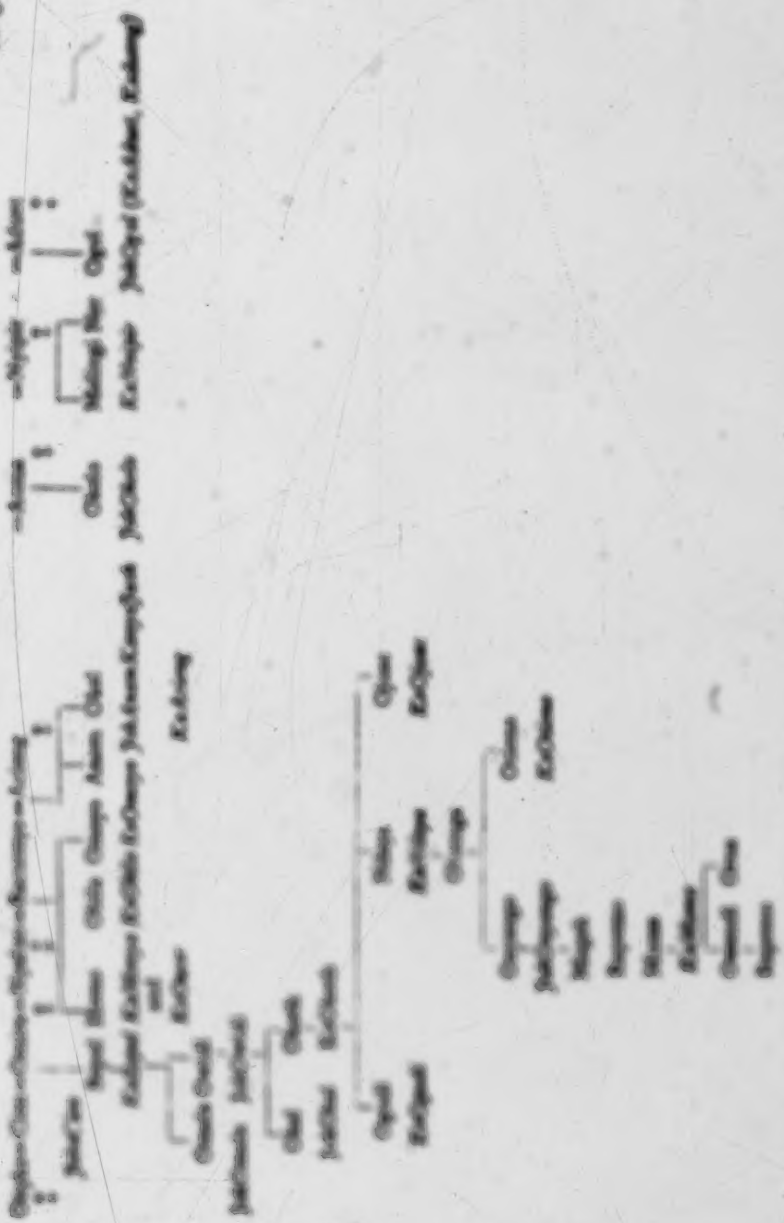

[p. 36]

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GB parts owned by its branches are fairly distinct. Intermarriage is the main
GH cause of intermittment and marriage within this clan is not permitted.

There are a number of stranger lineages in Kwerenaya (Wagwa, Kanewala, Kakmoun, Jokadera, etc.) but they are small lineages and so much intermarried with the dominant Kelkwenaya clan that they have no territorial and political distinctness. Some attention must now be given to the status of stranger lineages to the dominant lineage within a tribe.

We have noted that in Kwerenaya there are few stranger lineages and that they are weak ones. By far the greater majority of the tribe are members of the dominant clan. Other tribal territories display greater clan admixture and the presence of powerful stranger lineages whose numerical importance is reflected in the tribal myths. A European may not quickly become aware of these stranger elements unless local disputes force his attention to them, for the dominant clan is generally identified linguistically with the tribe. Jo-Alego means both the tribesman of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego and Kelkwenaya means both the tribesmen of Kwerenaya tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Kwerenaya. Therefore if a man of the Jo-Mur stranger lineage in Alego were asked outside Alego to what people he belongs he would reply that he belonged to the Alego folk, but if he were asked within the tribal territory he would say that he was a Jo-Mur, for the Jo-Mur
181 are a distinct aquatic group living in their own portion of country within
GB Alego.

GH Now, from the point of view of the dominant clan in a tribal area the
GH members of this clan alone are the *jopiny or jopuong*, the people of the
GH land and the owners of it, and the rest are *jodak*, the separated people, the strangers: though if they lived among them a long time they speak of them as *jokodo*, for *jodak* is a harsh word.

GH These stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the
GH dominant clan so that through recognition of female links the whole tribe
GH may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. Leo speak of the affi-
GH liated lineages as *kaewa*, lineages of *in-laws*, or as *kaser*, lineages of matri-
GH monial ancles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children. As the affiliated lineages have taken wives from the dominant clan they also come into the category of *ohewa*, sister's son, to its members. In this way every lineage in a tribe, whether of the dominant clan or of stranger stock, has a structural position in the system of lineages of which a tribe is composed and of which the lineages of the dominant clan are the framework.

GH The lineages of the clan which owns the tribal territory and those
GH affiliated to it seem in the past to have been on a general social equality
GH and to have acted corporately in matters of common tribal interest, particularly in war against other tribes. They were differentiated only in matters of ritual, marriage regulations, and, as explained earlier, in settlement of homicide. In recent years, however, acute differences have arisen about land in those parts of the country where the density of population is greatest, especially in the more northern tribes of Central

578 38 [illegible]
613
614 Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes between a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land; 613 there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration. 614 People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives 609 for their sons. The strangers settled as eye, in-laws, and become maternal 578 uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of economy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the Jodeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[578] Hence we find to-day in the commonwealth tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal 613 territory and point to their *pundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which 614 are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ancestors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area in that 578 they have resided there for many generations and also can point there 923 to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a Ilan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

2:Evans-Pritchard E-3 (1936) 1949
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on which a pseudo, homestead site, of one of them is situated; but it seems that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forefeare first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have indeed before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

7

This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage system on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

2 Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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combined with apical features in different forms of chieftainship and kingship. On the other hand the Lango appear to have a lineage system like that of the Luo and are also like them an acephalous society. Unfortunately it is not possible to judge from Driberg's account how close is the resemblance between Luo and Lango lineages or what is the political function of the Lango lineage, and further research would be required before the Lango can be placed on the basis of this feature in a typological series of the Nilotic peoples.

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MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

[184] THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It
[185] does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Lauland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from
[186] the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Erekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Siede

[186] Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love
[182] to girls (*mit*) in the *siede* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *siede*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the rite, the final ceremony of marriage. I was told that a girl does not usually visit the *siede* more often than once or twice
[533] a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

[1] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Luo Tribes and Clans", *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

[2] H. Hartmann, "Some Customs of the Lowe (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo", *Anthropos*, 1908.

[3] K. C. Shaw, "Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs", *J.E.A. & U.N.H.L.*, 1932.

Par

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *par* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *ciado* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his sweetheart run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhoko ma par* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding. 583 [579]

Mako

Mako is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unrelated girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *ciado* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagoe* or *jaiob*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *ciado*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagoe* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage. 583 584

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the head. The *jagoe* enters the homestead and goes to the *ceriadhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *pim*, and he shows to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagoe* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *ciado*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one 583 585

583 she has left. The bridegroom keeps away from her—they are shy together and do not
585 converse when in company.

After the bride has been dragged from her home the girls of her homestead follow after her singing. This singing party of girls, called *jadeya* or *ananar*, arrives at the bridegroom's home in the evening. Now takes place the defloration of the bride in the presence of her sister, called *jadeg*, perhaps accompanied by another girl of her home, and one of the bridegroom's married brothers. The *jadeg* lays an ox-hide on the floor of the hut and draws the bride and bridegroom, both naked, towards it. She puts out the fire and in the darkness the marriage is consummated, though without orgasm. The witnesses rekindle the fire and by its light examine the man's member for the *ring rod*, the hymen. When the *jadeg* sees it she shouts the news to the girls of the singing party outside, who then enter and beat the bridegroom, saying: "You have killed our sister." He gets out quickly and goes away. The visiting girls and the young men of the home sing together all night, the bride remaining with them in the *cinha*. If the bride is found not to have been a virgin there is no singing because of the shame. However, it makes no difference to the validity of the rite and if there is subsequently a divorce, a cow called *dhar dang ayado*, the cow of the maiden's honour, has to be paid by the bridegroom's people whether his bride was a virgin or not.

Early next morning the party of girls return home, taking the hymen with them and singing all the way. When they enter the bride's homestead all the people of the home throw ashes towards her father and mother. The girls then eat, for they are very hungry, not having eaten at the bridegroom's home. His parents took no notice of them, either by providing them with food or in any other way. "They are enemies." The bride remains in the bridegroom's home, and the *jadeg* with her to keep her company. Still no bridewealth has been paid and there has been no discussion about it.

Shortly after the marriage has been consummated the bridegroom's people give the bride a *cinna*, a girdle with what looks like a tail, made of fibrous material, at the back, to wear as a sign of her new status. They present her with a goat at the same time. They also give her a small pubic covering.

Dies

A large party, called *jadire*, now—generally on the day after the defloration, I believe—goes singing from the bride's district to the home of the bridegroom. There may be more than a hundred young men and girls in this party, the men bearing clubs and shields and wearing ostrich-feather head-dresses. They wait outside the bridegroom's homestead and send the bride's brother to call her out. When she comes her brother asks her: "What do you think? Do you agree that we ask for a bull? Are you willing to stay with your husband and be his wife?" The *jadeg*, who has come out with her, knows her mind and answers for her. The brother reports to his companions that she agrees. They enter the kraal and point to an ox and say that they want that one. The bridegroom's father may do no more than promise them an ox but generally he gives it to them right away, though not the animal they have chosen for they will have picked out the best he has. After argument they agree to accept the one he gives them and take it home with them. It is kept by the bride's father and counts as part of the bridewealth. Two or three days after the visit of the *jadire* party

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (9936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

the bride's sisters visit her, bringing porridge. Often her parents kill a goat and cook it and send the meat with the porridge, and it is eaten by the bride and the bridegroom's sisters. The bride's sisters return home the same day if they live near, on the following day if they live far away. The bride generally returns to her parents after this visit. 583 585

Lapo

About a week later takes place the *lapo* ceremony. The bride's family kill a bull and sometimes also a goat or sheep and some fowls. If they are rich they may kill two bulls. Apart from one foreleg, the head, and the skin, which they keep for the elders of their own household, the carcase is taken now to the bridegroom's home by the bride's young kinsmen in advance of her young kinswomen who follow with the cooked intestines, some meat off the ribs, and porridge. The bearers of the meat take it to the hut of the bridegroom's mother where it is divided into customary portions among the people of his home. When the bride's kinsmen have put it down they fling their clubs at the fowls till they have killed a cock, which they roast in the dung fire and eat. They shout to the people of the bridegroom's home demanding porridge to eat with it, but this is not always provided. They then return home, passing the girls who are bringing the cooked meats.

The girls wait a few hundred yards away from the bridegroom's homestead and send a girl to the *simbo* to summon the bride to come and eat. She asks the messenger whether the other girls of the home have been told about it and the messenger replies: 'No, it is for you to collect your people together.' The bridegroom's people, and not the people of her parents' home, are her people now. The bride shouts to the girls of the homestead, chiding them: 'Come out and eat. We want to feed you. You never see good meat in this homestead. Now you have married a rich man's daughter and will get meat.' The bride comes out of the homestead with the *jadieng*, who has been with her all the time, and her husband's sisters. They sit down and eat the meat, the bride herself eating only a morsel, while the visiting girls sing in the kraal. When they have finished their meal they join the visitors with whom they fix a day for the next ceremony, the *dudo*, the returning of the bride to her parents. The visitors then return home.

Dudo

This ceremony is called *ter* to the south of the Kavirondo Gulf. It takes place a few days after the *lapo* ceremony. The husband's people and their friends form a party, called *jodudoyudo* or *joterayudo*, to visit the wife's parents. Before setting out the women of the home smear the wife and the *jadieng* with butter at the entrance to the hut of the husband's mother and throw sesame over them. The sister of the husband brings a twig and hands it to her brother and tells him to beat his wife. He gives her a stroke with it. The sister then hands it to the wife who strikes her husband with it. The party now set out, often taking a goat with them. The husband's sister leads the procession, followed by the wife and her *jadieng*. When they reach the wife's homestead its womenfolk rush out and prevent them from entering it. An old woman, preferably the bride's grandmother, pierces the lower beak of a fowl, threads a cord through it, and ties it round the wife's neck. She then cuts off the lower beak and throws the

583 585 fowl to the ground. The small boys of the home kill it and afterwards eat it. The visiting party now enter the kraal and pay their respects to the wife's mother. The night is spent in eating, drinking, singing, and flirting. If the owner of the homestead is rich he may kill an ox in the morning for the visitors to feast on. The visitors then return home, taking with them the wife, or bride, but not her *jadeng*. The wife returns to her parents after spending a few days in her husband's home.

So far there has been no talk about cattle, but after this ceremony the husband, or his father, begins to pay brideweakth and the wife's parents put pressure on him to expedite payment by encouraging their daughter to return home on frequent visits. The husband cannot prevent her departure, nor can he demand her return, but he has the right to send his brothers to seize her and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his home whenever he sees her at a public gathering, to-day often at a market. The husband pays an animal, then the wife returns to her parents, then he pays another animal, and so on, till the parents are satisfied and let him take his wife for good.

Pewo

The husband starts paying the brideweakth after the *dwaks* ceremony by sending to his parents-in-law a young bull called *dhar pewo* because his father strikes it with a twig of the *pewo* tree before dispatching it to them. The wife remains with her parents for about a month after this payment, and then takes place the *dwaks pewo*, the returning of the twig, when the wife returns to her husband in the company of her *jadeng*. She stays with him a few days and returns to her parents.

Riso

As the husband is anxious to start a home of his own and cannot do so while his wife is constantly running back to her parents he now pays the cattle as fast as he can. When he has paid from six to twelve head of cattle he sends his *jagaw*, the go-between who negotiated the marriage, with his brothers to tell his father-in-law that he has now paid the brideweakth and wants the *riso* ceremony to be held. He says that he will pay later the cattle still owing. After this ceremony his wife will remain with him and be a full wife to him in both a domestic and a legal sense. She will cook for him and he will have redress if she has sexual intercourse with other men in the *simba*. The *riso* is the binding act of marriage.

When the *jagaw* and the husband's brothers make their request the wife's people laugh at them: 'What are twelve (maybe) head of cattle? You are playing a game. You can go and tell your brother to come and take his cattle back.' The *jagaw* refuses to make any more payments, so they tell him to go back and tell his friend to remove his cattle. When the husband hears this he asks his relatives and friends to accompany him to his parents-in-law. They take a heifer or young bull with them to placate them. The husband assumes a downcast expression and makes himself appear as miserable as he can. He does not cheer up even when his parents-in-law send him beer to drink in their *simba*. The visitors ask for their wife and her father may consent to her going if they promise to pay the rest of the cattle soon, but usually he is obdurate. He says: 'Go and get that cow. You are still playing a game. I don't want to keep the girl here. It rests with you when you take her. You can take her to-day if you like, but you must first bring the rest of the cattle.' The *jagaw* and the father argue. Everyone

knows more or less what is going to happen. If the husband is really poor the father will eventually give way. If he has a number of cattle the *jagaw* gives way and promises one more beast. It is very rare for a marriage to be broken off on account of cattle at this stage. If the father is very obstinate the husband's people return home leaving the husband behind to sulk in his father-in-law's *sinka*. He refuses to eat the food his mother-in-law sends him there and gets an occasional meal with friends in the vicinity. After several days his father-in-law says to him: 'Hello, are you still here? What are you doing here?' The young man replies: 'I want to die here in your kraal.' The father-in-law says: 'You can't do that. Get out.' He refuses to go without his wife and finally the father-in-law says: 'I am tired of you both. Get out and take your wife with you, and mind you pay that cow quickly', and he calls his daughter and tells her to get out with her husband as he is tired of seeing him there. He pushes them both out of the homestead. 583 585

The ceremony of *rice* is then held in the husband's homestead, where he has collected all his relatives and friends. It is a day of great gaiety. The wife and a party of girls from her home come singing to her husband's home. When they are a few hundred yards from his homestead the wife and two of her friends hide themselves. The other girls come on in a body, enter the kraal and go straight to the *sinka*. One of the husband's brothers asks where are the rest of the party, meaning the wife. The wife's eldest sister replies: 'I don't understand what you are talking about. There is no one missing. We are all here.' Some youths are sent out to scout round to see if they can find the wife. They move softly, looking about them and listening for sounds. When they find the wife they pull her to the entrance of the kraal. Here she says: 'I don't want to enter your homestead. You give me what you know.' He promises to give it to her later in the *sinka*, but she refuses to enter without a payment, so he gives her an arm-ring, called *mongongo* in Alego and *ongongo* in South Lookend. At the entrance to the *sinka* she says she must have something in return for bending down to enter it and they often make her another gift for this purpose, though a rough brother of her husband may just take her by the scruff of the neck and push her in. In the hut she says that she is very tired and wants to sit down. One of the men forces her to sit. 585

The visiting girls spend the night at the husband's home. Some of them may spend it with local youths in their bachelor-huts. Next morning the husband's people bring a bull or an ox and call the senior girl of the wife's people and ask her to accept it. She always says that it is too small, but when the husband pleads poverty she accepts it. The visiting girls take some of the meat home with them on the following day, but they eat most of it that night in the *sinka* after the husband's people have given the wife an ornament in return for that privilege. They must give her another present to enable her to sit down there. All the husband's people bring her gifts. She sits with her legs tucked under her and has to be given a present to stretch them. She says she wants to spit and they give her something to enable her to do so. She says that soot from the roof may fall in her eyes, and they give her something to compensate her for the risk. They also give her a number of other presents, each of which has its name: *ra yanyi maro*, a goat to pay in advance for any insulting remarks the husband may make about his mother-in-law; *ra kaer tawo*, a goat for the wife to place her husband's daily gruel respectfully before him; *gir bangala higa*, an ornament for the burns a wife 585 431

585 may incur while cooking; *gir ute*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send
his wife on; *gir ngole olawe*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will
431 always be expectorating on the floor; *gir lego*, a present for the water a wife brings her
husband to wash his hands with; *gir tiwo wir*, a present to enable the husband to sleep
with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kwe*, a present for fetching her husband's
stool; *dond thon*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps
others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *yare*, the paternal kinsfolk of her
husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented
to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the
rice party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have
spent the night. They reply: "You are bad people and you have done us an injury.
You are *mamies*, you and your wife also." The girls have a midday meal and leave for
home taking with them the *rice* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of
the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony,
except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

585 After the *rice* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after
two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise,
541 her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering,
for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miako*, bride. A few months later takes place the
final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gangi* in Southern Luoland. One day the
husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in
the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her
husband making the *simbo* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband
have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simbo*. Now the husband—usually after
the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife
goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in
her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

585 The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which
to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other
utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some
fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her
carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three
cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook.
She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is
prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied
her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so
that she can serve them with meat.

Miloko

583 The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial
stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not
have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words
for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloko*, *dho nyuambo*, and *dho kony*. The number of

animals paid varies according to the circumstances of the time. From the information recorded by early authorities (Johnston, Hobley, Northcote, Stam, and Hartmann) it appears that before cattle plague had destroyed much of the Luo livestock at the end of last century, anything between twenty and forty head of cattle were paid. Since then, until recently, bridewealth has fluctuated between two or three and six or seven head of cattle. One gathers from Shaw's account that in 1932 round about twenty cattle were regarded as a suitable bridewealth. My own inquiries in 1936 led me to believe that at that time the number of cattle paid might be expected to be somewhere between fifteen and twenty. 583

They fall into two parts, the *dho kony* and the *dho i kony*. The *dho kony*, the animals the husband pays first, are those which are named and earmarked for certain relatives of the bride. They comprise the basic minimum which has to be paid if the marriage is to be concluded. These are the *dhor mare gi ayathani*, the cow of the mother and its calf, *dhor mare gi ayathani*, the cow of the father and its calf, *dhor atum*, the cow of the bow, a female calf which goes to the father's brother, *dhor rinan*, the cow of the fresh milk, *thum dhok*, a bull for the father, *reath pala*, the calf of the knife, which is paid so that if any of the bridewealth cattle die in the home of the bride's parents they may eat the meat—before it is paid they send the meat to the bridegroom and he has to replace the beast; *reath dhor*, the ox provided for meat at the *dhero* ceremony, and *reath ringa*, the ox of the meat, an animal killed by the bridegroom's people to provide the mother of the bride with meat—it is killed in her home but there is no special time when it has to be presented. Except for the cow, and perhaps a calf with it, which goes to the paternal uncle and the ox slain to feast the visiting girls at the *dhero* ceremony, all these animals are taken by the parents. The terms by which they are described differ in different parts of Luoland.

I believe that to the south of the Kavirondo gulf no distinction is made between the named and the unnamed cattle, but it is a very important distinction in Alego, where the husband's *jagon* and brothers are most careful, when they take the named animals to the home of the bride's father, to leave no doubt in his mind which particular animals he is receiving. He cannot then get an additional animal by claiming later that one of those which must in all marriages be paid has not been paid. The husband pays one or two of the *dho kony* at a time and it generally takes about two years for him to hand them all over. In addition he has to pay the *dho i kony*. The number of these extra cattle is not fixed and is reached by negotiation between the husband's people and his father-in-law. Nevertheless there is a conventional average, in 1936 between five and seven head of cattle. It is about the odd extra beast or two that the lengthy discussions take place. Some of the *dho i kony* are paid shortly after the *dhor pawa* (which counts as one of them) has been handed over but the husband does not pay them, if he can avoid it, until he has settled all the named claims, as he may otherwise find that he has to give more cattle than he bargained for. In addition to cattle the husband's people pay a number of goats, between five and ten. The husband may not be able to pay all these animals for some years, and if his father-in-law is friendly he will not press him too hard to settle a small outstanding debt. The final animal perhaps will not be paid till the wife's daughter is married. [184]

Although the father of the bride gets the bulk of the bridewealth, most of the animals will be used to marry wives for his sons, and he may give one or two to his

583 brothers. The bride's maternal uncle generally gets a heifer, the *dhar mahera*, the cow of the sister's daughter, but it is not, I think, regarded as being part of the bridewealth and the payment in no way constitutes the father of the bride. It is given to the maternal uncle in return for gifts, may be a ram, some chickens, and some cleanine, and for hospitality to the husband; for a well-disposed maternal uncle invites him to his home. The uncle has no legal right to the heifer. The Luo say that the *sor* is only an *ora*, the maternal uncle is only an in-law (of the father of the bride).

The last of the animals to be paid seems to be the *rauth ringe*, the ox of the meat, to which I have earlier referred. It is also called *kodho* and by other names. This ox is sometimes not paid till several years after the bride has been through the final rites of marriage. The husband's people drive it to the mother-in-law's home, arriving very early in the morning before the people are up, and they take the further precaution of severing the tendon of one of its legs as they drive it into the kraal, so that the young men of the home cannot seize it and add it to their herd. It is meat for the mother and not an ox for the herd of her husband and sons. It is then killed in front of the mother's hut. The wife's parents probably make the husband's party a return present of a sheep. They eat part of it in the home of the wife's parents and take the rest of the meat back with them to their own people.

It should be noted that the bride's family have to make return gifts to the husband's people and that these are also called *mikeha*. Some of the gifts are animals slaughtered during the marriage rites, but it seems that they also have to pay one or two other beasts at various times to the husband's people. I was told that they hand over at least three head of cattle altogether, or as many as five if they are rich, including those killed for meat during the ceremonies. This is a point that invites further inquiry.

584 Everything paid by the husband's people to the wife's family counts as bridewealth and should there be a divorce the husband can demand their return, together with the progeny of the animals of the bridewealth. However, Luo regard divorce as a grave misfortune, and if the breach is occasioned by the wife's misbehaviour or is due to her running away from her husband, her parents make every effort to maintain the alliance they have entered into with the husband's people by replacing her by a sister or cousin. Also, if a wife dies the return of her bridewealth is regarded as a last and most undesirable resort. Instead, her parents try to replace her by a sister or cousin. This is known as *apongo dhongo*, the filling of the basket. The husband may have to wait many years before he gets his new wife. He has to go through the full ceremonies of marriage with her and to pay bridewealth, though only a few cows, perhaps five or six. More are asked for if the replacement is from a different family. In the event of the bridewealth being returned, two or three head of cattle, according to the circumstances of the case and the sex of the child, are retained by the wife's people for any child she bore her husband, the child remaining with him. I believe that after the birth of a second child no cattle would be returned. However, even when a wife dies leaving several children behind her, her parents try to give the husband a relative in her place to keep up the alliance.

Ci Sond

587 When a marriage has been completed, that is to say after a child has been born, it is regarded by Luo as a union which should not in any circumstances be broken. If the

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1934) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jawasa*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *jaater*. His brother is only their *gamer*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*ahar ngeche* or *ahar ndeg*). Also, one does not use the verb *kwalo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *nawo* or *nago*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ei kwal*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Law

Luo practise very extensive avoidance, as part of a general attitude of respect (*luor*), of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kamwa* (my in-laws). If a man meets either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *nungated*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *wen*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *simbe* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagaw* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kawago*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

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The people of the house pass them to eat, but they refuse, as a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Cins

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small pubic covering and a *cins* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament at public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *cins* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *cins*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *cins* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est défloree en présence de sa sœur et d'autres jeunes filles de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

EASTERN UGANDA

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AN

ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY.

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PREFACE.

It has been truly written that "of books on Africa there is no end," and it is with great trepidation that I am daring to enter such a crowded field; I therefore feel that it will be well to make a few explanatory remarks to begin with.

The matter contained in this little work was collected by me during a period extending over several years, and was primarily intended solely for my personal use as an *aide-mémoire* in my political dealings with the various tribes with whom I was officially brought into contact.

It has occurred to me, however, that my ethnological notes and the vocabularies might prove of some interest to that section of the scientific world dealing with such matters, and that the information as a whole will be of considerable assistance to my fellow officials, who are daily brought into intimate relations with the tribes described herein.

If either of these aims is fulfilled I shall feel amply satisfied with the result. It would be presumptuous to suppose that my observations do more than touch the fringe of inquiry into the habits and customs of these interesting people. It is, however, very difficult to find out the why and wherefore of the various customs without a complete knowledge of the language of each group of people, and this is a point on which the average busy official fails owing to lack of time. Possibly in the near future, however, such studies may become the special work of a department of the administration.

At any rate it is to be hoped that every effort will be made to chronicle these features before they are obliterated by the advent of European civilization.

I would here like to express my thanks to Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., etc., and to Sir Clement Lloyd Hill, K.C.M.G., etc., for the kind interest and appreciation they have shown towards my work.

C. W. H.

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naturally follow the low country instead of climbing a precipitous rocky ridge 2,000 feet above the plain, added to this probably the dread of the Nandi warriors was an additional reason for avoiding the highlands.

It seemed possible that some evidence of the migration might be discovered by investigations in this plain; and such was the case, for to my great surprise I found that the ruling chief of the plain Kitoto, although he wears ornaments of the Nilotic type and is married to *Ja-Luo* wives, is a pure-bred native of the Kisii or Kosova nation, and that a few generations back occasional bands of Kisii people trekked northwards but were stopped in the plain, and became more or less absorbed by the Nyanuga clan. In fact odd parties of Kisii people make journeys northward even to this day. The Kisii people again have legends to the effect that they originally came from the northward, and I have no doubt that as investigations are continued it will be found that the Kisii and Ware tribes are two links in the chain of evidence in favour of an important Bantu migration from Nyanzaward country northwards.

With regard to the Awa-Ware, they do not seem to have gone inland to any extent, but to have crept along by water from inland to inland till they ended up in the vicinity of Nyala or Port Victoria. Their dialect is closely allied to that of the Awa-Nyala.

It is a matter for regret that it is almost impossible to arrive at even the approximate dates of these migrations, but among a people without written history and legends that rarely go back more than a few generations it will readily be understood that one's data is scanty.

Class II. Nilotic Kavirondo.—The invasion of the Nilotic Ja-Luo race (Plate III) appears, as I have previously explained, to have taken place later than that of the Bantu, and they are it is believed an off-shoot of the Acholi or Shuli stock.

Their southern advance was, I feel sure, only checked by the irruption of the Elgumi people into the country to the south-west of Mount Elgon, which movement finally closed the line of outlet against all further movements from the north.

The Elgumi people will, I think, be found to be an off-shoot of the race inhabiting the country to the north of the Salisbury and Kumama Lakes, which in the fragmentary state of our information about that area may be called the Lango group, and it may turn out that these people are intermingled with a Hamitic strain from the north-east.

To revert to Kavirondo proper, the Nilotic stock in that country, although occupying as a rule a less fertile area, appears to be more vigorous than the Bantu; and the Lakoli and other Bantu tribes on their present eastern frontier all tell me that their forefathers occupied territory some fifteen miles to the west of their original location, having been gradually driven eastward by the Ja-Luo.

The Ja-Luo settlements on the southern shore of Ugowe Bay, or Kavirondo Bay as it has been renamed, are also evidences of the persistent way the Nile people have pushed southwards in search of land, and proofs are to hand that

most of these people did not pass round the head of the gulf but crossed by water from Uyoma and Gemi country.

Class III. Nandi Group.—Hardly any information seems obtainable with regard to the southern migration of the Nandi-Lumbwa group, nor is their place of origin quite clear. Their word for water, *piper*, is clearly Nilotic, and some of their numerals, including tesoro for ten, are Hamitic; so, like the Masai, they will possibly be eventually classed as an intermixture of the negroes of the Nile valley and a representative of the Hamitic race. This seems to be the only way in which one can account for the great difference in physical appearance between the Nandi and Masai as compared with the Nilotic or Bantu negroes of Kavirondo for instance. Again, judging by appearances, one would imagine that the Nandi were more nearly allied to their negro progenitors than to the Hamitic, and vice versâ in the case of the Masai, or rather that the Hamitic strain was much stronger in the Masai.

That the Nandi came from the north is beyond doubt, and it is also probable that they came from a mountainous region somewhat similar to that they now inhabit, for being tribes of considerable bravery when compared with the neighbouring races, they could undoubtedly have had choice of location; and moreover every member of the group seems to have chosen a highland territory as a place of settlement.

I am inclined to date their migration at a fairly remote period owing to the large area over which the group has spread, and in this case great divergence from the original stock may be looked for in their language and habits. In a short time, however, when our information as to the mountainous area to the south-west of Abyssinia becomes more complete, it will probably be easy to follow their southern move.

The Elgeyo, Kamasia, Lako, Elgonyi, Mbai, Suré and Bumett people all belong to this group; the five latter tribes live on Mt. Elgon or Masawa, and it may be that on their way southwards a section of the migrants elected to settle on the mountain, the main body pushing on to the south and east. These tribes now consider the Nandi people as their deadly enemies, and strenuously deny all relationship.

Class IV. Masai Group.—I will not deal with the whole of the Masai nation but confine myself to the Guasangishu, as they are the only representatives of the group in the country referred to in this volume.

Their language, customs, arms and physical appearance (Pl. IV) are the same as those of the Masai of the Rift valley, but they differ from those people inasmuch as they have given up their nomadic habits and now live in scattered settlements among the Kavirondo, Nandi, etc. Their principal settlements are in Marama, some few miles south of Mumia's, at Ndui's, about seven miles west of Mumia's, at Ugema, between Ketosh and Elgumi country, and again a few odd settlements in Nandi and in the vicinity of Eldama Ravine. The Guasangishu Elkonono, or ironworkers, are also dotted about throughout Nandi and Lumbwa, and do most

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CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

Modes of subsistence.—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

Hunting and fishing.—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema.*" The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they got the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

Bridges.—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

Cooking, etc.—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

Fire.—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

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Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembe*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

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766 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral [726] rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the 846 house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place 608 it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; [304] having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if [553] a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut [553] but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). [535] The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go 583 to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *mtama* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

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village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and *tembo* drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 595] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *tembo* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

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411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a 291 481 single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as 534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thŭm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bŭl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

[292] [301]

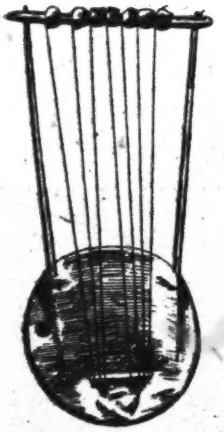

FIG. 8.—HARP: NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LEGO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

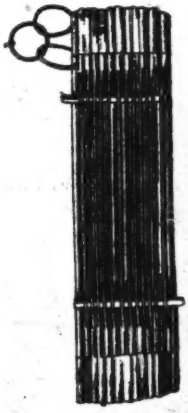

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAKUMEGA.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 888 892 *Tembo or pombe.*—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

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Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. 304
If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover 783
does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the 727
fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a 291
child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important 576
matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on [606]
no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to [574]
visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about 301
fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a 304
ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of 301
the variety known as *kiketi*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and [172]
it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Lho, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

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301 originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kikeri* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

302 The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

301 The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

516 The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

754 784 *Miscellaneous customs.*—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

[766 821]

754 *Witchcraft, etc.*—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

[171 172]

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Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*.

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crushed up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign.

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*.

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, and some chiefs are said to be able to foretell whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri.

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name.

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524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bau* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balaeriea gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola.*

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomœa palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

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Beliefs.—They call the Divinity by the name Chieng, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

If a hailstorm occurs no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

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§ 2. Nilotic Kavirondo.

101 The generic name of the Nilotic Kavironda is Ja-Luo. By the Bantu Kavirondo they are called Awa-Nife or Nyife, also Awa-Nyoro.

193 *Ja*, *Ka*, and *Yaka* are all prefixes signifying "clan" or "tribe" among the Nile tribes.

The prefix *Tho* signifies language among these people.

Kami or Gemi (call themselves *Gemi*).

101 619 131 Situated to south of River Nzoia between Mumia's and Ugowe Bay. Tribe second in importance in Kavirondo. Nilotic origin; belong to Ja-Luo family. Head chief, Odera Ulalo, son of Umoli. Chief next in importance, Odera Sandei, son of Ulo. Other chiefs: Ilari Atanda (son of Lochi), Wayoti Aratieri.

Subdivisions:—

-Juothi—Odera, Ulalo, Odera Sandei, Atanda Agura.
-Karareo—Ogwel.
-Kagelo—Serua.
-Katumo—Ngaga.
-Kanyadeti—Siwa.
-Kanikwaya—Njwang Kiliko, Ilari, Aratieri.

Lego.

Situate to south of River Nzoia and south-west of Mumia's Nilotic tribe. Part of the tribe acknowledges suzerainty of Mumia. Important chiefs: Ukola Ndonya or Ndong, Ngonga.

Subdivisions:—

-Lafu—Unyango.
-Kukwiri—Othiambo.
-Anyango—Ngonga.
-Kaluo—Ndonya.
-Karuothi—Ukola, Ukelo, Aponyo.
-Yanyujuok—Odero.
-Jamoro—Ogoti, Tao Mwana Uguto.
-Yasiji—Udongo.
-Yakadengi—Otwera.

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Nife or Nyife.

Situate north bank of Nzoia River on the road from Mumia's to Port Victoria; a few live on south bank of the river. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Kero, Mulasi, Atipu, Unyango.

Subdivisions:—

-Punji. Chiefs: Kero, Mulasi and Atipu.
-Techi—Unyango, Nyatengi.

Kisumu.

Situate on south-west flanks of the Maragolia Hills and on the lake shore north and west of Railway Inlet. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Ngola or Ugola and Ugada.

Subdivisions:—

-Kisero. Chiefs: Onduu.
-Karatenya—Ngola or Ugola.
-Kadongo—Utuma, Wongo, Ugonyi.
-Korando—Ugada, Ogalo.
-Kaponja—Yareri, Magutha, Wambi.
-Sagami—Opio, Mdieki, Kagonyo, Ndumo, Andoka.
-Kadedi—Kimea.
-Yakamenya—Umuchi.
-Yakagonya—Onduu, Aiyeko.
-Kanyawegi—Uchieng.

The Kisero and Yakagonya clan are now amalgamated under Onduu.

Semi.

Situate south of the Kami tribe between that tribe and Ugowe Bay. Formerly unfriendly with the Kami people. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Wadego, Yagudi, Awina.

Subdivisions:—

Kongo. Chief: Wadekwa.
Tieno—Awina, Abong.
Kalunji—Okechi, Okoko.
Kadipelo—Yagudi, Achola, Ndolo, Hukum.
Kombewa—Okoti, Gumba, Okola.
Were—Wadego.
Kokeri—Abuma, Achachi.

The Kadipelo or Kadipel clan is subdivided as follows:—

Kumbija—Uiti, Okech, Nyabenda.
Konyiwera—Mbima (son of Yagudi).

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Kobita—Undijo.
Kaura—Abundi.
Kanyabong—Hukum.

With the Were clan are incorporated the Kanyadwero, chief Ochanyo. With the Tieno clan are incorporated the Dero.

Sembo.

Situate on north shore of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic tribe. In a measure admit suzerainty of Odera Ulalo. Principal chief: Adola.

Subdivisions:—

Umia—Orero, Yadera.
Kalei—Adola.

Uyoma.

Nilotic tribe, situate at entrance to Ugowe Bay on north shore. Principal chiefs: Lochi (died 1899), Naiya.

Subdivisions:—

Kabuda—Naiya, Kivera.
Katwenga—Lochi (dead), Oginga, Ubuya.
Kobong—Okelo.
Kukwiri—Kariech.

The Kabuda clan live around Laiya Hill, the Katwenga to the east and the others to the north.

Sawakwa or Sakwa.

Nilotic tribe on lake shore to the west of Gemi. Principal chiefs: Ugada, Undieki.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyamwanda Nasimwa—Ugada, Urimba, Ubondo.
Karabori—Nyela, Odero Opio.
Kamiyawa—Buru.
Yakakodi—Odero, Ukumugwam.
Kuduoli—Mbewa, Ngewira.
Kanyavinya (incorporated with Yakakodi).

Timu or Utimu.

Situate on lake shore south of Nzoia mouth. Country called Kadimu; called Wayimbo by Mumia's people. Nilotic origin.

Subdivisions:—

Kadimu—Anam.
Rodi—Uwori.
Niaton—Ugia.

The Kadimu live on the lake shore, the other clans inland.

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Songa.

Situate on the south bank of River Nzoia near Port Victoria. Nilotic origin. They are quite a small tribe. Principal chiefs: Unyando (Wa-Mtoni), Unyando (Wa-Juu).

Kanu or Kadibo (often called Wa-Kitoto).

A Nilotic tribe living in an alluvial plain east of Ugowe Bay. Friendly, vast quantities of food, population large. Principal chiefs: Kitoto, Amimo and Niagoli.

Subdivisions:—

Nyamoga or Moga. Chief: Kitoto.
Kajulu—Abongo (this clan is now all scattered).
Kadibu or Kanu—Yoeanga, Hongo.
Kumulu or Kolos—Okwachi, Oyaro, Niagoli.
Kubura—Amimo, Hongo, Unongono, Uyangi, Uyoo, Arudi
Kamagaga—Unyoro, Unyangnoro.
Kabonya—Mbuya, Kitaga, Unyanga.
Kamrungu—Undieki.
Kimera or Sua—Mlema, Ugundi, Ununga, Ora, Yabedo.

The big chief Sendegi, now deceased, belonged to the Sua clan.

Khoro.

A Nife tribe situated between the Lego and Kami. Head chief: Uluma, also Kahuri or Nyango. The Kanyamoti (chief, Handa) are allied to Khoro. They formerly lived near River Nzoia, but fled during Nife fighting; settled near Odera Ulalo.

Subdivisions of the Khoro people:—

Makhoya. Chiefs: Orodi, Chiwani.
Umwangwi—Uluma.
Winyi—Meto.
Mache—Ndeta.

Kaki.

Nilotic tribe, allied to the Lego and Songa tribes. Live near Gangu lake, in the vicinity of the delta of the River Nzoia. Chief: Masingo.

Aiendi.

They live on mainland opposite Lusinga country, called Kasagunga. Nilotic origin. Head chief: Abomba.

Subdivisions:—

Aiendi—Abomba.
Sali—Mahinya.
Diang—Okech.
Tema—Usambo.
Kamreri—Urua.

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Ramba.

101 Live on south side of Ugowe Bay, opposite Uyoma country Nilotic
131 people. Head chief: Gori Kogalo.
619 Subdivisions:—

Kadweti. Chief: Awino.
Kabonyo—Osewi, Magolo.
Kajuang—Yariwo, Arani.
Kanyamwa or Kanyambo—Kogalo and Ogalo.
Yahunda—Chikungi, Uyamu.
Saki—Usodo, Uyumbi, Monguwiri.
Kachola or Kologi—Othina.
Kumungu—Mwai.
Kuchieng—Owino, Tigo.
Kasudu—Ukoli.

The Saki people live near Usau hill, and there is a feud between them and the
[578] Kanyamwa owing to the latter having been driven from the lake shore, and thus losing their fishing rights. The Saki are very friendly with the Uyoma tribe and the Kanyamwa with the Sawakwa.

Nyakatch.

Live at south-east corner of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic origin. Very frien dly people, live in great dread of the Lumbwa. Head chief: Uhuri.

Subdivisions:—

Kadianga. Chief: Uhuri.
Kabodo—Magero.
Jimo—Mwana.
Kajembo—Atek.
Kandaria—Omono.
Kuguta—Sewe.

Kalachonyo.

A large tribe of Nilotic origin on the south side of Ugowe Bay. They stretch from the west of the Nyakach people to the west side of Uma or Oma Mountain. The head chief is Nyakiti.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyajok. Chief—Nyakiti.
Uma—Ugwan.
Nyaluo—Ngar.
Kanyiperi—Umolu.
Adueti—Nyangu, Odondi.
Yakandaiya—Ugalu, Oyugi.
Utienu—Ngare.
Kodera—Opiawili.
Unyango—Ugalu.
Akelu—Achieng.
Ojuach—Ogado.
Ukwainu—Kimuto.
Kabondo—Laiila.

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

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CHAPTER VI.

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Dictionary of the Language of Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi.

English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Able, to be	*kuoroku-nyala* ...	*anyalo*	*kamuchi*
Abolish, to	*ku-busia*	*ogōl*	*nemu*
Abound with, to ...	*itsuri*	*opong*	*kagonyi*
About, near	*ahambi*	*chiegini*	*legīt*
Above	*ikulu*	*malu*	*barak*
Abscess	*liwuri*	*būr*	*keabwa*
Abuse, to	*ku-nyeka*... ...	*aiyanyi*	*warimbun*
Accept, to	*ku-njameri* ...	*aiyie*	*kacham*
Ache, to	*ku-nduala* ...	*arama*	*omo*
Add, to (increase) ...	*ku-itusia*... ...	*uomedi*	*tes*
Adorn, to	*ku-isia*	*tiweri*	*kimwat*
Adultery	*utamba*	*yakuo*	*karuchor korget*
Advance money, to ...	*ku-iola*	*aholui*	*osillenin*
Afraid, to be	*ku-iri*	*uru*	*oiwe*
After (place)	*inyuma*	*chien*	*lēt*
After (time)	*zidzazindi* ...	*dieri*	*peviet ?*
Again	*khandi*	*kendo*	*koile*
Age	*umukhongo* ...	*ika*	*kaiet*
Air	*umiyeka*	*yamu*	*koristo*
All	*wosi* (people) ...	1 *giduto* ...	*tukul*
	viosi (things) ...	2 *waduto*	
		(No. 1 is used when referring to other people or to things; No. 2 where the speaker is included.)	
And	... ...	*gin*	*a*
Animal	*isolo*	*le*...	*tiondo*
Annoy, to	*ku-nyasi*	*ichando*	*kandamaya*
Answer, to	*-kalusi*	*odwoki*	*welchi*
Ants	*amache*, white ants.	*bie*, white ant ...	*toiek* or *kongnoick*, white ants.
	ulunawe, siafu or soldier ant.	*morino*, siafu.	*bileeh*, siafu or soldier ant.
	indukusi, small black.	*olang*, large black.	*songok*, black ants.
	tzindangunyi, large black.	*uchungulu*, small black.	

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Itisi group.*	*Nifa or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Ape (baboon)	*liwungwi* ...	*bim*	*moset*
Approve, to	*njameri*	*aie*	*kacham*
Arm	*umukhono* ...	*lueta*	*eot*
Ardvark or ant bear ...	*iliaka*, pl. *amaka*	*muok*	*kutet*
Armpit	*ikwa*	*iotha*	*kulkulta*
Arrive, to	*-nzulire*	*atundo*	*kaiet*
Arrow	*omu-wano*, pl. *imi-wano.*	*sere*	*kortet*
Ashes	*likoshe*	*chilo*	*orek*
Ask, to...	*-rewa*	*apenjo*	*tebwa*
Assemble, to	*-solola*	*achoko*	*eyoom*
Assist, to	*-konya*	*konye*	*toretwa*
Attempt, to	*-tema*	*pōr*	*temwa*
Aunt	*senge*	*waya*	*kogo*
Awake, to	*-wuka*	*acheo*	*kangnet*
Axe	*gaiiwa*, pl. *tziaiiwa*	*le...*	*aiwet*
Back	*umukongho* ...	*diringnea* ...	*patet*
Bad	*i-fiwi*	*rach*	*ya*
Baboon	*nguchi* (*Ithako*, country).		
Bag	*iluloti*	*koro*	*lvilet*
Bait	*miombe*	*lopo*	*mestet*
Baking place	pl. *amaiika*, sing. *lika.*	*kendo*	*olimbama*
Bananas	*maremwa* ...	*labolo*	*makomyet*
Bare	*shipare*	*pōt-th*	*motinyegi*
Basket...	*shimweru* ...	*amiero*	*kitonget*
Bat	*liniinya*	*anyinya*	*reres*
Beads	pl. *ifiuma*, *iniuma* (single bead).	*tigo*	*soniek*
Beans	*tzingnori*, *amana-kanda.*	*gnor*	*mukenyik*
Bear, to bring forth ...	*-wula*	*onyōl*	*kakachutko*
Beard	*tzindefu*, *olulefu* (one hair).	*ier*	*tamnet*
Beat, to	*-khuya*	*ogoi*	*korbir*
Beautiful	*-lai*	*bēr*	*koraran*
Because	*funana*	*nangno*	*kemina*
Bed	*shitali*	*nilala*	*itōk*
Bee	*nzushi*	*kich*	*segemya*
Beehive	*umulinga* ...	*kumbi*	*bondet* (natural) or *mwinget* (artificial).
Before (in front) ...	*imberi*	*wie*	*tai*
Beg, to...	*ku-sawa*	*akwai*	*kasom*
Begin, to	*-ranjirira* ...	*okwongo*	*katai*
Beginning	*imberi*	*tiendi*	*nipatai*
Behind...	*inyuma*	*chien*	*lōt*
Believe, to	*-kwiama*	*eiye*	*kongen*

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awo-Rimi group.*	*Nyi or The-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Belly	*iinda*	*ech*	*maiet*
Below	*asi*	*pen*	*ingwein*
Belt	*ulukoba*	*giriech*	*legatiet*
Between	*akari*	*dieri*	*kwen*
Bind, to	*-kuboha*	*tuech*	*karat*
Bird	*linuni*	*winyo*	*taretyet*
Birth	*umiwuri*	*kalinyoti*	*komonach*
Bitter	*shilulu*	*kech*	*muan*
Black	*shimali*	*rateng*	*tui*
Bladder	*liwaya*	*ole*	*tebkulet*
Blind	*umuwofu*	*otop*	*korat*
Blood	*amalasiri*	*remo*	*korotik*
Blossom	*shi-muli*, pl. *vi-muli.*	*bokr*	*tobukai*
Body	*umuviri*	*ringira*	*porsto*
Boil, to	*-kuyera*	*ienyo*	*kagukot*
Boil (noun)	*shifui*	*salu*	*undiriet*
Bone	*likumba*	*chogu*	*korwet*
Born, to be	*-iluiwa*	*unyoli*	*kagwi*
Bow	*uviingo*	*atüm*	*kwanget*
Boundary	*uluakho*	*tong*	*kwenut*
Bracelet (flat)	*linyonje* (of iron)	*sen*, of iron	*kuranet*
" (of beads)	*iponge*	"	"
Brains	*uvongo*	*oöongo*	*kundat*
Brass	*mubassa*	*mula*	*taiet*
Break, to	*-funa*	*muki*	*koiiri*
Breath	*umuya*	*iwo*	*komun*
Breathe, to	*yera*	"	*isinyi*
Breast	*shifu*	*kora*	*toget* or *takat*
Bridge	*umfungi*, *ulalo* (of rope).	*ulalo*	*etiet*
Bring, to	*-lera*	*kel*	*ibu*
Broad	*shi-wambafu*	*mbero*	*tewa*
Brother	*mwanefu*	*omera* or *exuwodu*	*kitubche*
Buffalo	*imbokho*	*joi*	*soiet*
Bug	*inuri*	*chwarini*	*solopchot*
Build, to	*-mbakha*	*gedo*	*tech*
Bull	*inurusi*	*thuon*	*kilibit*
Bullet	*ndolio*	*nisrugaru*	*koita*
Burn, to (set on fire)	*-kwaka*	*kutho mach*	*ilal, mat*
Burst, to	*-randuka*	*oiek*	*kayerar*
Bury, to	*-isvira*	*iki*	*tap*
Business	*indi* or *makuko*	*gumaga*	*yeter*
Bat	*chindochiwa*	*nilo*	*amne*
Batter	*mafuru*, *mabisi*	*mo*	*mwaitab chigo*
Butterfly	*makoyukuyu*	*oyuyo*	*tombururiet*
Buttocks	*amatakho*	*pieri*	*kwetiet*
Buy, to	*kula*	*niego*	*kul*
Calabash	*shinuka*	*puya*	*sotet*

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English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Calf	*inyana*	*myiroe*	*moita*
Call, to	*-langa*	*lungi*	*kūr*
Camel	... ...	... ...	*tombēs*
Canoe	*iriaro*	*iye*	*mainget*
Cap	*chitero*	*kondo*	*chebkūlet*
Caravan	*luchendo*	*iwothi*	*chumbek*
Carry, to	*-chinga*	*ting*	*kagokesen*
Castrate, to	*-lata*	*royo*	*kagelem*
Castor oil	... ...	... ...	*lambelek*
Castor oil plant ...	*muwono wono* ...	*odagwa*	*manyat*
Cat	*lisimba*	*ogwang*	*duewet*
Catch, to	*-tira*	*make*	*kanam*
Cattle-fold	*ikhonji*	*kūl*	*karaita*
Cave	*imbukha*	*idala*	*engabunet*
Chain	*linyola* (thin); *umuluangi*(thick).	*tiuni*	*sirimyot*
Charcoal	*amanda*	*mirini*	*nesek*
Cheap	*amakusia, malai*...	*niolor*	*mabīche*
Cheat, to	*-katie*	*uundi*	*kogen*
Chest (anatomical) ...	... ...	... ...	*takatet*
Chew, to	*-nyanya*	*modi*	*kam*
Chicken	*shimenyui* ...	*mbulula*	*kibongok*
Chief	*mwami*	*ruoth*	*mogoriot*
Child	*mwana*	*niathi*	*lakwet*
Circumcise, to... ...	*-shewa*	*janyangi*... ...	*kiemratan*
Civet cat	... ...	*kuoro*	
Clap of thunder ...	*-ekupa*	*mōr*	*kengurum robt a*
Clay	*uliesha*	*chuodo*	*matatiet*
Cleave, to	*-rasia*	*baro*	*kēvet*
Cloth	*inanga*	*lao*	*anget*
Clothe one's self, to ...	*-ifwali*	*aruako*	*kilach*
Cloud	*lilesi*	*irundu*	*poitek*
Club	*shikongo*	*ruga*	*rungut*
Cob of corn	*kisukori*	*opoko*	
Cock	*itawa*	*thuōn*	*kibosiwet*
Cocoanut	... ...	... ...	
Collect, to	*-solosia*	*choki*	*eyoom*
Colour	*kipala*	*kite*	*simto*
Comb	... ...	*rugor*	
Come, to	*ku-widza*... ...	*obiro*	*konyo*
Companion	*omwidza*	*enyawadu* ...	*chichok*
Complete	*-aweni*	*oromo*	*perege*
Concubine	... ...	... ...	
Consent, to	*-njameri*	*eiye*	*kacham*
Consider, to	*-biririsia*... ...	*aparo*	*koiit*
Consult, to	*wir wasana* ...	*loou*	*ngalek*
Conversation	*okuwudza* ...	*tuak*	*kibireni*
Cook	... ...	*jatedu*	*iyoiise*
Cook, to	*tecka*	*tedu*	*iyaw*

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English.	*La-Wanga of Awa-Bimi group.*	*Nifi or The-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Cooking pot	*inyungu*	*agulu*	*teret*
Corner	*ulusila*	*tenge*	*komosi*
Corpée	*umu/u*	*thano*	*musiot*
Cotton	... ...	*otit-th*	
Cough, to	*khokola*	*koholo*	*kalal*
Count, to	*-kuvala*	*kuan*	*iit*
Country	... ...	*penyi*	*bunik*
Cover, to	*funikha*	*tim*	*tüch*
Cow	*itwas*	*mathako*	*iwoget*
Coward	*ovuri*	*jaluro*	*nioger*
Crane (crested) ...	*liwangi*	*owang*	*kongonyondet*
Crawl, to	*mola*	*möl*	*iburburige*
Crocodile	*ikwena*	*unyiang*	*kuguiet*
Cross (a river), to ...	*-ambukha* ...	*itho*	*kosir*
Cross-ways	*tsingira*	*akukio*	*oret a barak*
Crow	*likoko*	*agäk*	*chabkokot*
Cry, to	*-lira*	*iewak*	*karer*
Cultivate, to	*-lhima*	*pär*	*imat*
Curse, to	*-nyika*	*okothano*	*tengek*
Custom	*kulera, aweni* ...	*kamano*	*ogoyin*
Cut, to	*kulakha*	*gnol*	*tel*
Dance, to	*-shina*	*tugo*	*kiereren*
Dance (n.)	*koshina*	*miel*	*tiendo*
Danger	*ritsanga*	*mwono*	*rumin*
Darkness	*shirima*	*chiki*	*kwemoi*
Dash, to	*-oma*	*wiro*	*mal*
Dawn	*obukwi* (5 a.m.) ...	*kugoen*	*koron*
Day	*inyango*	*udalo*	*petöt*
Deaf	*muvulamaruvi* ...	*udinire*	*mokwi*
Dear	*amatinyu*	*meda*	*uyui*
Death	*limunyariri* ...	*öl*	*kakwe*
Debt	*likoli*	*gwoi*	*pesendo*
Decrease, to	*khabukania* ...	*ogonyeri*	*kugongoret*
Defend, to	*-linda*	*orito*	*kanyi*
Delay, to	... ...	*udeku*	*kagotebi*
Depart, to	*-wuka*	*uak*	*nyet*
Descend, to	*-kwika*	*lör*	*kosurule*
Destroy, to	*-monya*	*ikotho*	*kendomai*
Devil	*misambwa* ...	*masira*	*masambonin*
Dew	*lima*	*tö*	*rewondet*
Diarrhœa	*nyalala*	*diso*	*kwiwi*
Die, to	*-fwa*	*tho*	*kame*
Dig, to	*-iswa*	*kunyo*	*päl*
Directly	*ulano*	*gonyio*	*kakakoma*
Dirt	*amakuka*	*ingi*	*iya*
Disease	*ulumbi*	*ydno*	*mions*
Divide, to	*-kuva*	*poyo*	*kaiste*
Do, to	*-kola*	*tim*	*imit*
Dog	*imbwa*	*guok*	*sest*

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English.	*Lu-Wangā of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or The-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Donkey	*sishiri*	*kanyina*	*sigiriet*
Door	*muliango*	*thuot*	*kuruket*
Draw water, to	*-ta amadzi*	*tuom pi*	*romu*
Dream, to	*-rora*	*aleko*	*korowatit*
Drink, to	*-nywa*	*matho*	*iye*
Drop, to	*-kwa* (I drop, *Nangwe*).	*potho*	*kabut*
Drown, to	*-fwa amadzi*	*nimu*	*kaibo pek*
Drum	*ingoma*	*bal*	*sukutit*
Drunk, to be	*-mera*	*mēr*	*kabogit*
Drunkard	*wakimeri*	*yamēr*	*bogiti*
Dry	*shi-umu, ah-omu*	*otuo*	*yamat*
Dry up, to	*-isinga*	*luok*	*kagoyam*
Duck	*liyoiyo*	*sopi*	*kogobeno*
Dull (man)	*umu-maiano*	*nienderok*	*periperi*
Dust	*lifu*	*kalausi*	*teritiet*
Dwell, to	*-ikala*	*beti*	*kotebi*
Each	*shi-lala*	*gikumo*	*ke*
Ear	*okorui*	*tit*	*itit*
Early	*muvusheri* (sunrise); *mawiwi* (dawn).	*chōt-th*	*kwichok*
Earth	*lirova* or *lilowa*	*buru*	*kwet*
Ease one's self, to	*-nia*	*pielo*	*kabe*
East	*ewukwe*	*wangicheng*	*olindoror*
Easy	*ishi - angu* (easy thing to carry); *ini - angu* (if work).	*iōt*	*sorchin*
Eat, to	*-lia*	*chiemu*	*kām*
Egg	*libuyu*	*tong*	*kwita*
Elbow	*ikumbo*	*ukumbo*	*korokiet*
Elder	*mukhofu*	*jaduung*	*poyot*
Elephant	*inzofu*	*liech*	*beliot*
Empty, to	*-tzukha*	*ōl*	*tarte*
Encamp, to	*-ula*	*chano*	*kagimin*
Enclosure	*sheanyi*	*chula*	*yabogot*
End	*namorui*	*tuung*	*kel*
Endure, to	*olera unca*	*loui*	
Enemy	*umusuku*	*musiyu*	*bunyot*
Enjoy, to	*-seka*	*omor*	*kucham*
Enlarge, to	*-tosa*	*medi*	*tes*
Enough, to be	*-yera*	*war*	*kabio*
Enter, to	*-ingira*	*donyi*	*kochut*
Entrails	*amala*	*dukchin*	*akutanek*
Equal	*viera*	*oromo*	*kereis*
Err, to	*-suviri*	*obai*	*kalel*
Evening	*ngolōwē*	*uthiambu*	*koiyumen*
Excrement	*amafi*	*chiet-th*	*piak*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Extend, to (act)	*-lolesia*	*niise*	*iite*
Extinguish, to	*-zimia*	*negi*	*pakach*
Extol, to	*-chamiri*	*aiie*	*kararan*
Eye	*imoni*	*awang*	*konda*
Face	*mumoni*	*thür*	*tokoch*
Fall, to	*-kwa*	*potho*	*keabut*
Falsehood	*uwuwi*	*muriambo*	*igenu*
Famine	*inzala*	*kech*	*rubet*
Far	*aale*	*bör*	*lo*
Fasten, to	*-boha*	*tue*	*rät*
Fat (adj.)	*-nuru*	*ichue*	*wo*
Father	*baba*	*baba*	*bhabha* (child to his own father); *kwani* (another person).
Fatigued, to be	*-tora*	*öol*	*kachas*
Fear	*dieri*	*lüro*	*obwoti*
Fear, to	*-iri*	*uluro*	*oiwin*
Feather	*-liwa*	*ier*	*kororota*
Feed, to	*-liya*	*kwat-th*	*kaiagek*
Ferry	*lifuwukho*	*wat-th*	*kiaiek*
Few	*-tutu*	*kwan*	*nierin*
Field or plantation	*umuganda*	*pudtho*	*mbaret*
Fierce	*umu-lulu*	*bet-th*	*kimiet*
Fight, to	*-pana*	*luen*	*kabarige*
Fill, to	*-itisia*	*pung*	*konyi*
Filth	*nahavi*	*chilu*	*iya*
Finger	*oluala*	*kogune*	*moronet*
Finish, to	*-wa*	*tieki*	*kagopek*
Fire	*umuliro*	*mach*	*mät*
Firewood	*trikhui*	*ien*	*kwenek*
Fish	*inyeni*	*risch*	*ngiriot*
Fish-hook	*indoho*	*ulo*	
Fisherman	*umunavi*	*yalupo*	
Fist	*ifusi*	*athong*	*konduluch*
Flat	*ishipari*	*opure*	*kerike*
Flay, to	*-vakha*	*iang*	*iyën*
Flea	*olikingi*	*lör*	*ngoloilek*
Flee, to	*-irukha*	*ringo*	*labat*
Flesh	*inyama*	*iringho*	*pendo*
Flour	*obusie*	*mogo*	*busiek*
Flower	*indilandula*(Solanum); *ishimuri*.	*boke*	*asaiet*
Fly	*tsini*	*luangini*	*kaliang*
Fly, to	*-lukka*	*pör*	*toromben*
Foliage	*amasafu*	*lam*	*satiet*
Follow, to	*-londa*	*lue*	*kerop*
Food	*shi-riwa*(cooked); *imeri*(uncooked).	*chiemu*	*kiomiri*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B L N 192

English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Fool	*umaiano*	*fuo*	*beriberi*
Foot	*shirengi*	*tielo*	*kelteves*
Foot, sole of the	*liralo*	*itienda*	*kelto*
Forge, to	*-iranya*	*tēt-th*	*kitonyek*
Forest	*umitsiru*	*bungu*	*timto*
Forget, to	*-ivira*	*eruenyu*	*kautiek*
Forgive, to	*-leshe*	*wene*	*kale*
Fortune (good)	*mbonĭri*	*chienge*	*umunyak*
Fresh	*shi-bitsi*	*numu*	*tuon*
Friend	*umwidza*	*usiep*	*choruet*
Frighten, to	*risie*	*luoru*	*obwoti*
Frog	*lishere*	*ogwal*	*mororochet*
Fruit	*makuya*, *tzinduri* (different kinds.)	*kōt-thi*	*lamaiek*, *komolonik*, *mogoyek* (different kinds.)
Fry, to	*-siira*	*chiel*	*kinus*
Full	*-tzule*	*upong*	*kanyi*
Fun	*muwayo*	*tugo*	*kiureren*
Gate	*sheriwa*	*thō-ōt*	*kurget*
Gather, to	*-ngania*	*choki*	*iyoomu*
Generate, to	*-iwula*	*nyuōl*	*koyi*
Get, to	*-nyola*	*wuang*	*konyuru*
Ghee	*amafura*	*mo*	*mwaitab chigo*
Gift	*akurrere*	*omedo*	*kagibworgi*
Giraffe	*inzaya mirumba*	*abur*	*ngotio*
Girdle	*olukhowa*	*dendi-ech*	*legotiet*
Girl	*umukhana*	*mwia manyako*	*chebta*
Give, to	*-erisie*	*mie*	*kagoch*
Go, to	*-chenda*	*thio*	*kebe*
Go in, to	*-ingira*	*donji*	*kochut*
Go out, to	*-rula*	*uok*	*mongnu*
Goat	*imbusi* or *imburi*	*diel*	*aratet*
God	*eriuwa*	*chieng*	*barak*
Gonorrhœa	...	*arao*	
Good	*indai*	*olosere*	*kararan*
Goods	*ivindu*	*gikimoko*	*kariek*
Govern, to	*-inkisua*	*okauroth*	*mugoriot*
Grasp, to	*-tira*	*maki*	*num*
Grass	*ubunyasi*	*lum*	*sunwek*
Gratuitously	*utsua*	*nono*	*puch*
Grave	*inghani*	*liel*	*kebinet*
Graze cattle, to	*-waya*	*kwat-th*	*kiogi*
Great	*-kali*	*duong*	*wo*
Green	...	*kite*	*nyalel*
Grind, to	*-sia*	*erego*	*kingnoi*
Ground	*lilowa*	*chuotho*	*ngungunyek*
Ground-nuts	*imbande*, pl. *tsimbande*.	*kālēne or imbandi*	*bande* (borrowed).
Gruel	*uvisera*	*ninka*	*musarek*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL14
Nandi FL13

B
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English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Guard, to	*-linda*	*urit*	*korip*
Guide	*umwimira ; um-wimise.*	*jatelo*	*ngetoret*
Guinea-fowl	*lik-hanga* ...	*awendo*	*terekekyat*
Gums (of teeth) ...	*lisinine*	*nier*	*pendop kelek*
Gun	*mirondo*	*bunde*	*mat*
Hair	*lisui*	*ier*	*sumek*
Halt (rest), to... ...	*-lūkha*	*iweyo*	*komunyi*
Hammer	*inyundo*	*dūl*	*kungit*
Hand	*mukhono*	*ching*	*coot*
Handkerchief	*shirawi* or *litasi* ...	*rapala*	
Handle (of knife, etc.)	*shirungu* ...	*odupala*	*kungit ab rotwet*
Hard	*shetinyu*	*tēk*	*oi*
Haste	*yukhasia* or *muno*	*ureto*	*soriki*
Hat	*ikofia* or *shiteru* ...	*kondo*	*tibkulet*
He or she	*iye*	*en*	*inyo*
Head	*omurui*	*wich*	*metit*
Health...	*umuwiri*	*ukane*	*ya?*
Heap	*inzukha*	*pith-th*	*achāng*
Hear, to	*-lira*	*winji*	*kagas*
Heart	*umwoyo*	*adundu*	*mukelelto*
Heaven	... ...	*tipulo*	*poilek*
Heavy	*shi-sēro, umu-sēro*	*pek*	*nigis*
Heel	*kisisoro*	*ufuin*	*tiktingto*
Heifer	*imosi*	*bong*	*rorta*
Help, to	*-konya*	*konye*	*nomor*
Hen	*shitakho*	*sui*	*subendo*
Herb	*tsisaka*	*alot-th*	*ngwiek*
Herd	*liitso*	*kwet-th*	*okwet*
Herdsman	*umwesi*	*ya kwatth* ...	*kiogindet*
Here	*ano*	*ka*	*yuto*
Hide, to	*-fisa*	*pandi*	*kaowin*
High	*-rambi*	*bor*	*kwi*
Hill	*shikulu*	*gōt*	*tulwet*
Hippopotamus ...	*ifuo*	*rao*	*makasta*
Hit, to...	*-kuya*	*go*	*pir*
Hoe	*imbakho*	*kwer*	*mugombet*
Hold, to	*-tira*	*maki*	*kanum*
Hole	*owino*	*būr*	*keringet*
Honey	*owushi*	*kich*	*komiat*
How many	*fi-nga, wa-nga*[1] ...	*adi*	*ata*[2]
House	*inzu*	*ot*...	*kōt*
How often	*khanga*	*nyadidi*	*kesaktai*
Hump (of cow) ...	*lirumba*	*kuom*	*ukta*
Hunger	*inzala*	*kech*	*rubet*

[1] *fi-nga*, how many, referring to *things*.
wa-nga, how many, referring to people.

[2] *Koretia*, How many arrows; *Pikata* or *Tiabicha*, How many men; *Eoot ata*, How many hands.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B L N 192

English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Hunt, to	*-iima*	*duar*	*logot*
Hurt, to	*-luma*	*oinyoa*	*kasūs*
Husband	*mwatsowe*... ...	*nichuo*	*murenyet*
Husk	*likhowa*	*upoko*	*giririet*
Hut	*akatsu*	*kiru*	*keriet*
Hyæna...	*ifisi*	*ndiek*	*kimagetyet*
I alone, by myself ...	*mlala* or *wenyeni*	*ankenda*	*anegitio*
Idle	*umurengu* ...	*nyāp*	*choririn*
If	*iri*	*ka*	
Ignorant (adj.) ...	*maiano*	*ufuo*	*beriberi*
Ill, to be	*-lwala*	*utheru*	*minyoni*
In	*munzu, mukari* ...	*ie*...	*orit*
In the middle of ...	*akare*	*diere*	*kuen*
Increase	*shi-tonyiri* ...	*ohingo*	*tenoa*
India-rubber	... ...	... ...	
Indian corn	*matumo*	*oduma*	*matwarindet*
Insect	*ifukhu*	*kunendeng* ...	*niendinek*
Instantly	*ulano vuri* ...	*yadi chiel* ...	*ngolenito*
Insult, to	*-nyeka*	*yanya*	*usinilat*
Intellect	*mchesi*	*rieko*	*ngaum*
Inter, to	*-iavira*	*iiki*	*kitupe*
Iron	*e-shivia*, pl. *e-vivia*	*niinyo*	*korenet*
Island	*lichinga*	*kūt*	*kwengwenut*
Itch	*amakakha* ...	*gonyo*	*koichek*
Ivory	*oluika*	*lakiliech*	*keldet*
Jackal	*liwe*	*buwe*	*lelwot*
Jar (water)	*isiongo*	*dapi*	*tereta-pek*
Jaw	*tsisea*	*lēm*	*tamnet*
Jealousy	*imbalekha* ...	*ukuginjeri* ...	*lomindet*
Join, to	*unga*	*tudi*	*kiuche*
Journey	*ulikendo*	*uot-th*	*kivendi*
Joy	*ukuchama* ...	*mōr*	*kagabio*
Judge	*mwirwadzi* ...	... ...	...
Judgment	*owwirwatzi* ...	*uthiali*	*kiriworget*
Jump, to	*-iira*	*dum*	*torombon*
Key	*shi-kala*	*radedi*	*etiach*
Kick, to	*-sena*; *luwas*(foot)[1]	*gwe*	*itiar*
Kidney	*ifukho*	*ubo*	*soromat*
Kill, to	*-ira*	*nege*	*par*
Kill (for food), to ...	*-kulakha*... ...	*gnol*	*til*
Kindle, to	*-wasa*	*kutho*	*lal*
Kiss, to	... ...	... ...	*chuchun*
Kitchen	*amaika*	*kendo*	*kaiboma*
Kite	*likungu*	*utenga*	*chebongwet*
Knee	*lisikamo*	*chong*	*kutundo*
Kneel, to	*-masikama* ...	*gochong*	*kutwin*
Knife	*imbalo*	*pala*	*votwet*

[1] *Sena* is the verb, but it is usually used in conjunction with *luwas*, which is a word meaning foot.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Vandi FL13

B
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N
192

English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Knot	*lifundokho*	*dual*	*rät*
Know, to	*-manya*	*ngneo*	*onget*
Ladder	*shirandalo*	*akagi*	*olonyi*
Lake	*lienga*	*yao*	*nianjet*
Lamb	*shimeme*	*yeim*	*arawet mengich*
Language	*lusungu*	*koei*	
Late, to be		*wiowil*	*koiekyo*
Laugh, to	*-sekha*	*nyero*	*kavori*
Lay eggs, to	*-rera*	*toko*	*koyi*
Lazy	*umurengu, -umutufu.*	*nyap*	*choriren*
Lead	*indolio*	*nyarigara*	*koita*
Leader	*umwiratzi*	*tuonuge*	*korom*
Leaf	*lieafu*	*yat-th*	*sokondet*
Leak, to	*-ronya*	*chuer*	*bunibek*
Lean, to be	*-ngha*	*uōl*	*kasaget*
Leather	*ikisero*	*pien*	*mwito*
Leave, to (go out)	*-rula*	*uok*	*mande*
Left hand	*umukata, umukhono mukassi.*	*koracham*	*katam*
Leg	*shirengi*	*ugwandi*	*kielto*
Leopard	*ingwi*	*kwoch*	*yablanket*
Lessen, to	*-kakbana*	*war*	*ingiru*
Letter			
Liar	*umuwei*	*muriambo*	*kĕnu*
Licentious	*ewanga wakassi, -umulamba*		*kibroteo*
Lick, to	*-khomba*	*nang*	*mel*
Lid	*olicho*	*latūm*	*ker*
Lift, to	*-chinga*	*ling*	*sut*
Lightning	*ikhepa*	*umil*	*ilat*
Lights (of animal)	*amadsukku*	*kirini*	*puondet*
Limit	*olualkho*	*kieo*	*rorobat*
Linger, to	*-chinda*	*udeko*	*ketibiken*
Lion	*linani*	*subur*	*nyetundo*
Lizard	*likhokome* (large); *liviakala* (small).	*ogwe*	*cherengisiet*
Lip	*umunsca*	*dendi*	*kotit*
Load	*umuzigo*	*wich*	*loilet*
Locust	*iriga*, pl. *tziriga*	*dedi*	*cheringindet*
Log	*lichenga*	*kiziki*	*subenet*
Loins	*mukhongo*	*nungo*	*suwet*
Long	*murambi*	*bor*	*koi*
Loose, to	*-wolula*	*goin*	*itiach*
Loss	*tzimbi*	*pinya chama*	*kabet*
Louse	*inda*	*niugo*	*sirek*
Love, to	*-chama*	*ahero*	*achomin*
Luck	*lukuyanziti*	*chieng*	*koeich*
Lungs	*amadsukku*	*kirini*	*puondet*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B L N 192

English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *Tho-Lyo.*	*Nandi.*
Mad	*amalalu*	*neko*	*kibteleliet*
Maggot	*inyendi*	*kudini*	*niendin*
Magic	*amaloko*	*juok*	*ponin*
Make, to	*-kola*	*tim*	*aite*
Man	*umundu*	*thano*	*chito* or *chi*
Manner	*shirewe*	*gipi*	*kerike*
Many	*amangi* and *awangi*	*ngnen*	*chang*
Mark	*liwala*	*kīte*	*peroot*
Market	*shiiro*	*siro*	*siro*
Marriage	*owcha*	*mihaha*	*kemoot*
Married, to be	*kwewa*	*onyome*	*ketunis*
Marrow	*owutunduri*	*onthuntho*	*mwaitabkawet*
Marry, to	*-kua*	*niumbo*	*ketunis*
Mat (sleeping)	*lisero* (a hide, sleep on hides).	*thīn*	use *mwito* (a hide)
Matter (pus)	*amafira*	*tutu*	*perutek*
Measure, to	*-chera*	*pōr*	*ker*
Me	*esiye*	*an*	*ane*
Meat	*inyama*	*ringho*	*pendo*
Medicine	*umsala*	*yat-th*	*ketik*
Medicine man	*mfumo*	*yatiet-th*	
Middle	*akari*	*diere*	*kwen*
Midwife	*umwiwusia*	*yacholo*	*toretindet*
Monkey	*lishen*	*ongner*	*tisiet* (*kima*) *kereret* (*tumbili*)
Milk	*maweri*	*chak*	*chigo*
Milk, to	*-shera*	*nictho*	*ke*
Millet	*amaweri*	*bēl*	*musongek*
Miscarry, to	*-ruludza*	*okethore*	*kakerup*
Mist	*linanongwe*	*lōch*	*kiburienget*
Mistake	*liwi*	*bai*	*kachilil*
Molest, to	*-nyasia*	*chandure*	*kenyelila*
Month	*umwezi*	*dui*	*arawet*
Moon	*umwezi*	*dui*	*arawet*
Morning	*msuri*	*ukinyi*	*korun*
Morrow, to-, day after	*mutsuri*, *mutsuri undi.*	*kīn*, *urui*	*mutai*, *kwain*
Mosquito	*isūno*	*suna*	
Moth	*likuyukuyu*	*aininya*	*tababurict*
Mother	*mama*	*mama*	*eyu*
Mound	*litulo*	*pūt-th*	*tulwet*
Mountain	*shikulu*	*got*	*tulwenyo*
Mouth	*umunwa*	*thok*	*kotet*
Move, to	*-sitia*	*sudi*	*nakte*
Mud	*litoi*	*chudtho*	*natatia*
Mucus (mouth)	*amare*	*olao*	*ulek*
Murder, to	*-wira*	*negi*	*kabar*
My	*ishanje* or *wanje*		
Nail, finger	*litera*	*kugono*	sing. *siet*, pl. *siok*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Basuta Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B
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N
192

English.	Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.	Nilo or Tho-Luo.	Nandi.
Naked	*wutsua*	*duk*	*mutinyegi*
Name	*elira*	*niing*	*kainet*
Nape of neck	*amakhano* ...	*tōk*	*kimutit*
Narrow	*-nyereri*	*pōl*	*tenden*
Navel	*lik-hofi*	*injokha*	*ketowet*
Neck	*likhosi*	*gnoot*	*katit*
Near	*-kambi*	*chegini*	*legit*
Needle	*olikera*	*reu*	*katet*
Neighbour	*umuchesa* ...	*engawadwa* ...	*choroniet*
Nest	*shitso*	*sugul*	*kortab taretyet* (bird)
Net	*luero*	*useru*	
New	*shi-ia*	*nien*	*lel*
News	*amasungo, amakuho.*	*wach*	*kagas*
Night	*mushiro*	*utieno*	*kemboi*
Nipple	*inuniro*	*thuno*	*kinet*
No	*taoi*	*oyo*	*achicha*
Noise	*olukku*	*koko*	*kimwe*
Nonsense	*umaiano*	*oja*	*chokworgin*
Noon	*mishiteri*	*othiambo*	*bēt*
Noose	*lifundukho* ...	*aruwetu*	*ūch*
North	... ...	*ugwe* (not a real name).	*murōt*
Nose	*amolo*	*oom*	*seroot*
Nostril	*lisula sulwi* ...	*ie*	*tungwek*
Not	*taoi*	... ...	*maine*
Not yet	*ashiri*	*podi*	*toma*
Nourish, to	*kakula*	*kwat-th*	*iage*
Now	*wulano*	*gonye*	*rani*
Number	*okwwala*	*kwan*	*ata*
Nurse, to (a child) ...	*lera*	*dot-th*	*kikisini*
Oath	*shilulu*	*uka* or *kwiri* ...	*petataien*
Observe, to	*-linga*	*gni*	*iroh*
Occupation	*emirimo* or *zinji*	*waga*	*kimiet*
Often	*atutu*	*ngnen*	*knakte*
Oil	*mafuta* (ghee); *zinuzu* (semsem).	*duolo*	*muwita*
Old	*shikhofu* or *inkhofu, umkhofu.*	*chōn*	*kuoiet*
Old age	*ukhofu*	*utegino*	*poyo*
On	*ekulu*	*polō*	*barak*
Once	*lulala*	*nyadi chiel* ...	*achogu*
Open	*i-wutsua*	*fono*	*magerat*
Open, to	*wolula*	*xm*	*itiack*
Opportunity	... ...	*aiōt*	*para*
Out	*luzuyi* or *uluku* ...	*wolo*	*sang*
Overcome, to	*-ula*	*okingo*	*katemenen*
Overturn, to	*-kalukusia* ...	*loki*	*iweck*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B
H
192

English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or The-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Owe, to	*-wanza*	*aholo*	*piisindo*
Ox	*chei*	*bōch*	*eito*
Pad, grass, for the head	*ingara*	*tach*	*ngatiet*
Paddle(n)	*ingasi*	*raiiwe*	
Pain, to	*-luma*	*ohinya*	*kasus*
Paint	*ipala*	*kite*	*ngariet*
Palm of hand	*shikalawo* ...	*sigalo*	*rubaito*
Pardon, to	*-leshiri*	*wene*	*mwaete*
Parrot			
Partridge	*shikuku*	*akuru*	*taiwet*
Pass, to	*-wira*	*kathi*	*koeirto*
Path	*injira*	*iyo*	*oret*
Patient, to be	*-ikhala*	*par*	*mwite*
Pay, to...	*-runga*	*chul*	*itiokwa*
Peace	*miaiano*	*guok*	*tilyet*
Peel	*likhowa*	*opoko*	*giririot*
Pepper (chillies) ...	*amalali*	*rori*	
Perhaps	*ifwano*	*meta*	*iyo*
Perspiration	*oluya*	*luya*	*kawotek*
Pig	*imbidzi*	*mbithi*	*toret*
Pigeon	*liusi*	*akuru*	*tibtuget*
Pillar	*isiro*	*niro*	*lumewek*
Pillow	*ishodza*	*tach*	*meto*
Pimple...	*tsinondawalai* ...	*kwonyo*	*kwaichek*
Pinch, to	*-linya*	*be*	*mogot*
Pipe, tobacco	*olukata,* (stem); *kwēs,* (bowl).	*kwesi*	*teretabtumotet* tobacco
Pit	*owino*	*bār*	*kiringet*
Place	*ahandu*	*kamoro*	*ieto*
Place, to	*-whika*	*kan*	*kugonor*
Plait, to	*-wassa*	*dual*	*yaite*
Plant, to	*-rāka*	*pedthi*	*kol*
Plantain	*liremwa*	*rabolo*	*mokomek*
Plaster, to	*-oma*	*mōn*	*mal*
Plate	*shitera*	*ohodtha*	*kezeret* (of skin)
Play, to	*-shina*	*tugo*	*kurareni*
Plenty	*vialala*	*gnēn*	*niatat*
Pluck feather, to ...	*-manya*	*lōin*	*pūt*
Plug up, to	*-kwikala*... ...	*dīn*	*kēr*
Plunder, to	*-nula*	*yaki*	*karebi*
Point	*umunwa* ...	*thogi*	*gnatēp*
Poison	*ufira*	*ufira*	
Pole for punting ...	*umwanuko* ...	*moho*	
Pool	*likenga*	*dago*	*otebwot*
Poor	*umanani*... ...	*thier*	*pananet*
Porcupine	*isekesa*	*chiu*	*sabitiat*
Porridge	*owusuma*... ...	*kuōn*	*kimiet*
Porter	*umuchingi* ...	*yāting*	*etwagek*
Possessions	*miando*	*gikimoko*... ...	*mogoriot*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *The-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Potato (sweet)	*liboni*	*rabon*	*robonek*
Pound, to	*-swaka*	*swagi*	*tui*
Pour out, to	*-tsuka*	*ol...*	*rong*
Poverty	*umanani*	*tier*	*pananet*
Powder, gun	*uwufwa*	...	
Praise	*amalai*	...	
Praise, to	*-chama*	*aiye*	*mie*
Pray, to	*-sawa*	*kwayo*	*kuna*
Precede, to	*-imira*	*telo*	*endoi*
Pregnant, to be	*eswiri*	*yach*	*prōt*
Present	*shabūtswa*	*medi*	*yokte*
Press, to	*-suta*	*sudi*	*nagte*
Press out, to	*tinya*	*be*	*chil*
Prison	*korombindo*	*duol*	
Privy	*mundango*	*woko*	*kiringet tabiek*
Prohibit, to	*-kania*	*sinde*	*yētē*
Pull, to	*-kwesa*	*iwa*	*ichut*
Pull out, to	*-kula*	*piagi*	*gnussu*
Pure	*-lai*	*ler*	*karara*
Pursue, to	*-mulonda*	*ithi*	*irup*
Push, to	*-sindēkha*	*thīr*	*torte*
Put, to	*-ramu*	*ket-thi*	*intē*
Put down, to	*-rula*	*ie...*	*itui*
Python	*iwaka*	*nielino*	*inḍaret*
Quake, to	*renga*	*kirini*	*kabotoni*
Quarrel	*imiero*	*thao*	*kibortus*
Quarrel, to	*-solana*	*uthao*	*kinerekini*
Quench, to	*-simia*	*neye*	*bagach*
Quick	*muno*	*pio*	*soriki*
Rain	*iwula*	*kōt-th*	*robta*
Rain, to	*-kwa*	*kot-th chue*	*korowon*
Rainbow	*olicheka*	*ofudu*	*kwawultet*
Rain maker	*muchimba*	*yakot-th*	
Raise, to	*-chinga*	*ting*	*sūt*
Ransom, to	*-nunulula*	*war*	*itiogo*
Rat	*imbewa*	*iyeyo*	*muriat*
Raw	*imbisi*	*numu*	*tuon*
Razor	*ulumuo*	*murich*	*rotwetamet*
Reach, to	*-ula*	*tundu*	*kaiet*
Ready, to be	*-irengeku*	*orumo*	*kerogo*
Reap, to	*-chesa*	*keyo*	*kes*
Reason (cause)	*ukufunana*	*nangno*	*imne*
Receive, to	*-pochera*	*konyi*	*nam*
Recollect, to	*-itselira*	*par*	*oiti*
Red	*inzhekanyo*	*kwar*	*biriri*
Reed	*likuta*	*udundu*	*kirondet*
Refuse, to	*-lowa*	*sinde*	*koyesia*
Regret, to	*-wira*	*asin*	*kabanan*
Regular	*viakhana*	*oei*	*oiechin*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B L N 192

English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Relations	*awefu*	*joa*	*tilionutik*
Reply	*kalusia*	*duoki*	*walte*
Reply, to	use *kalusia*, to return.	*ie*...	*walu*
Rest, to	*lūkha*	*iwe*	*kemun*
Return, to (pass.) ...	*kalūkha*	*duogi*	*waige*
Return, to (act.) ...	*-kalusia*	*duoki*	*iuceh*
Rhinoceros	*kiweo*	*umuga*	*kibsiriket*
Rice	... ...	... ...	
Riches	*miando*	*mwando*	*mogoriot*
Right (hand), adj. ...	*mukhonomsaza* ...	*korochwich* ...	*eoot tabtai* or *tai*
Righteousness... ...	*ishina*	*chienye*	
Ring	*ingila*	*tere*	*chebkildet*
Ripen, to	*-iri*	*ochiek*	*karur*
Rise, used of the sun ...	*muwukwi* ...	*owōk*	*kavaiech*
River	*umwalo*	*kulo*	*ainet*
Road	*injira*	*iyo*	*oret*
Roast, to	*isiira*	*thol*	*kisus*
Rob, to	*-iwa*	*kuo*	*kachor*
Rock	*lichina*	*kidi*	*koita*
Roof	*shirama*	*tado*	*kesiogūt*
Room	*kisika*	*lach*	*njor*
Rope	*umukoye*... ...	*tōl*	*anwet*
Rot, to...	*-kuwa*	*ukwōk*	*kasamiset*
Round	... ...	*apūm*	*meimi*
Row	... ...	*dire*	*oret*
Row (noise)	*ulukhu*	*koko*	*bolot*
Rub, to	*-ulukunya* ...	*pa*	*tinding*
Rule, to	*-ingisua*	*okao*	*kakiu*
Run, to	*-irukha*	*ngweeh*	*labat*
Rust	*tzinderiwende* ...	*wenyalo*	*simdo*
Sacrifice	*umisangu* ...	*musango*	*kirwoorchige*
Safe	*ifi-lai*	*nono*	*chomege*
Saliva	*amarē*	*ulao*	*ulek*
Salt	*umunyu*	*kado*	*munyek*
Salutation	*murembe* and *yoga*	*ukwe* (used by men); *amosi* (by women).	
Salute, to	*-shesia*	*ohombo*	*torokte*
Sand	*umieshi*	*lo*...	*ungwunyek*
Sandals	*shilaru*, pl. *vilaru*	*owoche*	sing., *kweōt*; pl. *kweonek*
Satan	*awafwa*	*masira*	*musambwan*
Satisfied, to be ...	*-ikura*	*iyengo*	*kobie*
Savage (n.)	... ...	*gēr*	*punyondet*
Say, to	*-sunga*	*wach*	*ongololi*
Scissors	... ...	... ...	
Scorpion	*ishikoshakosha* ...	*rahi*	*melimeli*
Scratch, to (softly) ...	*-seka*	*gwonyerok* ...	*ingwarige*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Nandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Scum	*lifiro*	*iyenyo*	*pukandet*
Sea	*inyanza*	*nām*	*nianjet* (Nyanza)
Search, to	*-enya*	*duar*	*onai*
Season	*ulano*	*kare*	*kwen*
See, to	*-linga*	*inē*	*aro*
Seed	*imwo*	*kothi*	*kesuwek*
Seek, to	*-enya*	*duar*	*onai*
Seize, to	*-otira*	*maki*	*nām*
Select, to	*-lowola*	*ier*	*kwe*
Send, to (man on business).	*-ruma*	*ūr*	*koiokte*
Send, to (a thing) ...	*-ira*	*ter*	*ipchi*
Servant	*umurumwa* ...	*yaote*	*poyisi*
Serve, to	*-rumīkha* ...	*tich*	*poyisiet*
Set, to (of sun) ...	*-ukwa*	*uyuso*	*koimen*
Set, to	*wikha*	... ...	*konor*
Sew, to	*-naba*	*tuang*	*nāp*
Shadow	*shinekha*	*tipulo*	*uruet*
Shame	*tisoni*	*ukilur* or *kodi* ...	*konyit*
Sharp	*ishimĕno*	*bit-th*	*natep*
Sharpen, to	*-iakala*	*piak*	*ilioch*
Shave, to	*weka*	*liedo*	*nemu*
Sheath	*olula*	*odipala*	*choget*
Shed	*lirumbi*	*kiru*	*kiriet*
Sheep	*likondi*	*rombo*	*kegiriet*
Shell	*likongolo*	*omonyu*	*kimuruwaget*
Shiver, to	*-renga*	*kirini*	*kaboton*
Shoot, to (an arrow) ...	*-lasso*	*chiel*	*mwak*
Short	*shi-m bikiti, umwibikiti.*	*chiek*	*nuach*
Shoulder	*ewekha*	*gōk*	*tikikiet*
Show, to	*-manyisia* ...	*niise*	*poriki*
Shut, to	*woha*	*tue*	*ker*
Sick, to be	*luwala*	*otuo*	*omioni*
Sick man	*muluali*	*yatuo*	*mioni*
Sickness	*ubuluali*	*yamo*	*boroto*
Side	*ewileka*	*kōn*	*komosi*
Side (of body)	*nalu wafu* ...	*nyedi*	*koroswek*
Sign	*liwala*	*hosi*	*kakibel*
Silent, to be	*-lera*	*leng*	*sīs*
Simpleton	*umaiano* ...	*janono*	*beriberi*
Sin	*eshisihenu* ...	*uon*	*mongo*
Since	... ...	*niaka*	*yuginya*
Sing, to	*imbha*	*wer*	*kitieni*
Sister	(my sister) *mwana wafu* or *mbotso.*	*nyamera*	*kitubche*
Sister-in-law	*mulamu*	*iura*	*pamuru*
Sit, to	*ikala*	*bedipeng*	*tebingwin*
Skin	*lisero*	*pien*	*ngoriet*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Wandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga* of *Awa-Rimi* group.	*Nife* or *The-Luo.*	*Wandi.*
Skin, to	*-waka*	*piang*	*ieng*
Sky	*likulu*	*polo*	*poiliat*
Slave	*musumba* ...	*musumba* ...	*watwaget*
Sleep	*tsindolo*	*aiyūl*	*ruondo*
Sleep, to	*khono*	*nindo*	*kōru*
Sleeping-place... ...	*awuliri*	*tielo*	*itogut*
Sling	*tsingarangarani* ...	*urujiri*	
Slip, to...	*-erera*	*iwer*	*chabai*
Slowly	*kahala*	*mōs*	*umudio*
Small	*-tutu*	*tin*	*minin*
Small-pox	*inundu*	*nundu*	*konjur*
Smart, to	*-iyaka*	*liet-th*	*kzutut*
Smell, to	*-unya*	*nwoi*	*samēs*
Smile	*litzekho*	*nyero*	*loriondet*
Smoke	*umosi*	*iro*	*ieto*
Smoke (tobacco), to ...	*-nywa*	*mathi ndaba* ...	*kūl tumotet*
Smooth	*shi-torērs* ...	*pōt-th*	*chabai*
Snail	*likumunyu* ...	*aieng*	*murwaget*
Snake	*inzokha*	*tuol*	*erenet*
Snare, to	*-reka*	*chiki*	*tech*
Soap			
Soft	*torere*	*yum*	*chevai*
Soil	*lirowa* or *lilowa*...	*lo...*	*umunyek*
Soldier...	*msoliri*	*yawo*	*murenet*
Sole (of foot)	*liralo*	*pau*	*kel teves*
Son	*msiani*	*woda*	*lakwet* (general); *werinyu* (own son).
Son-in-law	*nakufiala* ...	*siwoda*	*sandet*
Song	*olimbo*	*wer*	*kotieni*
Sorcerer	*muloai*	*yajuok*	*ponindet*
Sore	*likonso*	*athole*	*moet*
Sorry, to be	*-alubiri*	*okechu*	*kancreek*
Soul	*umoyo*	*duondi*	*mugutildo*
Sound	*ulukku*	*koko*	*pulotet*
Sour	*lulu*	*gēr*	*ngoanin*
South	*ukwi*	*wo*	*lobore?* or *murot*
Sow, to	*-laka*	*komo*	*kiletoi*
Speak, to	*-sunga*	*waeh*	*gnalal*
Spear	*lifumo*	*tong*	*gnotet*
Spider	*ulululubi*	*mbui*	*kiberoktet*
Spill, to	*-tsukha*	*ōl*	*tarate*
Spirit	*shehembekho* ...	*musango*	
Spit, to	*-fudza*	*gnōl*	*gnutete*
Spittle	*amare*	*olao*	*ulek*
Split, to	*-alasia*	*bar*	*pet*
Spoil, to	*ononi*	*ket-thi*	*kenyem*
Spoon	*umwiko* or *lunoko*	*ulutku*	*nuganget*
Spotted	*makondo*... ...	*radier*	*sinorimor*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo 124
Uasdi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Spring	*iroso*	*ubeto*	*iwoget*
Squeeze, to	*-tinya*	*be*	*chel*
Staff	*indaoushi* ...	*mudunga* ...	*kirukto*
Stand, to	*-ema*	*chung*	*tonun*
Star	(morning star) *isului; liningin-ingini.*	*sulwi*	*kecheik*
Start, to (on caravan)...	*-samūla*	*uot-th*	*kawe*
Starve, to	*-fire nzala* ...	*kech*	*ame rubet*
Steal, to	*-iwa*	*kuo*	*kachor*
Stem (of tree)	*ekisina*	*kombe*	*kel*
Step-father	*baba*	*owadu guhuru* ...	*baba*
Stick	*indaoushi* ...	*lot-th*	*kirukto*
Stone	*lichina*	*kidi*	*koita*
Stool	*kisula*	*kōm*	*necheret*
Stoop, to	*-inama*	*lungiri*	*nuruke*
Stop, to (act)	*-ekalira*	*geng*	*rongwo*
Story	*tzingano*	*maneni*	*tangoch*
Straighten, to	*-lolosia*	*rie*	*iite*
Stranger	*mucheni*	*uendo*	*toondet*
Strength	*amani*	*teko*	*ui*
Strike, to	*kuya*	*chuo*	*pir*
String, to	*runga*	*urō*	*iwai*
Strive with, to... ...	*-ingana*	*pimerok*	*katemenen*
Suck, to	*-nuna*	*nodtho*	*kūl*
Suffice, to	*-wera*	*nyalo*	*keroginin*
Sugar cane	*mingonye* ...	*niang*	
Sun	*muvaso*	*chieng*	*asisto*
Sunset	*likwiri*	*euso*	*kaimen*
Surprise, to	*wukha*	*aparo*	*koileti*
Surround, to	*-wotokhana* ...	*lori*	*oloku*
Sweep, to	*-eya*	*iwe*	*iwūch*
Sweet	*vi-lai*	*mit*	*anyin*
Sweetheart	*umutia wanji* ...	*akero*	*langatenyo*
Sweet potato	*liboni*	*rabon*	*mabonik*
Swell, to	*-fimba*	*kuōt*	*kiabwa*
Swim, to	*-iruna*	*abal*	*kerember*
Swine	*tzimbidzi* ...	*rabala*	*torok*
Sword (sime)	*ulukanga* ...	*legangala* ...	*rotwet*
Sword (sheath of) ...	*ulula*	*odē*	*choket*
Syrup (honey)... ...	*awushi*	*kich*	*komiat*
Tail	*umishinga* ...	*ip*	*saruriet*
Take, to	*-bukula*	*kao*	*irep*
Talk, to	*-sunga*	*wach*	*kamwai*
Tamarind	*umkuha*	*uchwoga*	*wariek*
Tame, to	*-rukha*	*pet-th*	*ioge*
Taste, to	*-tema*	*bil*	*chamcham*
Teach, to	*manyisia* ...	*puonji*	*inat*
Tear	*-lisika*	*piwang*	*pekabko*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13
B L N 192

English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or The-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Teat	*luweri*	*thuno*	*kutitabkinet*
Tell, to...	*-sungira*	*kone*	*mocke*
Thanks...	*wyanziri* ...	*aiye*	*achome*
That	*ahiria* or *ulia* ...	*incha*	*irogin*
Thatch, to	*-fimba*	*um*	*siep*
Their	*viao* or *wao* ...	*gin*	*kinyi*
Thick, to be	*kuli* or *mukhongo*	*nangno*	*yigis*
They	*awa-no* (they have).	*ma-gi*	*inyo*
Thief	*umwiwi*	*yakuo*	*chorindet*
Thin	*-nyerere*	*pōl*	*tenden*
Thing	*-shindu*	*gimoro*	*ke*
Thirst	*owōlo*	*lēk*	*melen*
This	*ishi* or *uyu* ...	*-ka*	*ronyi*
Thorn	*liwa*	*kudtho*	*katet*
Those	*virua* or *walia* ...	*gi-ka*	*lo*
Thread...	*olusa*	*tōl*	*inet*
Thou	*ewe*	*īn*	*inwe*
Thresh, to	*-ula*	*dīn*	*utwi*
Throat	*ulimera*	*lūkūro*	*sindo*
Thumb...	*oluala lukali* ...	*fuoni*	*morenenio*
Thunder, to	*likulu* (no verb)...	*polo* (no verb) ...	*ilat* (no verb)
Tie, to	*-uho*	*tue*	*irat*
Till	*izo-kalushia* (no proper word.)	*katta*	*kawe*
Time	... ...	*kare*	*kaietita*
Tipsy, to be	*-mera*	*mer*	*kabogit*
Toad	*-ukushcri* ...	*ogwal*	*kiptwang*
Tobacco	*indawa*	*ndawa*	*tumotet*
Toe	*oluala*	*kugno*	*mori kaikelto*
Toe (big)	*oluala likali* ...	*matthon*	*mornenyu*
Toll	*ukho fia*	*giripenyi*... ...	*kigonigi*
Tongue	*olulimi*	*lep*	*nelebta*
Tooth	*rino*, pl. *ameno* ...	*lak*	*keldet*
Tortoise	*likut-ho*	*ōpūk*	*chekogochet*
Town	*litala*	*dala*	*karita*
Trade, to	*-kūla*	*nyco*	*keiolisi*
Trap	*uwuwero* ...	*chīk*	*mestet*
Trap, to	*-reka*	*mak*	*tech*
Tread, to	*-seno*	*nyon*	*tiech*
Tree	*umsala*	*olua*	*ketit*
Tremble, to	*-renga*	*kirīni*	*abotoni*
Tribe	*ulia* or *ikoro* (clan) or *inono*.	*kosi*	*pororiet*
Trust, to	*use -manya* ...	*wāāt*	*kwichamun*
Turn, to (neut.) ...	*kulukana* ...	*loki*	*weiks*
Turn over, to	*kulukasia* ...	*wichi*	*iwech*
Tweezers	*amaweki*	*ndenu*	
Twins	*ama-kwhano* ...	*kuiyo*	*saremek*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Udder	*shiweri*	*thuno*	*kinet*
Ulcer	*likonzo*	*athola*	*moiet*
Uncle	*baba* or *tata* ...	*wadi gu baba* (father's brother); *nera* (mother's brother). ...	*mamanyu*
Under	*hasi*	*peng*	*ungnwin*
Undo, to	*-ovolula*	*going*	*itiack*
Undress, to	*volula*	*loing*	*nimu*
Up above	*mukulu* (up a hill); *mwi-kulu* (on top of house).	*malu*	*barak*
Uproar...	*ukuhuma* ...	*koko*	*kimwe*
Urinate, to	*-inyala*	*laiyo*	*sukus*
Urine	*amanyi*	*lach*	*sukusek*
Use, to...	*-lia*	*tich*	*kioltoi*
Useless	*nefiwi*	*hukaimano* ...	*momie*
Vagina...	*shinyi*	*thēr*	*mugulet*
Valley	*iwanda*	*oura*	*kereroot*
Very	*muno*	*ruok*	*mising*
Vex, to...	*-nyasi*	*chandere*	*kanerech*
Village...	*lukala*	*dala*	*korit*
Violence	*umuwi*	*kwen*	*cholworgin*
Voice	*umoyo*	*duol*	*tulunkta*
Vomit, to	*-tula*	*gnōk*	*kangnōn*
Vulture	*ingosia*	*achut-th*	*motonda* (very large kind); *chebsongwet* (ordinary)
Wages	*ukupokea* ...	*girichinge* ...	*kotiek*
Wait, to	*-linda*	*riti*	*kanya*
Walk, to	*-chenda*	*baio*	*kowendoti*
Wall	*ulikowa*	*pala*	*keringet*
Want, to	*-enya* or *-sawa* ...	*oduaro*	*kamoche*
War	*lie*	*luenyi*	*luget*
Wart	*isundo*	*sundu*	*kamionet*
Wash, to	*-osia*	*loki*	*iun*
Wash clothes, to ...	*-osia*	*loki*	
Wash one's self, to ...	*-isawa*	*loki*	*iunge*
Water	*-amadzi*	*pi*	*pēk*
Way	*injira*	*iyo*	*oret*
Wax	*iwula*	*kūla*	*teminyet*
We	*efue*	*wan*	*achek*
Weapon	*ifimanalua* ...	*tong*	*karek*
Wear, to	*-iwala*	*iruak*	*kalach*
Weep, to	*-lira*	*iwak*	*kariri*
Weigh, to	*-chera*	*poruare*	*kīr*
Well (n.)	*iseweri*	*bur*	*oinet*
West	*muzibo*	*othiambo*... ...	*kaimen*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Wet	*-nifu*	*yum yum*	*nyanyawa*
What	*shina*	*angno*	*mochine*
When	*liina*	*karangno*	*aou*
Where	*hena*	*ere*	*anu*
Whetstone	*liakalo*	*pagi*	*liteito*
White	*-lafu, -pala*	*rachar*	*lel*
Which	*ulihena* or *shirihena.*	*mane*	*ronyo*
Whore	*umutamba*	*jabayo*	*chiwaigeya*
Why	*shina*	*nangno*	*umne*
Wide	*-wambalifu*	*uyarere*	*teves*
Widow	*umukumba*	*uthier*	*musoget*
Wife	*umukassi*	*chi*	*kikitun*
Wilderness	*shiwala shumu*	*pāp*	*soi*
Wind	*umieka*	*yamu*	*koristo*
Window	*umuluo*	*utuich*	*korikonda?*
Witchcraft	*ufira*	*ijuok*	*ponindet*
Witness	*ulutsi*	*yakōn*	*kimii*
Woman	*umukhano* (young woman) or *umukassi.*	*thako*	*koriket*
Wood	*msala*	*motuo*	*chebtamiat*
Work	*emirimo*	*tich*	*kapoyisi*
World	*shivala*	*penyi*	*emet*
Wound	*lifumera*	*bala*	*moiet*
Wrist	*amakhono* (no special name).	*fuoni*	*mongwet*
Write, to	...	*keo*	*kisiri*
Yam	*ifukwa*	...	*yakanyat, yakanek*
Yard (enclosure)	*uluanyi*	*dipo*	*sang*
Year	*umiika*	*hega*	*kenyit*
Yellow	*rabori*	*munuria*	
Yes	*nifio*	*ero*	*we*
Yesterday	*ekulo*	*inyoro*	*yatkonye*
" day before	*ekulululia*	*urue*	*oiin*
You	*enyue*	*in*	*agwek* or *ogwek*
Your	*shishio* or *o*	*mari*	*neng(n)u*
Young	*-toro*	*numu*	*gnarinari*
Zebra	*sishiamakondo*	*magwar*	*sigiriet ni serat*
I gave him	*namwerisia*	*namie*	*kiogorje*
I go	*ninzia*	*adthio*	*awendi*
I went	*nadzia*	*nadthio*	*kikworgen*
I know	*ndamanya*	*angneo*	*anget or onget*
I do not know	*sindamanya*	*akia*	*monget*
I say	*ndasungiri*	*awacho*	*angalal*
We say	*ifukusungiri*	*wawacho*	*kongololi*
They say	*wasungiri*	*giwacho*	*kangalal*
What do you say?	*usungirorie*	*iwachangno*	*kengalal kingo*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
When are you going?...	*utziahena* ...	*ithikanyi* ...	*iwenjeno*
Give me food? ...	*imberisi shiriwa*...	*miachemu* ...	*unogiam*
When are you coming?	*nawitze*	*ibirakarangno* ...	*inyunao*
When will you come?	*nawitzeri* ...	*nibi ŭarangno* ...	*inyunao*
I want to build a house	*nienya kumbakha-inzu.*	*aduaro gero ot-th*	*amoch ategot*
Give me that stick? ...	*be indaoushi ire*	*mialodthino* ... stick	*kuno kirukto*
Which goat will you give me?	*imbusi irihena enaombe.*	*dicl mani mani* goat which *mia.* give me	*kulekunoiko nartet* will you give goat *ingiro* which
Who comes in? ...	*wina wakaingira*	*gna modonjo* ...	*kulengong(n)onyo miso*
Cook the food? ...	*teeka shiriwo* ...	*tedi chemu* ...	*ikwain kimiet*
Go to fetch water ...	*tzitea madzi* ...	*thi itwompi* ... go fetch water	*kuleek ui pek* to fetch go water
I am going to hoe the garden.	*ninzia, kulima, umugunda.*	*athi puru putho* ...	*awendi kiboti mbaret*
How many strings (of beads) is that fowl?	*ingokho eviuna, finga.*	*tigadi agweno -no*	*kioli sonieknta ngokiet*
How many children has your father?	*isoalinenda wana wanga*	*wuruno ginya* your father has he *tendo adi.* children how many	*kichoelatalakok chelechang*
Do you see those people?	*ulutsi wantu walia*	*incna jokn* ...	*kule keropieho*
When are they going?	*wali watsiahena* ...	*githio kanyi* ...	*kule kakova*
That cow is mine ...	*ingonbe inianje* ...	*thenicha mara* ...	*tenyu nianyunet*
Is this gun yours? ...	*mirondo uno kukwo.*	*bundi ni mari* ...	*kuli nianyunet*
We make hoes from iron.	*kweranya tzim-bakho eviwia.*	*wathidtho kuwegi ninyo.*	*kulechaitor magom benyu*
Why art thou sleeping?	*ukhono?*	*cninda nangno* ...	*kalasiru*
This man	*mundu uyu* ...	*gnatini*	*chele chiji*
That man	*mundu ulia* ...	*gnaticha*	*chele chichio*
This tree	*mala uko* ...	*yathini*	*ketit iyo*
That tree	*mala kulia* ...	*yathicha*	*ketin*
This thing	*eshindishi* ...	*gine*	*ronyi kio*
That thing	*eshindushiria* ...	*ginicha*	*ronyin kin*
My house	*inzu yangi* ...	*oda*	*kõnyu*
Thy house	*inzio*	*odi*	*kõnyunyo*
His house	*inzu iyo*	*ode*	*kibchi*
Our town	*litala liefu* ...	*dalawa*	*kurikio*
Your country	*lilowa lienyo* ...	*pinyo*	*orengwo*
Their children... ...	*awana wenyo* or *wawo.*	*nyitindigi* ...	*lakokwa*
Their cattle	*tzingombe tziao* ...	*thoyi*	*rochundowa*
Their things	*evintu viao* ...	*gigi*	*kingwa*

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
The birds flew away ...	*amanuni kapalushie.*	*winyo odum* ...	*kotarerin*
Can you see me? or Are you able to see me?	*ukundala kua* ...	*dinya neno* ...	*ichele maiero*
I am unable to see you	*sinyala kulalakuha.*	*okanyal neni* ...	*maiero*
Go (imperative) ...	*tsia*	*thia*	*aoi*
Come " ...	*itsa*	*ti*	*inyo*
Two trees	*misala kiviri* ...	*yen ario*	*ketik aieng*
Two cows	*tsingombe tsiwiri*	*tho kario*... ...	*tuk aieng*
The men want poles to build with.	*awandu wenya misala chokumbeshira.*	*giduaro ien magigedo.*	*mschio keb ketik*
Many people were with the chief.	*awandu awangi walino mwami.*	*yamangnen kanyachel guruot-th.*	*chelipichomitelai toriat*
Who is there?... ...	*wina ulio* ...	*gnamantie* ...	*o(n)g(n)onyo*
He is at the shamba ...	*alina na mugunda*	*mano nikapotho* ...	*cheleko embar*
One	*endala* and *shilala.*	*achiel*	*agengi*
Two	*wa-wiri vi-wiri* ... / *ki-viri tsi-wiri* ...	*ario*	*aieng*
Three	*wa-taru tsi-taru* / *ki-taru vi-taru* ...	*adek*	*somok*
Four	*-nne*	*angwen*	*angwan*
Five	*-ranu*	*abich*	*moot*
Six	*sasaba*	*auchiel*	*moot akakengi* or *lo*
Seven	*-ranu na-wili* ...	*abichigario* or *abirio.*	*moot akaien* or *tisap*
Eight	*munane* (does not change), or *-ranu na-taru.*	*abichi gadek* or *aboru.*	*moot akangwan* or *sesit*
Nine	*-ranu na-nne*, or *shienda* (does not change).	*abichi gangwen* ...	*sokol*
Ten	*ekumi*	*apar*	*taman*
Eleven	*ekumi na ndala shi-lala* ...	*apare gachiel* ...	*taman akagengi*
Twelve...	*ekumi na wa-wiri* " *vi-wiri*	" *gario* ...	" *akaien*
Thirteen	" *wa-taru* " *vi-taru*	" *gadek* ...	
Twenty	*makum kawiri* ...	*pirario*	*tiptem*
Thirty	*kataru* ...	*piro adek* ...	*sosom*
Hundred	*esha kumira* ...	*aga* or *gana* ... 200 *agario* or *ganario.*	40-*arotum* 50-*konom* 60-*taman akolo* 70 " *tisap* 100-*pakol*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Nandi FL13

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Conjugation of the Verbs "Come" and "Want" in *Lu-Wanga, Tho-Luo, and Nandi.*

Mood and Tense.	English.	*Lu-Wanga.*	*Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Imperative ...	Come ...	*idza*	*bi*	*nyao*
Indicative present	I come ...	*nsidza*... ...	*abiro*	*ainiuni* or *nioni*
	Thou comest	(*ewe*) *widza* ...	*inibiro* or *ibiro*	*kenyo*
	He comes ...	*isdza*	*obiro*	*neninyoni*
	We come ...	*twidza*... ...	*wanowabiro* or *wabiro.*	*kibwoni*
	Ye come ...	*inyu mwidza* ...	*unubiro,* ...	*kobwa*
	They come...	(*inbabu*) *wedza*	*gi-biro*... ...	*kobwa*
Indicative future	I shall come	*nansidze* ...	*anguanabi* ...	*kenyoni*
	Thou wilt come.	*winawidze*		
	He will come	*nayedze*		
	We will come	*watwidze*		
	Ye will come	*inyu namwidze*		
	They will come.	*awanamwidze*		
Indicative past	I came ...	*ndalimwidziri*	*nabiro*... ...	*kianyo*
Negative present	I come not...	*sinansidza* ...	*ungekabi* ...	*menyoni* or *monyuni.*
Infinitive ...	To come ...	*okwidza* or *kuwidza.*	*obiro*	
Imperative ...	Want ...	*enya*		
Indicative present	I want ...	*nienya*... ...	*aduaro* ...	*amoche* (*anyo*)
	Thou wantest	*wenya*	*iniduaro* or *iduaro.*	*imoche*
	He wants ...	*inyenya* ...	*oduaro* or *enouaro.*	*omochsawe*
	We want ...	*twenya* or *kwenya.*	*wanawaduaro*...	*kimoche*
	Ye want ...	*inyumwenya* ...	*unuduaro* ...	*noomoche*
	They want...	*wenya* or *awawenya.*	*giduaro* ...	*omoche*
Future... ...	I shall want	*nanyenyi* ...	*anganaduari* ...	*kamachamach*
Past	I wanted ...	*nenya* or *nalienyiri.*	*naduaro* ...	*kikaamach*
Infinitive ...	To want ...	*okwenya* ...	*oduaro*	
Negative present	I do not want	*sinyienya* ...	*adagi*	*momoche*

Substantives.

It is instructive to examine the various methods of forming the plurals of the nouns in the languages dealt with in this work.

In the Bantu group the plurals are made by variations of the prefix; in the Nilotic and Nandi group by the addition of suffixes or by alteration of the final syllable.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo

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Examples are now given :—

Bantu Kavironde. or *Lu-Wanga.*

		Singular prefix.	Plural prefix.
Class	I.	*M* and *mw*	*awa*
"	II.	*Mu*	*mi*
		Um(u)	*imi*
"	III.	*N* or *in*	*n* or *in*
"	IV.	*Ch* or *tzi*	*ivi* or *vi* or *ifi*
"	V.	*Li*	*ma* or *ama*
"	VI.	*Lu* or *olu*	*zin*
"	VII.	*I*	*zi* or *tzi*

		Singular.	Plural.
Class	I.	*Mundu* ...	*awantu*
		Mwami ...	*awami*
"	II.	*Muwano* ...	*miwano*
		Mugongo ...	*migongo*
		Umurui ...	*imirui*
		Umoyo ...	*imioyo*
"	III.	*Inzuki* ...	*inzuki*
		Inzala ...	*inzala*
"	IV.	*Chirifu* ...	*virifu*
		Tzi-taru ...	*vi-taru*

		Singular.	Plural
Class	V.	*Lisika* ...	*amasika*
		Lilemwa ...	*maremwa*
"	VI.	*Luimbo* ... or *olimbo*	*ziniimbo*
		Oluala ...	*zinzala*
"	VII.	*Indaushi* ...	*zindaushi* or *tzindaushi*
		Inzu ...	*zinzu* or *tzinzu*
		Iinda ...	*ziinda* or *tziinda*

Bantu Kisii or *Kosowa.*

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		Prefixes. Singular.	Prefixes. Plural.	Examples. Singular.	Examples. Plural.
Class	I.	*Um*	*aw*	*umuntu* ...	*awantu*
"	II.	*O*	*mi*	*okuwoko* ...	*mikowoko*
		U	*i*	*(m)umogwe* ...	*(m)imogwe*
				A prefixial *m* has probably disappeared.	
"	III.	Nouns which do not change in plural—*muriro.*			
"	IV.	*Iki* or *ichi* ...	*ivi*	*ikisuri* ...	*ivisiri*
				ichiara ...	*iviara*
"	V.	*U*	*ama*	*uwusio* ...	*amasio*
		Or *li* or *ili* ...	*ma*	*liliga* ...	*amaliga*
		Or *ki* ...	*mi*	*(li)kisimba* ...	*misimba*
				Prefix *li* has dropped out.	
		Or *e*	*ama*	*(l)erino* ...	*amaino*
				Prefixial *l* has disappeared.	
"	VI.	*E* or *i* ...	*chi* or *achi* ...	*imbandi* ...	*chimbandi*
				enjoka ...	*chinjoka*
				The plural prefix *ch* is the prefix *tzi* of Lu-Wanga.	
		E	*si*	*enzwi* ...	*sinzwi*
				Plural prefix *si* is a variant of *tzi.*	

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
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The methods of constructing the plurals in the Nilotic Tho-Luo are quite distinct from the Bantu forms; they are as follows:—

Examples.

			Singular.	Plural.
Class	I.	Plural formed by addition of suffix *tet*.	*sere*	*seretet*
			le	*letet*
„	II.	Plural formed by addition of suffix *ngnen*. The middle *n* sometimes becomes *w* for euphony.	*winyo*...	*winyongnen*
			tong	*tongwen*
„	III.	Prefix *e* becomes *gi*.	*enuwadu*	*ginuwadu* or *ginuwadwa*
„	IV.	Terminal *l* becomes *k*.	*diel*	*diek*
Class	V.	Plural formed by the addition of *iji*; if there is a final vowel in the word it is usually dropped.	*chong* or *chonga* ...	*chongiji*
			lak	*lakiji*
„	VI.	Terminal vowel, usually *a* or *e*, becomes *i*.	*wer* or *weru*	*weri*
			rombo...	*rombi*
„	VII.	No change	*lueta*	*lueta*
„	VIII.	Irregular plurals, a few examples are:—		

Singular.	Plural.
Awang (an eye)... ...	*wanga*
Diang (cow)	*dok*, possibly a variation of Class IV.
Ot (house)	*udi*
kogo (year)	*keyini*

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In the Nandi language there is really only one method of forming the plural, and that is by cutting off the last syllable and adding *ik*, *ek* or *ok*; if this procedure renders the word not euphonious the penultimate syllable is freely adjusted to suit.

Examples.

	Singular.	Plural.
Ape	*moset*	*masonik*
Arm...	*coot*	*cuk*
House	*kit*	*koriek*
Axe	*aiwet*	*aonek*
Banana	*makomyet*	*makomek*
Bow	*kwangat*	*kwangok*
Cat	*dunwat*	*dunwok*
Hippopotamus ...	*mabuta*	*makunwek*
Egg	*kwita*	*kwick*
Devil	*masambonis*	*masambwan*

This last form of plural appears to be unique.

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The supposed Nyamwezi Relationship.

On page 8 I advanced the theory that the Bantu Kavirondo originally came from the southward through the Kossova highlands, and following up this line of argument I have made some comparisons of the Nyamwezi language with the Lu-Wanga and Kisii, and the resemblances are in many cases most striking.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo
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Nyamwezi FN18

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Take for example the singular and plural prefixes of substantives in Lu-Nyamwezi:—

		Singular.	Plural.
Class	I.	*Mu*	*wa*
„	II.	*Mu* or *mw*	*mi*
„	III.	*N* or *m*	*n* or *m*
„	IV.	*Ki* or *ch*	*fi*
„	V.	*I* or *li*	*mi* or *ma*
„	VI.	*Lu*	*n* or *nu* or *mu*
„	VII.	*Ka*	*tu*

If a comparison is made with the corresponding substantive prefixes in Lu-Wanga just given it will be seen that the points of resemblance are very marked. The Wa-Nyamwezi seem to have lost the old plural prefix *tzi* which survives in Kavirondo, and to have introduced one which is *ka* in the singular and *tu* in the plural, which has, I believe, a near relative in the *ka* and *bu* prefixes of Lu-Ganda. I believe that generally speaking the Nyamwezi language is more highly developed, and this is what one would expect, Nyamwezi country having been on the main native trade route which has been in vogue for upwards of 100 years, whereas Kavirondo has till recent years been quite cut off from outside influences by hostile neighbours on all sides.

Before leaving this subject two more examples will be given, a comparison of the simple conjugation of a verb and the pronouns in the two languages:—

	Lu-Nyamwezi.	*Lu-Wanga.*
I come	*ndwiza*	*nzidza*
Thou comest ...	*uliwiza*	(*ewe*) *widza*
He comes ...	*aliwiza*	*iedza*
We come ...	*tuliwiza* ...	*twidza*
You come ...	*muliwiza* ...	*inyumwidza*
They come ...	*waliwiza* ...	(*inbabu*) *wedza*
To come ...	*kwiza*	*okwidza* or *ku-widza*
Come (imper.) ...	*iza*	*idza*

The comparison of the pronouns is as follows:—

	Lu-Nyamwezi	*Lu-Wanga.*
I	*nene*	*wenyeni*
Thou	*wewe*	*ewe*
He or she ...	*uwe*	*iye*
We	*iswe*	*efue*
You	*imwe* or *ing'wi* ...	*enyue*
They	*awo*	*awa* (*wo*)

I have, I consider, adduced enough evidence to demonstrate that there are many striking resemblances between the Nyamwezi language and the Bantu language of Kavirondo, but how far the language test can be relied on (as settling the origin of a race) is a doubtful question, and such factors as racial customs, place names, names of people, implements, products cultivated, etc., must all be carefully compared before an absolutely final decision on the point under consideration can be arrived at.

[pp. 89-95 not processed]

HOBLEY. EASTERN UGANDA. Plate I.

Map of KAVIRONDO and neighbouring country, Brit. E. Africa, showing racial distribution.

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[End Map and plate I]

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End plate II
[plates III-V have been omitted]

Collotype H. KLEINMANN & Co Photo by WINSCH, Nairobi

Panoramic view of Kisumro & E. shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza

The bay in foreground is the port at the terminus of the Nyanza Bay

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Collotype H. KLEINMANN & Co Photo by WINSCH, Nairobi

Kavirondo natives of Kitotos
Nilotic group or Ja-luo
The centre figure is an unmarried girl: the figures to right and left are married women
(Note decorated goat skin, sign of marriage)

[End plate VI]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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[Title Page]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND NANDI.

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc. M. Inst. C.E., and Assistant Deputy Commissioner, E.A. Protectorate.

[With Plates XXVIII–XXX.]

114 This paper contains the results of a more minute research into the habits and beliefs of the people already dealt with in a previous publication of the Institute.[1] The term Eastern Uganda, as applied to this area, is, however, no longer correct, as since the date of that publication, the Eastern Province of Uganda has been transferred, and is now known as the Kisumu Province of the East Africa Protectorate.

When compiling my former work, I had no idea that such an amount of material still remained to be recorded, and, consequently, I was equally surprised to find that so much more existed; I venture, therefore, to hope that my researches may furnish students of the science, who have no opportunity of visiting these countries, with some information worth their consideration.

The disappointing feature in researches of this nature, to the observer in the field, is that no reason is obtainable from the people themselves for the existence of many of their strange customs, but I have no doubt that anthropologists in Europe, with their advantages of a wide range of comparative study, will see daylight where the local observer, with his limited vision, flounders in darkness when he tries to work back and find the origin of some custom, now a mere relic of its former self.

115 In the collection of the information embodied in this paper, I have been greatly indebted to several intelligent natives who are employed in traversing the country from end to end, superintending the collection of the hut tax, and who, in pursuance of their duty, visit, during the course of the year, practically every village. These men, I found, took a great natural interest in enquiring into any strange rite or ceremony they incidentally met with in the course of their peregrinations. I have also encouraged chiefs and others whom I have met to talk of their beliefs, etc., and, in most cases, their usual reticence to discuss such matters with a European can soon be overcome.

[1] *Occasional Papers*, No. 1, "Eastern Uganda," by C. W. Hobley.

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I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. Mayes, Collector of Nandi, for much information regarding that tribe, which is particularly uncommunicative on these matters.

I have no doubt that, as years go by, many of the matters dealt with herein may become much clearer, but I have thought it best to publish the material without further delay, as it may help to stimulate further research, and I also fear that as civilization develops, many of the strange customs and legends may become lost; in fact, there are already signs that the younger generation of natives are losing interest in the old order of things.

LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE JA-LUO RACE.

Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I believe I am correct in stating that, in Africa, it is generally among those of Bantu origin that such myths are fonnd. However, in the whole of the country in the vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kadimu belief that their common ancestor was a huge python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apōdtho, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Ugada chief of Usakwa.

Apōdtho was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apōdtho descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north of Uganda, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one woman, whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters. These sons were named Ramogi and Anyango, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimu country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

Anyango, the other son of Apōdtho, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Baganda and Banyoro. On the day that Apōdtho

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

reached the earth, among the other animals that accompanied him were a bull, a cow, and a calf; he also brought *mtama* and other food-bearing seeds and plants, and there is especially mentioned besides, a tree called "Were," and out of the wood of the Were tree he made two wooden bowls. He then milked the cow into one of the wooden bowls, and, from ignorance he caught the cow's urine into the other bowl; this done, he poured the milk into a gourd and left the bowl of cow's urine in the sun, and then rested till the evening. At sundown he churned the milk that was in the gourd, collected the butter, and put it on one side; he then brought in the bowl of urine and mixed it with the buttermilk that remained in the gourd. Then, being hungry, he took the mixture and made some gruel with *mtama* meal, cooked and drank it; after drinking it, he passed urine for the first time since he had reached the earth, and this is the origin of the Ja-Luo custom of mixing milk with the cow's urine which prevails to this day.

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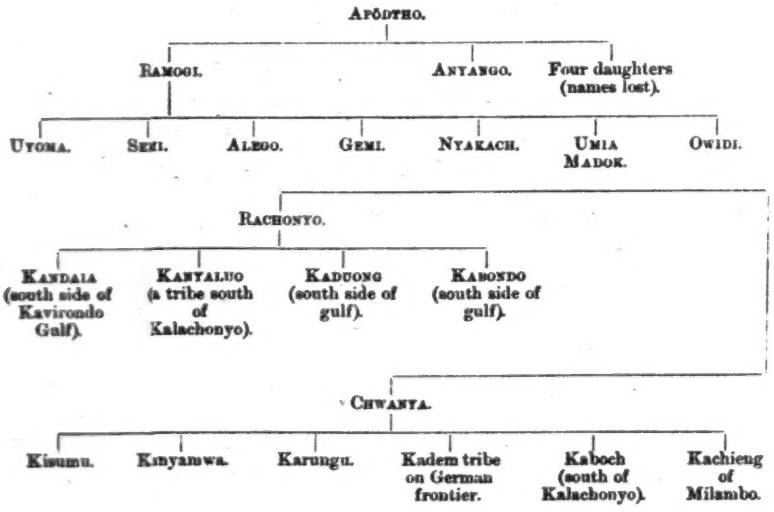
GENEALOGY OF JA-LUO.

Version 1 *of Ugada Ndiek of Usakwa.*



Version II. Ugada chief of Koraudo.

Apödtho was the ancestor of all men; he descended to the earth from above, and brought with him two head of cattle, some fowls, and seeds of *mtama*, *sem-sem*, and *wimbi*. He found the tobacco plant growing on earth; the elephant gave him the sweet potato and beans. He also brought the knowledge of making fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and he taught the Ja-Luo to mix cow's urine with the milk.

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He reached the earth in the country away to the north of the lake, and died in that country; at his death, he turned into a rock. Apōdtho had supernatural powers and possessed the power to turn into a rock at will. When he was old, the Ja-Luo conspired to kill him, but for a long time nothing came of it, because they were afraid of him; but one day sickness overcame him; the conspirators sent a girl to see if he was really sick, as they thought it would be a good opportunity to kill him. She took a small horn, used for cupping blood, in her hand, and, while talking to him, she placed the cupping horn on his shadow; to her surprise it drew blood from the shadow. She returned and told her friends that, if they wanted to kill Apōdtho, they must not touch his body, but spear his shadow; they did so, and he died and turned into a rock, which the Ja-Luo afterwards considered to possess special virtues for sharpening spears on.

Ramogi was the first member of the Ja-Luo race to come to Kavirondo, and he built in Kadimu country, near what is now the village of the chief Anam.

The Ja-Mwa (or Bantu Kavirondo) are descended from Anyango and came to Kavirondo before the Ja-Luo. They also came from the north, but belong to a different stock, the Baganda and Ba-Soga.

The Nandi came from the Ja-Lango. The Ja-Luo on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf originally lived on the north side, and crossed over by canoes.

The Koloa and various Ja-Luo clans on the Kitoto plain are the descendants of one Kanu, who is said to have come from Massai land, and to have married the sister of Rachonyo and settled down in the Kitoto plain; they are to this day often grouped together under the name Ja-Kanu.

Gemi, Lego, Sakwa, Kadimu, Ugenya, the founders of the tribes of the same name, were not sons of Ramogi, but were collaterally descended from Apōdtho.

Version III.

This version was obtained from Gori Kogalo, chief of Kanyamwa (Ja-Luo) on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf.

Apōdtho was the father of all mankind; and he, the sun, the wind, and the moon appeared on earth together; the father of the sun was dead. Apōdtho brought with him to the earth a spear, a shield, and fire. The buffalo and the cattle came out of the sea (probably meaning the Nyanza), and were herded by mankind, but the buffalo broke away, and took to the woods, refusing to become tame as the cattle did; he also brought *mtama* grain, the *wimbi* he found growing on earth in the grass; he found tobacco and the sweet potato growing in elephant dung.

Shortly after their arrival, Apōdtho ordered the moon to kill an ox, but the moon refused; he then told the sun, and then the wind, they also refused, so he killed the ox himself with a blow from his fist, and then ate the meat, offering some to the sun, moon, and wind, but they all refused to eat, and he was very angry, so they fled back to the heavens and have stayed there ever since. Apōdtho told his

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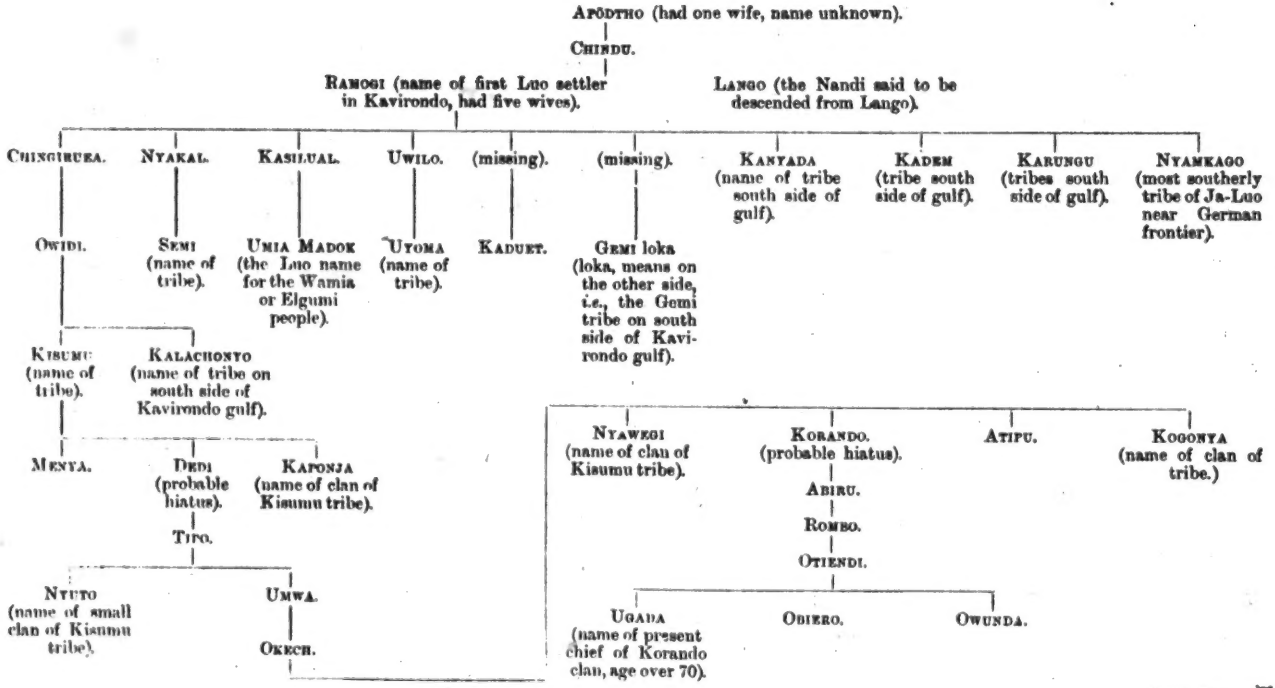
Genealogy of the Ja-Luo.

Version 2 of Ugada Koranda.



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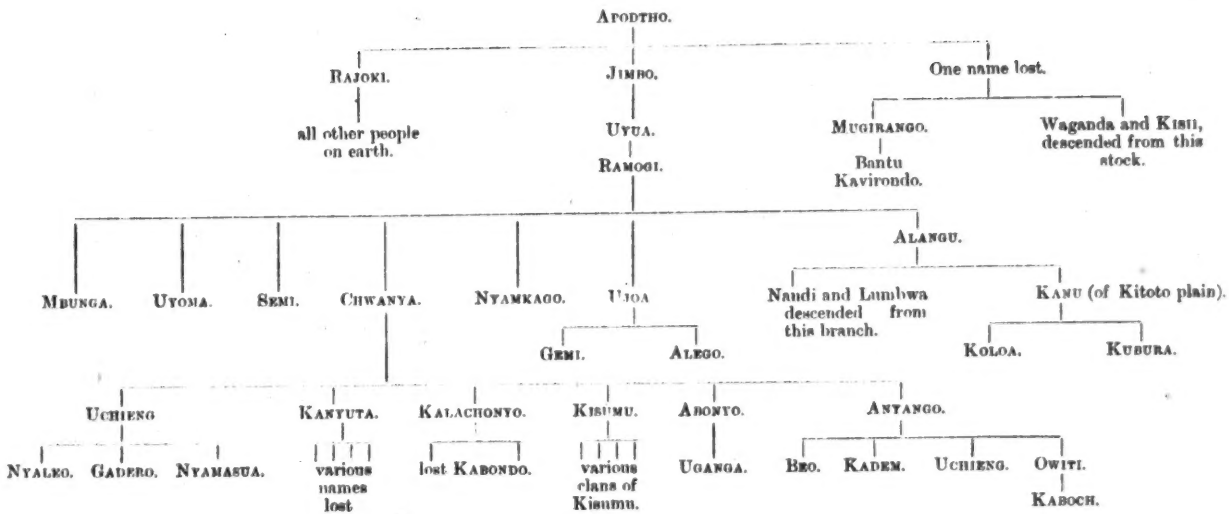
GENEALOGY OF THE JA-LUO.

Version 3 of Gori Kogalo.



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children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet these people. 773 173

Ramogi, the great grandson of Apōdtho, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk. 184

Mbunga, the eldest son of Ramogi, was the first member of the Ja-Luo to migrate southward into Kavirondo, and his brothers followed him; upon their arrival, they found the Bantu Kavirondo in possession of the land, but gradually drove them back.

The Bantu Kavirondo are descended from one Mugirango.

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating herbs and drinking milk to this day.

The Nandi and Lumbwa are descended from Alangu, a son of Ramogi.

Rajoki, a son of Apōdtho, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

This account was given me by an old chief living away in the hills to the south of Kavirondo Gulf, a man who has probably not seen half a dozen Europeans in the whole of his life. He told me that, in his youth, the old chiefs had many more legends, but the young men of to-day took but little interest in such things, and they were all rapidly being forgotten. He confided to me that his neighbours imputed to him the power of being able to transform himself at will into the shape of an ox and other animals, but he gravely assured me that these slanders were quite unfounded, and were a source of great embarrassment to him. 773 173 115 [175]

The version of the legend, given above, differs considerably from those previously recounted, and many new names appear. Most of the new names, however, are the names of tribes living in South Kavirondo, or Ugaya as it is often called, *e.g.*, Nyamkago, Kalachonyo, Kabondo, Kaboch, Kadem, Uchieng. As these were near neighbours of his ancestors, their names would be more likely to be remembered. 773 173 184

There is, I think, enough internal evidence to show that this is really a very ancient genealogy, brought down from the Nile valley by the people when they migrated to the south. 173

An examination of the three versions of the genealogy of the Ja-Luo just given will lay bare many discrepancies, the presence of which, to my mind, gives an air of great genuineness to the information, and is, in a way, proof of the age of the myth.

Like the genealogy of the Uganda kings given in Mr. Roscoe's paper,[1] and, for the matter of that, like many other genealogies of world-wide fame in the ancient history of more civilized countries, we have in the Ja-Luo genealogy a succession of mythical personages and demigods at one end of the line, and at the other end,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

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working back for a certain distance of time, a genealogy of the heads of the family tribe or *gens*, which is linked, quite in good faith, on to the mythical beginnings of the tree. Where the transition from family or tribal history to myth occurs in the present example, it is impossible to state accurately, but after listening carefully to the narrative, I venture to point out where I consider a hiatus occurs.

In the Uganda genealogy, it will be remembered that the common ancestor of the Baganda was one Kintu; it is rather remarkable that, in one of the present examples, the name of the son of Apōdtho is given as Chindu, especially as, in African languages, a prefixial K– often becomes changed to Ch–.

If, however, the genealogies now given possess no other interest, they at least afford, it is considered, fairly good evidence as to the way in which the various Nilotic tribes and sub-tribes or clans in Kavirondo derived their names; for there is no doubt that in olden times the chiefs were far more powerful than now, and a vigorous chief with a large number of wives could have descendants enough to form the beginning of quite a considerable clan.

I have no doubt that in the more outlying parts there is an untold wealth of legend and myth of anthropological interest awaiting record, and when the Acholi (Shuli) and Lur countries become more opened up, stories of the causes which led to the great Ja-Luo migration southwards will probably be unearthed, and it may even be that the rock, into which Apōdtho is said to have become metamorphosed at his death, will be found to be looked upon as a kind of fetish stone to this day.

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I do not consider that we shall get much further with regard to unravelling the mystery of the various great migrations by research anywhere south of Mount Elgon. As an instance of this: for a long time past, I have, at intervals, made endeavours to find out from the Nandi people, some trace of a legend about their arrival in the country, without success; but a few months ago, when travelling in the vicinity of Elgon, I was talking to some members of the Lako tribe (a branch of the Nandi group who live on the mountain), and I was very much interested to find that they had a legend, relative to their migration, to the effect that they had originally lived on a mountain called Kamalinga, some forty-five miles to the north-west of Elgon, and that the Nandi lived on the east side of that mountain, and the Lako on the west, and from there they migrated south-east, the Lako and their close relatives the Savei people settling on Elgon, and the Nandi pushing onward through to the Guasangishn plateau. Of course they really came from much further north, but this seems to be a link in the chain, and probably if the Kamalinga region were visited, further evidence would be obtained.

The Lako too had a curious legend to the effect that, in past times, a stream of fire ran down the mountain (Elgon) and burnt up the forests it encountered on its way, which looks as if the mountain had been active in historic times, for the natives could not possibly know that Elgon is an extinct volcano.

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Genealogy of the Awa-Wanga.

An enquiry into the past history of the Awa-Wanga, the leading Bantu tribe in Kavirondo, of whose origin I gave a provisional sketch in *Eastern Uganda*, p. 43, failed to reveal any trace of a belief in a common ancestor who descended from heaven among these people, but in the course of my investigations, I was able to compile, from various sources, an abstract of their history for, say, the last 300 years or so.

The Awa-Wanga originally came from what is now Teso country, and the chief Wanga, from whom the tribe takes its name, was descended from one Kusa. Wanga and another chief named Wakabiakala, a Tiriki chief, were neighbours, and lived near where Wombunya's village now is, close to the source of the River Viratsi. The head wife of Wakabiakala stole bananas from Wanga's plantations, who, finding his bananas disappearing, lay in wait for the thief, and was very surprised when he discovered who it was; her chagrin at being found out was so great that she hanged herself. This made trouble between Wanga and Wakabiakala, and the latter used very insulting language to Wanga and accused him of being the cause of his wife's death. Wanga, who appears to have possessed a very sensitive disposition, took all this to heart, and decided to go away secretly.

He did so, and came to the village of Manga (a hill about four miles south of Mumias Station), where Muima, the chief of the Awa-Manga, lived; he posed as a poor wanderer with a maimed arm, which he carefully kept under his skin cloak; he did this because on his right arm he wore a massive brass bracelet, his insignia of chieftainship. He was received in a friendly manner, and he set himself to work to sweep out the cattle kraal with one hand, and they gave him his food and a hut to sleep in. But Muima's wife was very anxious to know what was the matter with his maimed hand, so she bored a hole through the wall of his hut; peering through this, she espied him washing both hands and noticed the brass armlet. She at once ran off to her husband, and told him that the visitor must be a chief. He pooh-poohed the idea, but she promised to prove her statement, and early next morning took some porridge and water to Wanga's hut, and then brought her husband to the back of the hut, and made him peep through the hole she had bored, when he saw Wanga eating, using both hands, and also saw the armlet. When Wanga came out, Muima taxed him with his curious behaviour, and insisted on knowing who he was. Wanga told his story, and Muima agreed to allow him to remain, and sacrificing a goat, put a strip of the skin on each of their wrists, which is a sign of friendship.

About a week after, a number of Wanga's people, who had been searching for their chief, arrived at the village and besought him to return, but he refused, and Muima gave Wanga an ox to make a feast for his people. Many of Wanga's people followed their chief, and he built a big village, called Shikulu, near the River Lusimo, where he died. This is how the Awa-Wanga became established in the vicinity of Mumias. The country around Mumias was all wooded in those

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(173) days, and abounded with game which the people used to hunt, and, I suppose, gradually exterminated.

After Wanga, came several chiefs of whom but little is known, and then came a big chief named Netia. Netia's principal brother was named Kiteji, and the two brothers had a serious quarrel, being jealous of one another, and Netia drove his brother out of the Wanga settlement; Kiteji crossed the River Lumimo, and commenced to build at Rekho, a village in a banana grove, about half a mile west of Mumias Station. Netia heard of this, followed him, and warned him not to build so near; but, unfortunately, that very day the Wa-Kwavi (Masai) came in from the east on a raid, and slew nearly all of Kiteji's warriors, surprising them as they were scattered about in the woods, cutting poles wherewith to build their new village. Now most of the Kiteji's men being killed, Netia at once saw that there was no longer any need to be afraid of his brother and look upon him as a rival, so he seized this opportunity to make friends with him, and give him a site for his village near Rekho, he himself settling on that site, and after this they lived peacefully as neighbours.

Later on, Netia made peace with the Wa-Kwavi, and they used to come to his village to drink beer; but he could not tolerate their filthy habits, and complained of their micturating in his hut during a beer drinking. One day he was so annoyed that he took out twenty, and strangled them all. This incident greatly incensed the Wa-Kwavi, and they promptly declared war. An impi arrived to attack his village, and when he saw them all drawn up for the attack, he took ten picked men, charged down upon the enemy, and he and his men were soon all speared.

Netia being dead, the Wa-Kwavi then agreed that his son Sundwa should reign in his stead, and hostilities ceased. Sundwa was a very good chief, and kept peace with all the surrounding tribes; he obtained great influence over them, even over the Wa-Kwavi, and they listened to his judgments. He had one hundred sons, but he would not see any of them, and issued a decree that they were all to keep out of his sight. It is said that the reason of this was that he was afraid that one of them would make a conspiracy with one of his wives to kill him. (It is possible that this may be a reproduction of the common belief in the many myths relating to the murder of parents by their children.)

Sundwa was an immense man, and late in life he was so stout that he was unable to walk, and had to be carried in and out of his house. His appearance was very fierce, and his eyes were as red as blood. His eldest son was Kwabu, and they had a quarrel because Kwabu had looted about one hundred head of cattle from a neighbour named Vitonja, and refused to return them. Sundwa sent for Vitonja, and told him to bring cattle rupee equivalent to the number of cattle he had lost. Vitonja did so, and Sundwa out of his own herds gave him cattle equivalent to those raided. Kwabu left the family settlement, and built the village of Lumino about three-quarters of a mile south of Mumias Station, which was lately used by us as a transport depôt. After

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this incident, Sundwa would not have any dealings with Kwehu, and appointed another son named Mkoya to succeed him, and eventually died. 173

When his father was dead, Kwehu made an attempt to crush Mkoya, but he was defeated and went to live at the village called Kimuri, about one and a half miles east of Mumias Station, on the road to Kabras.

After some years of desultory fighting, Kwehu made overtures to Mkoya and invited him to his village to make peace; Mkoya went, and Kwehu made a big feast. It is said that he put poison in Mkoya's food, for he returned home and died five days after, and his son Sundu reigned in his stead. Kwehu then sent word to Sundu and said:—"Your father is dead and I am his eldest brother. Collect his cattle and riches, and bring them to me," but Sundu replied, "If I came, I should suspect to share the fate of my father and die at your hands. Therefore I will not come, but declare myself chief of the Wanga."[1]

Many people left Kwehu to follow Sundu, and he became a great chief; and thus it was that the Wanga tribe became divided into two halves.

At one time the Kabras, Ketosh, and Kusia tribes made a great coalition to break the power of Kwehu, because they feared his ambitious nature and were afraid that he would eventually crush them one by one. A great war party assembled to attack his principal village Kimuri, and when Kwehu saw the army approaching, he went into one of his huts and brought out sheaf upon sheaf of arrows, more than could be counted, which he had been quietly collecting and having made for years past in anticipation of a big fight. The enemy attempted to storm the village, but the arrows of Kwehu's men rained so thickly that they could not withstand them, and broke. Sundu hearing of the great fight, collected his men, sallied forth to help Kwehu, and completed the defeat; for he argued that if Kwehu was defeated, the enemy would then march on to attack him. A chief named Wakhulo of Kagnyi, a tribe down the river Nzoia, west of Mumias, came to assist Kwehu, and they slew many of the Kabras-Ketosh allies. The fighting went on, at intervals, for some years, and there can be seen at Kimuri to this day a rock with a hollow in it which was made by the beating of his fist; it was his custom to sit and beat this stone with his fist to give emphasis to his judgments or orders. He had a tremendous voice, and could make himself heard from Kimuri to Ikkho (Sundu's village; a distance of over two miles).

There was a terrible famine in Kwehu's time; but he had laid in enormous stores of grain, having sent round far and wide before the famine to say that he wished to buy grain, to pay for which he frequently would slaughter as many as one hundred oxen in one day and buy grain with the meat. When the famine came, he would not allow his people to kill their cattle for food, but invited them in turn to his village, and fed them till the time of scarcity was past. He ate alone in his house, and it was the duty of one of his wives to keep watch at the door; he fed with both hands, and any that fell he let lie, and after the meal, the fragments

[1] By local law and custom, if a man dies, the eldest brother is heir to the wives and most of the property of the deceased. [429]

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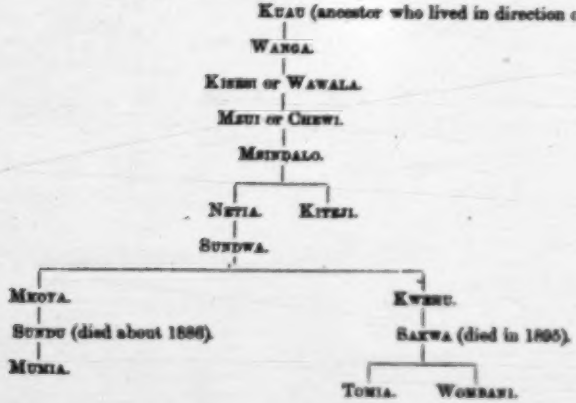
173 would be as much as two boys could carry away. If the woman who was on guard allowed anyone to enter and see him eat, he would kill her with a club. He was an enormous man, much bigger than any other man in the country. He and his father Sundwa were of a size. He died of extreme old age. Sundu was chief when Joseph Thomson visited Kavirondo in 1884.

GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS OF THE AWA-WANGA.



173 301 643 We have here a matter of fact account of the history of one of the sections of the Bantu race which stretches back probably to between 200 and 300 years; this account, which we may reasonably believe to be fairly accurate, does not contain any allusion to the southern invasion of the Nilotic race, so we may perhaps venture to assume that that incursion occurred previous to the date at which this record commences. There is one curious point worthy of notice, namely, that in Wanga's time the brass bracelet was evidently the recognized and wide-spread symbol of chieftainship, and thus may be taken as dating back some distance before Wanga's time; one is at once prompted to inquire whence these brass bracelets can have come, especially as the metals forming the alloy are not known to occur anywhere in this region, and as the Arab traders only reached the lake region some sixty years ago. In Uganda too, it is said that brass and copper ornaments and weapons were in ancient times a monopoly of royalty, and, even up to quite recently, copper spears were considered part of the royal insignia. Where this brass and copper was originally derived from is unfortunately a mystery. Communication with the east coast only commenced comparatively recently, so that eliminates one source. It is possible that these metals may have been brought up the Nile valley from Egypt, or into Uganda by the ancient Hamitic invaders, and, in course of time, found their way across the lake; or they may have worked northwards from Katanga, where considerable deposits of copper are to be found.

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FOLKLORE AMONG THE AMA-WANGA.

538 Their love of animal folklore is a well-known characteristic of the Bantu race throughout Africa from Zululand to Uganda, but the following examples, collected from the Awa-Wanga of Mumias, are, I believe, the first ones recorded from Kavirondo. They are simpler and shorter than similar stories from Uganda. The general type of story is usually the meeting of a savage animal with a harmless one, and the eventual triumph of the harmless animal by some simple trick. These stories are told in the evening, when the members of the village congregate and gossip after their meal is finished; one will start and tell a story, and then another will tell one, and so one; they try to outvie one another by striving to see who can recount the greatest number; the children sit round, and, as the same stories are heard over and over again on different occasions, they become firmly imprinted on their memories, and are thus perpetuated from generation to generation.

As far as I can discover, neither the Nilotic Ja-Luo nor the Nandi people [171] possess any such lore.

The Fable of the Leopard and Hyæna.

539 The leopard and the hyæna met over a kill belonging to the leopard, and the leopard reviled the hyæna and said, "I kill meat and you come and try to eat it"; and the leopard gave the hyæna a kick. This made the hyæna angry and he snapped at the leopard's leg and bit it off, and the leopard died from the effects of the bite. But before he died, he gathered his children together and said unto them, "Beware of the hyæna, and when you kill an animal, take the meat up into a tree where the hyæna cannot get it."[1] This is the custom of the leopard to this day.

The young leopards remembered the words of their father, and some time after one of them was eating some meat up in a tree and the hyæna came by and waited at the foot of the tree. The young leopard was much afraid; so he bit off a small bone and dropped it to the hyæna, who snapped it up, and he said, "You killed my father, and now you come here and want to take my meat and kill me, but I will give you only bones"; and he thereupon threw down a big bone, the hyæna snatched at it and ran off a short distance, and as the hyæna was worrying the bone, the leopard quickly slipped down the tree, gave a big jump, and made off into the bush.

The Story of the Rat and the Cat.

A cat found a rat in a river, and it was like to drown, and the rat called out, "Pick me out of the water or I shall die," and the cat said, "Very well, what will you give me?" and the rat replied, "I have nothing to give you, but when I am out of the water, you can eat me as your recompense." The cat agreed, and

[1] The leopard has a habit of placing its kill high up in the fork of a tree.

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539 helped him out of the water, and then said, "Well, now what about the bargain?" and the rat looked round, and espying a little hole between two rocks, he replied, "Wait a little till I am dry; I do not want to be eaten while I am still wet." And the unsuspecting cat agreed, and gave him time for his coat to dry. Then, waiting his opportunity, the rat made for the hole and slipped into it. The cat was exceeding wroth, and shouted down the hole, "You have cheated me this time, but if I meet you again, I will catch you and eat you." And this is the reason why the cat is the great enemy of the rat to this day, and is always hunting it.

The Story of the Man and the Foolish Woman.

The man said, "Go and cut the *wimbi* (eleusine grain) which is in a certain field," and the woman refused, and said, "It is not worth while cutting it, it is so short and bad," and went off to another field where the *wimbi* was good, and came back and stored it in the village. Nevertheless, while she was away, the man went secretly and cut the inferior *wimbi* and stored it in a hidden granary. After a time a famine came into the land, and all the woman's store of good grain was finished, and she became very hungry, and cried out to the man for food. He took her away with him to the place where his hidden granary was, and told her she must do as he ordered; he thereupon fastened a big stone to each of her legs with strips of goat-skin, and then said, "Climb up into that granary, the stones are 'medicine'"; and the woman climbed up into the granary with great trouble, for the weight of the stones and the hide ropes hurt her legs very greatly, but she eventually accomplished the task and got the *wimbi*. When she had got the grain she was very angry with the man, and said, "What foolishness is this plan of yours to make me hurt myself like this?" And he said, "When I told you to cut the poor grain, you refused, and laughed me to scorn, but now you are hungry, and have had much trouble to reach it, you are glad of it, and will in future remember my words, and will not again despise the grain, even if it is not of the best."

The Story of the Buffalo and the Lion.

A lion, out hunting one day, chanced to find a buffalo, which he pursued, and sprung on to its back and seized it. The buffalo then said to the lion, "You have caught me, but wait a moment, I will not struggle, but lie down and die quietly." At the same time as he said this, he had his eye on a tree close by, which had fallen over and left a space under its trunk. The lion was still hanging on to his back, and he moved on quietly until he and the lion were under the tree-trunk, and then he raised himself with all his might, and crushed the lion to death between his back and the tree. Thus was the lion outwitted by the buffalo.

The Story of the Kite and the Mole.

The kite was poised in the air over some young moles who were playing about, and was on the point of swooping down to seize one, but their mother, happening to

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo
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come out, saw the danger, and cried out, "Stay, I will give you one of my young ones, but let me pick the one I am least fond of." The kite paused, and just at that moment, the mole picked up some earth and threw it into the kite's eyes, and before he had cleared the earth out of his eyes, the moles had all burrowed under ground and disappeared. 539

The Story of the Guinea Fowl and the Domestic Chicken.

The chicken and the guinea fowl were related to one another, and both were domesticated animls, but the guinea fowl preferred the bush. One day they met and the fowl said, "Come back with me and live in the village. It is better than living in the bush"; but the guinea fowl said, "No, I will not go and live in the village, for I have often seen men catch and kill fowls; it is a bad place, and I will never go near a village again, but live in the woods, and if you are wise, you will come with me," but the fowl could not make up her mind to leave, so made excuses and went back to the village.

The Ant-bear (Aard Vaark) *and the Hyæna.*

The ant-bear was digging a hole one night, when the hyæna came along. He had never seen an ant-bear before, and he tried to seize it; but the ant-bear turned over very quickly on to its back, and scratched the hyæna so severely with its long claws that the hyæna died there from his wounds. And even to this day a hyæna never attacks an ant-bear.

The Fight of the Hippopotamus and the Elephant.

Many years ago, in the time of the chief Kwehu, an elephant chanced to find a hippopotamus at a salt lick close to the River Nzoia, some little distance below where Mumias Station now stands. The two animals fell out, and the elephant slapped the hippopotamus with his trunk. Thereupon the hippopotamus got angry and bit the elephant in the leg and the two beasts then fought; but the elephant eventually drove its tusks through the hippopotamus. Both the animals were found dead next morning, and the place is called Chikonesi to this day.

GHOSTS.

The Bantu Ithako people in Kavirondo have a curious belief in ghosts. It occasionally happens that a man or woman who dies troubles the surviving relations after death. A near relation of the deceased, the wife or husband or sister, as the case may be, dreams of the departed night after night, for some weeks after death, wakes up in terror, goes and looks out of the hut, and finds the ghost of the deceased sitting near the door of the hut; or it often happens that the ghost is seen sitting on the children's playing-ground close to the village where the deceased was wont to play when a child. The ghosts are always much bigger than life-size. 775

It is then necessary to take measures at once to put a stop to these sleep-disturbing visits, and the grave is opened by one of the near relations of the deceased, 775 766

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo
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775 766 generally a brother, and the corpse in such a case is invariably found to be quite undecomposed and white. It is then taken up and burnt, and the ashes carefully reinterred. This procedure lays the ghost.

775 761 764 The person, however, who has cremated the corpse has, after this, an inevitable malign influence over the children of the deceased, and if one of the children, out of ignorance or by mischance, eats with the person who carried out the cremation, it will die before nightfall, unless a medicine man is at hand to quickly administer a potion to counteract the malignant influence. Certain medicine men can, however, render a child immune to this risk, but it is said to be a matter of great difficulty. Part of the formula consists in killing a sheep and rubbing the child all over the body with the fresh fat.

775 766 Among the Awa-wanga, if a man comes to steal cattle at night and is killed during the attempt, next day they build a pile of firewood and cremate the corpse. Otherwise, his ghost or spirit will trouble the village and bring sickness to it.

These two customs indicate quite a highly developed belief in spirits, in some aspects almost European. The cremation of the corpse and the consequent extinc- [828] tion of the spirit, appeared to me as quite a startling revelation of their ideas of psychology.

Again, among the Bantu Kavirondo round Mumias, if a child dies and the mother does not bear again, the bones of the infant are dug up, wrapped in banana leaves, and thrown into the bush; it would appear that the spirit of the child is believed to be exercising a baneful influence on the mother and the digging up of the bones is thought to extinguish the spirit. Probably it is considered that, in the case of a child, such a drastic measure as cremation is not necessary.

776 Another example of the somewhat high development of the belief in spirits among the Bantu Kavirondo occurs at Nyala, which is on the lake shore near the mouth of the River Nzoia. Rising from the lake, a few miles from the Nyala shore, is a small precipitous granite island called Sumba, and if a European suggests a visit, excuses of various kinds immediately crop up: the canoes are found to be out of repair, the canoe men are afraid to go, and so on; the reason for this being that it is believed that this island is the stronghold of a race of dwarfish elves, which they hold in great awe, and which, if beheld, kill the beholder. They are afraid that if they took a traveller there he might do something—perhaps fire a gun—to irritate these powerful little beings, and cause them to vent their wrath on the unfortunate canoe-men who had conveyed him thither.

776 761 These elves are called "sumba," and are invisible to the ordinary mortal, unless they choose otherwise and reveal themselves; for, occasionally, a Nyala native has been known, with great temerity, to boast that he disbelieves their existence, and declare that he will go to the island and invoke them to appear. He does so, and it sometimes happens that they do reveal themselves to him, and he is privileged to eat and drink with them: but before returning, he is solemnly warned that his life will only be spared upon the condition that he observes absolute secrecy with regard to the occurrence; he of course promises, but after a few years he will one

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo
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day, probably while drinking beer with his fellows, forget his oath, and brag about his visit. From that moment he is doomed, and the morning finds him a corpse.

The *sumba* are evidently looked upon as rather malicious in their influence, for the natives are very careful to propitiate them by offerings, if any untoward circumstances happens; for instance, when the fishing fails, the chiefs send a present of cattle to the island. And from time to time, the people take cooking pots and tobacco pipes, and leave them for their use. If a man has ill luck with his children and several die, he takes a present of goats to the island and some native beer. Not less than a couple of goats should be taken; one is sacrificed upon arriving, and one is left there. There are said to be about fifteen people living on the island. It is perhaps assuming too much to call them the priests of the *sumba*, but, in a measure, they may be considered as such, for although they deny that they have ever seen the elves, yet they are supposed to have an intimate knowledge of the cult, and it is their duty to herd the goats, etc., which are brought as offerings. The island being quite small, any cattle which have been brought as offertories to the *sumba* are transferred to the mainland and herded with the cattle of the tribesmen; but they are all known, and never sold or killed. Even if a neighbouring tribe made war, these cattle would never be carried off as booty, but would be regarded as sacred.

Although there are scores of islands up and down the east coast of the lake, no other instance of this fairy worship has been met with; but the people of Lusinga Island have rather a curious legend, which is worthy of record. To the north-west of Lusinga there is a curious rock which was discovered in 1877 by Stanley, and called Bridge Island. It consists of two granite monoliths, joined at the top, with a space underneath through which a canoe could pass, but for the presence of a rocky bar which blocks the passage.

In Lusinga there are two clans, the *Wa-Nyama* and the *Wa-Ware*, and the story goes that once a upon a time, a bull from the herd of each clan met, and had battle royal; they fought and fought until they were both driven into the lake, where they were suddenly transformed into two rocks, which are the two halves of Bridge Island, and the island is to this day called *Wa-Nyama kwa Wa-Ware*. Once a year, the representatives of the two clans put forth in canoes on a certain day, and each party kills an ox on their own half of the island, eats the meat, and drinks beer there, and then returns home.

Omens.[1]

Among the Awa-Wanga sneezing is supposed to be a bad omen, and if a man sneezes when about to start on a journey, he puts it off for that day.

If a person plans to visit a friend who is said to be sick unto death, and if a sneezing fit comes on before he starts, then he knows that his friend will certainly recover from his illness.

[1] For a number of examples of omens among the two Kavirondo and the Nandi races, see "Eastern Uganda," pp. 32, 33, and 41.

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B 171 827 The prejudice against sneezing also appears to crop up among the Kwavi or Guasangishu people, and it is said that in the old days, if when they were out on a foray for cattle, an *elmoran* (warrior) who sneezed *en route* was not speared, he was looked upon as a kind of Jonah, who would bring ill luck to the raid.

N 787 Although the Nandi love their cattle more than anything on earth, yet there are cases when their dread of the malignant supernatural overpowers this affection; for instance, if one of their cattle is noticed to protrude its tongue to an excessive distance, or if a cow, as it is driven along, gets its tail twisted round a sapling by the road side, they are killed, for both of these incidents are believed to be portents of great impending evil which can only be averted by the death of the animal.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

B 778 769 In Southern Ketosh, about twelve miles north-east of Mumias Station, there is a remarkably shaped hill called Sangaro, which stands out several hundred feet above the surrounding country; its general outline is conical, but it is surmounted by two enormous natural monoliths of granite, of rectagonal shape, standing parallel to each other, with a space of a few feet between the two. This hill is a sacred place with the Ketosh people, and they resort there from time to time and sacrifice fowls, goats, &c. They will tell you it is the place of the *Masambwa* or *Muzimo*.

Now in every Ketosh village, it will be noticed that on a spot in front of the hut of the owner of the village there are four stones planted in the form of a square (the square is about three feet across, and the stones do not usually protrude from the ground more than eight or nine inches), and in the centre of the square is planted a small tree of the wild fig family known to the Swahilis as *mlendege* or (in Kavirondo) *Mrumba*, because the birds devour the fruit with great avidity. This constitutes a kind of village altar, and if any animal is slaughtered in the village, a little of the blood is sprinkled on the stones. The stones are all supposed to have been brought originally by ancestors of the present owners from Sangaro Hill. When a village is moved, the head of the village moves his altar stones to the new site, and plants a fresh tree amongst them; and in the many deserted villages the position of the chief's house can generally be identified by the wild fig tree.

B [824]

B [824] Among the Awa-wanga, the same custom holds, but three stones constitute the altar and the tree is always what is called an *Mtarawanda* or *Siala*, a fine tree, probably one of the Bignonia family, with a large yellow flower, the foliage of which closely resembles the ash. These stones have been handed down from father to son for so many generations that no legend is extant as to their origin.

As an example of the importance which they attach to their possession, it is said that it sometimes happens that a Mu-Wanga has stolen a cow from a native of Marama or Kisa, and if the owner could not induce the chief of the Awa-wanga to make the thief return the cow, he would go by night and carry off one of the *Muzimo* stones from the chief's village and hide it away: great

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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B 778 769

excitement would then ensue and stupendous efforts would be made to recover the cow, which rarely failed to be returned to the owner before nightfall in order to redeem the sacred stone.

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The Ja-Luo do not erect altars to the spirits of their ancestors like the Bantu Kavirondo, but for all that they believe in the influence of the spirits of the departed. If a man is stricken by illness, he will make a feast at the door of his hut, and he will take small pieces of meat and throw one to each of the four quarters of the compass; he will then fill his mouth with native beer and squirt a mouthful out on the ground in different directions and finally in a similar way toss out spoonfuls of *mtama* porridge in various directions as propitiatory offerings, at the same time imploring the spirits to take the food and not to worry him.

Charms.

B 789

Charms are legion among all the Kavirondo, and like other native races (and European, too, for the matter of that), they make no attempt to explain why such and such a charm should produce a certain effect.

The Awa-Tsoso tie a feather from a white chicken on the end of a stick as a charm to keep off hail; the sticks, which are about four feet long, are planted at intervals in the fields of beans and sem-sem; some seem to pin their faith to a wisp of grass which is tied to the stick and placed among the growing crops in the same way. This was only noticed among the Eastern Tsoso people of the Koweri clan, but is probably wide spread.

B [824]

The Tiriki people suspend a ball of clay by a string which is fastened to a stick, and plant one of these in a field of sweet potatoes or ground nuts to prevent thieving; the ball of clay has one of the yellow fruit of the common wild *Solanum* stuck into it.

N 789 824 728

The use of this combination of the fruit of the Solanum and clay, as a charm for good, seems to be rather widespread, for at the close of the Nandi campaign of 1900 when the chiefs were making overtures for peace, they brought to the Government station a native stool on which was a conical mass of moist red clay which rather reminded one of a child's mud pie; this was studded all over with the yellow Solanum fruit, and was said to be great peace medicine.

B 751

In some parts of Bantu Kavirondo, an old earthenware cooking pot will often be seen fixed as a finial on the point of one of the natives conical huts. This is a charm to prevent the children becoming cross eyed, for it is said children, when quite babies, are often stricken with a disease of the eyes which leaves a chronic squint; the charm does not render them immune to the disease, but averts the after effects; this belief occurs among many tribes in Bantu Africa, and the same charm is used.

B 824 778

Among charms we may perhaps mention that curious tree the *Ekirikiti* or, as it is called in Kavirondo, the *Murembe* tree (*Erythrina tomentosa*) which is remarkable both for its brilliant red flowers, and from the fact that it bears its leaves and flowers at different seasons.

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B 824 778 The word *Murembe* in Lu-Wanga means peace, and when peace is made between two tribes, the ceremony, if possible, always takes place at the foot of one of these trees, as the tree is a great peace charm, and the dog, which is slaughtered as part of the ceremony, is generally tied by its neck to the tree.

B 825 751 Among the Awa-wanga, if a man kills a python, it is believed that the snake will return, or possibly that its spirit will return and afflict his children with blindness. Prompt measures must, therefore, be taken to avert this disaster, and he accordingly measures the length of the reptile, and not later than the day following, hoes a path through the grass near his village equal in length to that of the snake, kills a white fowl, then sprinkles its blood in the clearing and also pours a little *mtama* or *wimbi* gruel there too; this acts as a charm to render the python's malignancy futile. Even if a python is seen only, it is considered safe B [553] to go through this ceremony. The next child that is borne to the man after killing a python is called *wanawaka* if it is a boy and *newaka* if it is a girl; (*waka* is the Lu-Wanga word for python).

B 766 [824] A most extraordinary custom, which holds among the Awa-wanga and may be mentioned under the present heading, is that if a young girl, a virgin, dies, her female relatives, whose duty it is to bury her, artificially deflower the body before burial; this is always done by the forcible insertion of the pointed bulb of spathes which cover the immature flowers at the lower end of a growing bunch of bananas. If this is omitted, it is believed that the sisters of the deceased will B [831] not be found to be virgins on their marriage; this would be considered somewhat of a disgrace.

B 171 It will be remembered that in Mr. Roscoe's account of the Baganda customs,[1] the flower of the plantain or banana plays a certain part in the ritual which is gone through upon the birth of twins, and is there, I believe, used as a symbol of fruitfulness or plenty; possibly a similar idea may, in the past, have had some connection with its employment in the instance now described.

L 765 766 824 There are two curious customs, in which the thorn of the acacia plays a part, which may, perhaps, be mentioned under the heading of charms. Among the Ja-Luo when a person dies, for days, perhaps months after, the whole village wails with great fervour, and at stated intervals according to the conventions laid down for the case. If, however, a barren woman dies, the people of the village at once commence to wail in the usual way, and the brothers and sisters of the deceased proceed as quickly as possible to the village where the death occurred. The first blood-relation of the deceased who arrives on the scene takes a sharp acacia thorn, sticks it into the sole of the foot of the corpse and breaks it off; immediately this is done all wailing ceases at once, nor is it renewed as in the case of an ordinary death. The origin and the object of this strange custom appears to have been entirely lost.

N 787 824 Among the Nandi, when a raiding party is being arranged, the *elmoran* (warriors) proceed to a *laibon*, or medicine man, an ox is killed and the *laibon*,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, *et seq.*

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N 787 824

from an examination of the entrails, delivers an augury on the success or otherwise of the expedition. Among his utterances he may remark that some will be wounded with arrows, and, upon hearing this, each *moran* proceeds to the nearest acacia tree and plucks a green thorn, and if he is possessor of a shield, he sticks the thorn in the wooden midrib of his shield and breaks it off, leaving the point of the thorn in the shield, and carries it into action with him; if he has no shield, he breaks off the thorn in the hair on his forehead; this is believed to be a most potent charm against arrow wounds.

N 843

Among the Nandi too, there is a curious custom which is performed by a married woman, when she discovers she is first pregnant.

She collects from the unmarried girls, who are her near neighbours, pieces of their dress, strings them together and sews them on to the lower edge of her own robe, which is a semi-tanned ox-hide. The unmarried girls in Nandi wear a small skin apron from which depends a number of leather strips or tassels; from one, the woman will borrow a single tassel, from another, a tassel, and perhaps from another girl, who has more than one dress, she will borrow the apron complete. She wears these until after the child is born as a charm to ensure her pregnancy taking its normal course, and then returns the borrowed articles, at the same time inviting all the lenders to a feast.

N 751 304

A sprig of a certain herb is often worn by the Nandi in a hole pierced in the upper lobe of the ear as a charm to avert evil.

L 751 301

The Ja-Luo, in fact all the Kavirondo people, wear numerous small charms suspended by string round the neck. I had often wondered what all these odds and ends represented, so I induced one of the principal chiefs, named Ugada, in a confidential moment to enumerate them and tell me their origin. They were:—

1. Iron arrow points, which were given him the day he was named.
2. A small strip of thin iron sheet with three holes punched in it (fig. 1). This signifies the name of his grandmother Thako, who bequeathed it to her daughter, with instructions, should she have a son, to call him Thako. (Thako is Ugada's second name.) This may point to some old survival of a time when men traced their ancestry through the female line. This, however, would hardly seem to be borne out by an examination of Ugada's genealogical tree which only takes account of the male line of descent.

Fig. 1.

3. A transparent crystal of rock crystal or quartz, said to have been picked up in the lake, as the rock around Kisumu is blackish basalt. If the story is true, it was probably dropped by some ancient resident in, or some visitor to, the locality. It is secured in a neat little leather cup shrunk on to the base of the crystal (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2.

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4. An irregular piece of very hard yellowish stone which was worn by his father Otiendi; it has a hole bored through it, and an iron ring inserted (Fig. 3).

FIG. 3.

5. About half-a-dozen of the Nya-Luo ancient beads, the yellow variety.
6. A piece of goat-horn, worn as medicine to prevent chest complaints.
7. The dried beak of a chicken, which is also worn as medicine for sickness; a medicine man told him to wear it.

FIG. 4.

8. The upper portion of a large marine shell of the type shown in Fig. 4. The lower portion is cut away, and nothing but the helix at the top of the shell remains (Fig. 5). This ornament is very common among the Wanyamwezi, and probably worked its way from the south. It belonged to Ugada's father Otiendi, and is said to have come originally from Ogalo, chief of Kanyamwa on the south side of the bay.

FIG. 5.

9. Around the left wrist was a stout cord through the strands of which were inserted four small pieces of stick (Fig. 6). The sticks are called *omeni* and are worn to prevent the wearer taking harm if one of his children touches him; why, was not stated.
10. A heavy brass bracelet worn on the right wrist; this was said to be very old, and to come from Aiyimbo, in the direction of Uganda. It belonged first to his brother Obiero.

FIG. 6.

11. A tiny square bag of skin, contents unknown, said to contain medicine for rheumatism, from which the old man suffers.

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TOTEMS.

Some efforts have been made to elucidate some facts with regard to the presence of a belief in totemism among the people, whose manners and customs are now under investigation. Researches upon this point however are attended with great difficulty, as it is not considered a suitable subject of conversation, and one and all are very reticent upon the point. The natives of the Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi groups all have a belief in the totems or *muziro*, but, apparently, no such thing as totem worship exists, nor do the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo believe in their descent from the *muziro* or totem, but a Nandi informed me that many of his tribe did believe in their original descent from a totem.

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Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

The Bantu group use the word "*Muziro*" to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any mischance, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred to can be averted by making a medicine "*dawa*," extracted from certain herbs, and this extract is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the patient.

Among the Nilotic Ja Luo the totems are called "*Kwero*," and there is a long list of "*Kwero*" animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch.

Upon no occasion is the rule of the *Kwero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this "*index expurgatorius*" are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any "*Kwero*" animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Belearica gibbericeps*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gemi tribe however, do not consider it wrong to kill and also eat this beautiful bird. The Gemi, Lego, and Sakwa tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them "*Oywang*." The Ja-Luo often wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the "*Kwero*" law.

Examples of the Totems of the Bantu Family.

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisesi clan of Awa Wanga	*Imbongo*, bushbuck.
Marama and part of Tsoso and Isukha...	*Kuru*, waterbuck or *Ikulu*.
Awa-Genya and Awa-Mrashi	*Liusi*, pigeon.
Awa Shekwi of Nyole	*Njofu*, elephant.
In Ketosh there are several, according to to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	*Makuyi*, a large black and white stork which appears in large flocks about November, it eats locusts.
Tasoni tribe (Ngaki section)	*Isunu*, reed buck.
Ithako, E. Tsoso, S. Kabras	*Imbongo* or *Ngawe*.
Probably the totem most common in Kabras is	*Mbinkalo*, white ants in the flying stage (but cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

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The Totems (Kwero) of the Nilotic Group.

	Name in Tho-Loo.		Name in Tho-Loo.
Crocodile... ...	*Nyang.*	Nile monitor (lizard)	*Ngnech.*
Hyæna	*Ndiek.*	Python	*Nyelo.*
Leopard	*Okwach.*	Mongoose	*Gori gori.*
Baboon	*Bim.*	Rock hyrax... ...	*Kumnēr.*
Monkey	*Ongner (Cercopithecus sp.).*	Tortoise	*Upuku.*
Wild cat	*Ogwang.*	Colobus monkey ...	*Kuru.*
Jackal	*Buwem.*	Wart hog	*Imbirri.*
Vulture	*Achut-th.*	Frog...	*Ogwan.*
Crow	*Agako.*	Crested crane ...	*Iwang.*
Kite	*Otenga.*	Ground hornbill ...	*Arumtich.*

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The following are in addition "*Kwero*" or "tabu" to the women:—Fowls, eggs, elephant, hippopotamus, sheep (latter only among Kisumu and Gemi).

The women's "*Kwero*" are not serious ones, *i.e.*, a breach of the law is not followed by death.

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The Totems of the Nandi Group.

	Nandi Name.		Nandi Name.
Hyæna	*Magetiet.*	Water tortoise ...	*Chebkukuchet.*
Jackal	*Leluot.*	Chameleon	*Nyeretiat.*
Kite	*Chebineret.*	Crested crane ...	*Kungonyot.*
Buzzard	*Chebkukusiot.*	Elephant	*Beliot.*

The elephant, although looked upon as a totem, can be eaten without evil effects.

B
771
825
184

I omitted to mention above that the Kadimu people, who live on the Lake near the mouth of the River Nzoia, believe that they are descended from the python; these reptiles are looked upon as sacred and annual sacrifices are made upon a hill in Kadimu to the common ancestor. The Kadimu people are a Bantu tribe which has adopted the language of the Nilotic Ja-Luo, and it is thus the only Bantu tribe in the country which looks upon its totem as its ancestor.

N
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825

Certain snakes, however, are looked upon as sacred animals among some of the Unyamwezi clans and it is highly probable that, as among the Kadimu, this is due to the belief that the snake was their common ancestor. Many Wanyamwezi consider it a deadly sin to kill a snake, and one occasionally meets an individual belonging to one of these clans who is said to be immune from the effects of snake poison.

N
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784

The totems of the Koromojo people who live north of Mount Elgon, are snakes, frogs, the monitor lizard, the hyæna, and the cheetah; they believe they will die

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo
NANDI FL13
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N 771 784 [824]

if they eat any of these. If, however, by any mischance, the meat of a "*Muziro*" animal be eaten, a medicine called *Eyarri*, if taken in time, will save the life of the person. It is made from a tree with very dark leaves called *Emuthi*, the patient is violently purged and, eventually, recovers.

THE KAVIRONDO.

The Rain-maker.

B 791

In a previous publication,[1] I have referred to this individual, whose name is Mgahanya, and who is chief of the Shekwi clan of the Nyole tribe, and I have for a long time tried to discover the details of the rites he is said to perform in connection with the art; his magical practices are said to be performed in a patch of dense forest, where he keeps a supply of large earthen pots, and also a number of semi-tame snakes, but I am unable to say whether these stories are true.

B 791 773

There is, however, a curious legend extant as to the way in which he acquired his supposed magic powers. On the south side of Kavirondo Gulf, in Kalachonyo country, there occurs a curious natron lake called *Simbi abūr* (*abūr* means a hole or pit) nearly a mile in diameter, and situate about two miles from the shore of the Nyanza. The lake is apparently in the crater of a small extinct volcano, and the story goes that, in former times, a large village stood on what is now the site of the lake. One evening a strange woman came to the village, called at a house, and begged for food, but her aspect was so forbidding that she was driven away; the same thing happened at the next house she called at. She then went on to a third house, where she spoke to a woman and asked her where her husband was. She was informed that he had gone to drink "*tembo*" (beer) at another house in the village, and the woman gave her some food and water. The strange guest then said she had a message to communicate to the husband; the wife showed her the hut where the men were drinking, and she went to the door of the hut, and called out to the husband of the woman who had befriended her, and he left his friends and came outside. She then told the man and his wife to follow her out of the village. They did so, wondering greatly, and, when they were a little way from the village, she threw something back towards it, and there was a tremendous report, the heavens discharged torrents of rain, and, when day broke, the village was found to be submerged, and the lake covered the site.

The witch then crossed over mysteriously to the north side of Kavirondo Gulf, and was found sitting at the roadside by a man named Kayenga, who lived in the Maragolia Hills. Taking pity on her, he invited her to his village, where she stayed some time. Kayenga thought he would marry her, although he already had one wife. But the witch had an unfortunate peculiarity; if she raised her eyebrows, her eyes emitted sparks of fire. The uncanniness of this scared Kayenga's wife, and she set to work to make life unpleasant for the visitor, constantly reviling her for a witch, and eventually she annoyed her so

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 30.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 791 773

that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*livoya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress.

The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 291 [783]

is killed on the doorstep of that house, before it is considered to be purified; the meat is divided between the aggressor and the owner of the house.

A woman is not entitled to don the tail immediately after marriage, but has to wait a month or two, the husband then presents her with a goat wherewith to purchase this important part of her trousseau.

Among the Bantu tribes, married women generally wear a small black fringe of fibre in front, but the Ja-Luo married women very rarely wear anything in front, the requirements of decency are, in their opinion, quite fulfilled if they have the tail. Ja-Luo girls, in their villages, are quite nude, but when they go to market, or to a dance, they wear, for ornament, a small fringe of various coloured beads strung on fibre. The Bantu women consider that the Ja-Luo tail is not at all a decent covering, and often jeer at them on this account. The chief Mumia thought that the tail might have originally been imitative of the tail of a cow. The Bantu Kavirondo have a superstition that, if a woman wears cloth round her loins she will not bear children.

B [842]

THE "MIKA" OPERATION UPON GIRLS AMONG THE GUASANGISHU AND NANDI.

Ceremonies attending the Operation on "Nditos" or young Unmarried Girls.

B 881 304

The ceremony among the Guasangishu always take place about the time of the full moon, and is generally performed at sunrise. The proceedings commence the night before by a dance, and the young woman's head is shaved and oiled. At dawn, the old women decorate the young women with their iron necklaces, beads, and other ornaments. The young *elmoran* ("fighting men") of the neighbourhood come along, and the young woman kneels down, while each *elmoran* makes her a speech, and hands her his club and leg bells. The speech is to the effect that she has been brought up among them, fed and protected by them, and has slept with them, and that she is to bear the operation without a sound; if she cries out she will be disgraced among women, and must leave the settlement, but in order that she may not leave them empty-handed, she can take the clubs, etc., given by the *elmoran*, as a symbol that she will not start life empty-handed.

The people then proceed in a cluster to the scene of the operation, while the mother of the girl wails. The girl is then laid out on a skin, and the people stand round in a circle. An old woman sprinkles the *pudenda* with powdered wood ashes, and taking a small curved knife with a blade about 1½ inches long (Fig. 7) excises the *labia* and *clitoris*. Milk is then poured over the wound, and the old women run round, all crying out; this is done to drown any groan or cry she may unavoidably make. The girl stands up, and shakes a bunch of iron leg bells, and she is then wrapped in a skin, and taken away to her hut.

FIG. 7.

B [413]

During the operation, the girl is held in a reclining position, her head and shoulders resting in the lap of one old woman, while two other women hold each knee. Young and old of both sexes are allowed to be present at the ceremony.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo
Nandi FL13
Bantu Kavirondo FL14

N 881 304 Among the Nandi the ceremony is very similar. They dance all night, and shave the head of the girl; in the early morning, the father and brother anoint her head with butter, and the girl, and the women present, are adorned with grass necklaces hanging down to the waist. Only married women are allowed to witness the operation, the males retire after the anointing operation. The actual proceedings commence by the *dinorusu* presenting knobkerries to her, as among the Guasangishu. The women then crowd round in a circle to prevent anyone seeing the operation; the girl reclines on the ground in the same position as among the Guasangishu, but not on a skin. No medicine is sprinkled on the part before the operation, the same shaped knife is used, only the *clitoris* is excised, nothing is put on after the operation. The girl stands up, and shakes bells after it is over. The girl's bead-spangled kilt is then taken away, and the skin worn by an old woman is given to her. She is then taken away and is not allowed to look at a man until quite well again. She is supposed to cover her face up, and every day she plasters her face and breast with red earth; within a day or two following the N [349] operation, the medicine women build two or three miniature huts of grass, plastered with cow-dung, about three feet in height, shaped like steeples, with a little door N [824] closed by a lattice-work of sticks; they are filled with the yellow fruit of the wild *solanum* and no one is allowed to touch or destroy them.

One of these huts is supposed to represent the man's hut—the future husband —and one the woman's; the woman's hut is an inch or two less in height than the man's. Every evening, the young girl has to go and stand close to these huts while she and her friends sing. At the close of the song, the girls who have been operated upon, spit in their hands, and go away. The girl is not allowed either to cook food or to handle it, but it is brought to her, and the native porridge is eaten with a wooden stick. During the time she is convalescent, she is supposed to have as much food as she can eat. The recovery is generally complete in a month, when the old woman takes the girl to the water, and shaves and anoint her head and washes her; she is then entitled to wear the large brass earrings of the older women, and is eligible for marriage. The old skin cloak she has worn during convalescence N [291] is taken away and replaced by a new one, and she is ornamented with beads and [847] wire, etc. If she becomes a widow, she no longer wears the beads and wire of a married woman. If a woman becomes enceinte before this operation is performed, the child is killed.

NAMING OF CHILDREN.

B 553 *Awo-Wanga.*—About a month after a child is born, it will be taken ill, and become very fretful; this is a sign that the time has come to name it, and the father goes to consult a medicine man who dictates the child's name.

The father then takes a live quail, breaks its wings and legs, bores a hole through its beak, and fastens the bird to the neck of the child by a string; he also ties one cowrie and one bead (the kind known as "*kiketi*") round the right wrist

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 563

of the baby, if a boy, and round its left wrist, if a girl. Next morning, the body and head of the quail are cut off, leaving the lower half of the beak of the bird suspended by the string round the child's neck; everyone then knows that it has been named.

Names are often suggested by some event happening at the time.

Mumia was born on the day of an attack by the Wamia or Elgumi people, and was thus named Mumia. Formerly, again, when Europeans were great rarities in the county, if a child was born on the day a caravan camped at the village, it would often be named after the leader of it, if he chanced to be well known, thus "Jaksinis," "Martinis," and "Obilos"[1] are very common.

Tattooing and Tribal Marks.

L 304 [843]

These rarely appear to have any special significance, but, among the Ja-Luo people, it is thought that a woman will not bear children unless she is tattooed.

All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel (Fig. 8). When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist. All the men are not marked, it is quite a matter of choice with them. For instance, the head chief of the Kisumu people is not tattooed.

Fig. 8.

The various tribes of the Ja-Luo have slightly differing tattoo marks.

B 304 [833]

Among the Ketosh, if a warrior kills an enemy in warfare, on his return he has two rows of round marks tattooed on his right chest and continued upwards over his right shoulder; moreover, upon reaching home, it is considered essential that he should have connection with his wife as soon as convenient; this is believed to prevent the spirit of his dead enemy from haunting and bewitching him.

The Turkana and Suk tattoo rows of spots from the chest over the shoulder, but whether this is significant of the warrior having killed an enemy or not, is not known.

An examination of the Ketosh language affords reasons for believing that there is a strain of Koromojo or Turkana blood among them, and this peculiar tattooing custom may be additional evidence of the affinity.

The Ketosh women have a number of raised dots tattooed on their stomachs and abdomen arranged regularly in chess board fashion. An irritant is rubbed into the cuts to produce weals.

Numerical Proportion of Sexes.

L B N 162 515

In a previous publication[2] I ventured the opinion that the female sex greatly outnumbered the male. My observation was based upon the prevalence of

[1] The native version of the names Jackson, Martin and Hobley.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 18

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 · FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi: FL13
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LBN 162 595

polygamy, and the deceptive fact that the village headmen and elders generally have large numbers of wives. Though still of opinion that the female sex predominate, their numerical superiority is probably not so great as I thought at first, and having had my attention called from time to time to the large number of unmarried adults in many of the villages, I have collected statistics on the subject.

LBN 163

The summary of these statistics is as follows:—

Bantu Kavirondo	male births	...	57½	per cent.
	female "	...	42½	"
Nilotic stock: Ja-Luo	male "	...	43	"
	female "	...	58	"
Nandi	male "	...	48½	"
	female "	...	51½	"

It thus appears that among the Bantu tribes the number of male births is in excess, and among those of Nilotic origin, particularly among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the female births are in excess.

LBN 162

The statistics also show the average number of children in a family among the various races.

		Average Number of Children.
Bantu Kavirondo		7·75
Nilotic stock: Ja-Luo		10·6
Nandi		2·6

Of course in times past the wastage of male life was extremely heavy, and in spite of the more peaceful times now prevailing, still is so.

In connection with this subject I may mention that as the country settles, and the male sex obtains a better chance of survival, I am hoping that the custom of marriage by purchase, which entirely prevails in this area, will prove an incentive to the younger male population to turn their attention more to the habit of working steadily for hire, in order to obtain the wherewithal to buy their wives, and I hope I am not too sanguine in making the statement that I fancy signs of this movement are becoming apparent.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

Nandi FL13

NILOTIC GROUP.

Gemi Tribe, Ja-Luo.—Statistics.

L 163

Names of Women.	Total Number of Children Born.	Surviving Children.		Children who have Died.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1. Ubei	9	1	5	1	2
2. Uwar	6	1	1	3	3
3. Uayango	10	3	0	4	3
4. Wahai	11	3	5	2	1
5. Ogoma	14	3	6	2	3
6. Ubei...	9	2	5	1	1
7. Uyori	11	4	5	1	1
8. Uajori	9	2	3	1	2
9. Okango	9	2	4	2	1
10. Othiambo	10	1	3	2	4
11. Ohoch	16	2	3	4	6
12. Ocholi	10	2	2	2	4
Total	126	20	42	25	31

Statistics of the Nandi.

N 163

Nandi.	Number of Wives.	Children Born.		Surviving Children.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Kerenchas, about 60 years old	4				
	1st wife ...	3	2	2	1
	2nd " ...	3	3	2	3
	3rd " ...	0	0	0	0
	4th " ...	1	1	1	1
Arab Kibei, about 30 years of age	2				
	1st wife ...	0	1	0	1
	2nd " ...	died in child birth.		—	—
Arabtalum, about 50 years	5				
	1st wife ...	2	0	2	0
	2nd " ...	2	2	2	2
	3rd " ...	3	3	3	3
	4th " ...	0	1	0	1
	5th " ...	2	1	2	1
Arab Katum, about 50 years	2				
	1st wife ...	2	2	1	1
	2nd " ...	died in child birth.		—	—
Jonjoria, about 60 years	2				
	1st wife ...	0	1	0	0
	2nd " ...	0	2	0	2
Total	...	19	20	15	16

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo

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Bantu.

Awa-Ware of Lusinga.—Statistics.

	Number of Children.	Children.	
		Male.	Female.
Woman No. 1 ...	10	8	2
" 2 ...	9	6	3
" 3 ...	4	1	3
" 4 ...	9	4	5
" 5 ...	10	4	6
" 6 ...	8	3	5
" 7 ...	11	6	5
" 8 ...	5	3	2
" 9 ...	6	5	1
" 10 ...	9	6	3
" 11 ...	7	5	2
" 12 ...	7	4	3
" 13 ...	8	6	2
" 14 ...	6	2	4
" 15 ...	1	...	1
Total	110	63	47

Statistics of the Awa-Wonga.

	Number of Children.	Children.	
		Male.	Female.
Woman No. 1	10	3	7
" 2	8	5	3
" 3	6	4	2
" 4	9	2	7
" 5	9	6	3
" 6	7	4	3
" 7	9	5	4
" 8	6	5	1
" 9	12	10	2
Total	76	44	32

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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The Isira Custom.

4 B 628

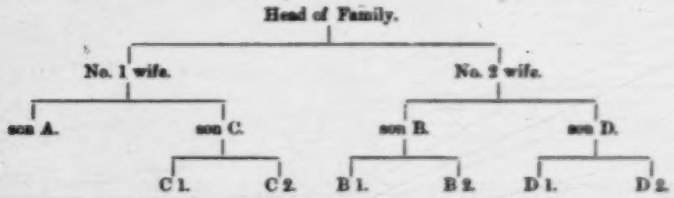
In Sir Harry Johnston's recent work on the Uganda Protectorate, reference has been made to the presence of a vendetta custom among the Kavirondo, in which, if a man is killed, the sons of the deceased endeavour to hunt down the murderer, and if they fail, the sons again carry on the feud.

This custom doubtless accounted for much petty bloodshed in times past. I am glad to say, however, that it is dying out now to a great extent, and one murder no longer leads to a succession of crimes.

L B 628 784

The old blood feuds are, however, still recognised, and a man may not eat with a person with whom his branch of the family has a blood feud, or, it is believed, he will surely die within 24 hours.

To make it clear how this curse operates, I append an example in which a man kills his brother by a different mother.



The feud commences by A killing B. After this D will not, nor dare, eat with A or C. In the next generation B 1, B 2 and D 1, D 2 cannot eat with A or C, neither can they eat with C 1 and C 2, although they are only nephews of the murderer, but they belong to that branch of the family through their common mother.

Curiously enough, although this custom is hinged on the female line, it only applies to the males of the family; the females can eat with the descendants of the tainted line without evil effects.

The men are desperately afraid of unconsciously infringing the *taba*; if a member of a murderer branch has cooked his food in a certain pot, that pot is defiled for any representative of the other branch; thus when a number of men are travelling together and the cooking pots are few, the situation becomes rather difficult at times and numerous disputes arise. Everything connected with this custom is called "*Isira*" by the Bantu Kavirondo.

The custom has been adopted in a half-hearted manner by the Nilotic Ja-Luo, but it is not carried out in such a persistent manner, and rarely goes so far as the defilement of the cooking utensils above described.

B 628

Among the Bantu people of the Kakumega Tiriki, this *Isira* custom is often indirectly taken advantage of in rather a cunning way as a means of obtaining revenge for their private grievances. Suppose a member of a certain clan has

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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B 628

suffered an injury at the hands of certain other members of his clan, *e.g.*, has had his wife enticed away or had a cow stolen, he will often proceed to the territory of a neighbouring tribe and lie in ambush, attack and spear the first passer by, likely to fall an easy prey, and will then return home.

In a few days it will leak out that one of the "Wa-so and so" has done this, and the clan of the murdered man will up and wage war with the clan of the murderer, who hopes to obtain his revenge vicariously in this manner; latterly, it is said, it has been done in the hopes that the administration will be induced to punish the clan, and, incidentally, the man who has wronged him.

As a variant of the same line of conduct during the last few years, several cases of suicide have been brought to my notice.

B 762

For example, in Nyole district a young man one day had a violent quarrel with his own mother while cultivating, and eventually beat her with a stick. She ran crying to a village near by, and one of the elders came out and gave the young fellow a thrashing; to every one's astonishment the young man hanged himself that afternoon, and the people of the vicinity told my agent, who went to enquire into it, that he had committed suicide so that his blood relations might lay his death at the door of the elder, and thus start a blood feud against him. Word was, naturally, promptly sent forth that such a procedure would be strongly discouraged, and the incident apparently closed.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

L 821

The Ja-Luo believe that the sun goes back to the east overhead during the night, hidden behind the heavens. They use the word *Chieng* indifferently for sun and the Deity. They do not associate the daylight sky with the light of the sun, but look upon it as something quite distinct, and asked what became of it at night. It is known by the term *Polo*. They professed the belief that Europeans were the children of the sun.

L 821 841

They believe that menstruation is caused by the new moon, and also that a woman can only become pregnant at the time of the new moon, and generally that the moon has a great deal to do with the occurrence.

During menstruation a woman does not cook food for others, but merely her own food. She performs all other work as usual.

L 372

The people have no ceremonies connected with fire, such as the extinguishing of all the fires at a certain time, and the relighting with certain rites.

B 845 846 833

Among the Awa-Wanga, many believe that within five or six days of the birth of a child the parents must cohabit, or the child will die. After the birth of twins, the parents are secluded for from twenty days to a month; at the end of the ordained period the brother of the man then formally opens the door of the hut and the couple can go about as usual. This seclusion of the male parent is probably an attenuated relic of the "*couvade*" custom.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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Arabchebki, Lumbwa Chief.

Ondun: Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

Gusangisha Warrior (Maran).

Ugada, Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND NANDI.

[p358 A]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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[302]

Jaloo Girl; Kajulu Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Kotosh Woman (N. Bantu).

Kisumu Girls.

[p. 358 B]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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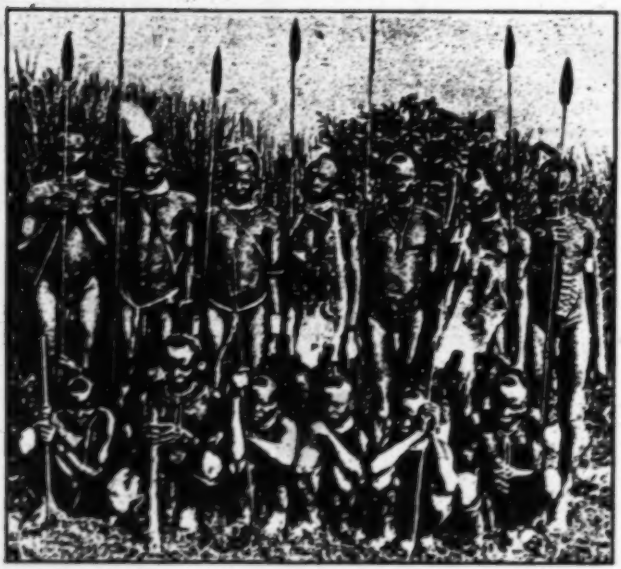

Korumojo Warriors.

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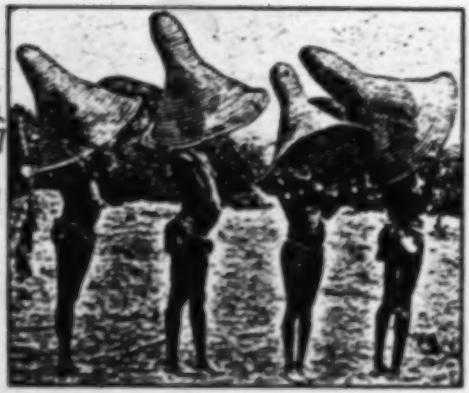


Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karungu Warriors (Ja-Luo).

[p.358]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13

N
773
821

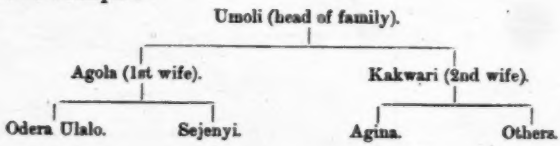
About 30 miles east of Kisumu in Nandi country, there is a forest-clad extinct volcano named Tinderet, and the Kamililo Nandi, who inhabit its southern and western flanks, tell a legend that high up on the mountain there is a cave, in which Ilet, the spirit of the lightning, who descended there in the form of a man, took up his abode. After his descent it rained incessantly for many days, and the Oggiek or Wandorobbo hunters who lived in the forest were nearly all killed by the terrible downpour. Some of them, while searching for the cause of the rain, found Ilet in the cave and wounded him with their poisoned arrows. Thereupon he fled, and died in Arab[1] Kibosone's country; directly he was dead the rain ceased.

Laws of Succession Among the Ja-Luo.

L
622

In the Gemi tribes, and several others of Nilotic origin, the following rule holds with regard to the chieftainship. The chief is always the eldest son of the wife whom his father married first.

To give an example :—



Agola was married to Umoli before Kakwari, therefore the chiefs are henceforth chosen from the offspring of Agola, and upon the death of Odera Ulalo, his son being quite small, the second son of Agola, Sejenyi by name, was elected chief. This rule was observed, although Agina is an older man than either Odera or Sejenyi.

It is possible that this may point to the existence in past times of uterine filiation among this race.

Origin of Name of District of Kavirondo.

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I have often made enquiries into the origin of the name of Kavirondo, and the Kisumu elders inform me that it is the name which the people of the south side of Kavirondo Gulf apply to the people of the north side; it is, however, a term only used when they meet at a dance and smoke bhang and sing about old times. They call the people of the north side Kavirondo, because they were vanquished by the latter and driven across to the south side of the bay; it was thus, originally, more or less an epithet of reproach.

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[1] In the Nandi language *Arab* in front of a prefix name means "son of," thus Arab Kibosone means "son of Kibosone."

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[Title Page]

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FISHING IN THE KAVIRONDO GULF, LAKE VICTORIA.

By C. M. Dobbs.

History of the Industry.

228 Although fishing by natives along the shores of the Gulf has been carried on from time immemorial, it was only in 1905 that the fishing industry proper was started by Mr. Aarup, a Norwegian, who found by experience the best size and kind of nets to use.

227 Mr. Aarup, who was almost blind, appears to have done a lot of pioneer work in the industry, and definitely proved that the best mesh was what is known as the 5 inch. This gives a mesh of about 2 inches square. At first shoemakers' twine was made into nets locally, but this was not successful partly owing to the inferior lasting qualities of the twine and partly owing to the slipping of the knots which allowed the fish to escape. Trials were also made with cotton nets of thicker thread. These nets however took no Carp (Ngege and 227 Mbiru) but caught Kisinga (Fwani). Subsequently nets were obtained 439 from Messrs. Wm. Barbour, Lisbourn, Ireland, and these were found so successful that they ousted all the locally made articles and are the only sort used at present. *These nets are sold in the Kisumu Bazaar at a price of Shs. 17/- to 18/- and are 100 yards long, 5 inch mesh and 26 mesh deep, 35 twine three ply. They are of a drab colour and the thread is very fine. White and tanned nets are useless. Trials were made with thicker twine (No. 20) but the catches were small.

The average life of a net is said to be about 20 days, but in the hands of Europeans they have a longer life and sometimes last up to two or three months unless they meet with accidents as when a crocodile gets entangled in them.

In 1921 when the industry was more flourishing than it is to-day up to 20,000 nets were imported annually from Ireland.

Restrictions:

228 The use of nets with a mesh of under 1 inch square is forbidden by law. Trawling is also forbidden except in water of 16 feet and over, and at a distance of not less than a quarter of a mile from the shore; this means that trawlers cannot be used in the Gulf as it is all very shallow.

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* A large number of nets are also supplied to the Kisumu Bazaar by Messrs. Joseph Gundry & Co., Bridport. There is also a certain demand for White Nets.—*Editor.*

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LAWS AND REGULATIONS:

228 The law in regard to fishing in Lake Victoria is contained in an enabling Ordinance entitled The Fish Protection Ordinance, 1908 (Caps. 163 Laws of Kenya) and regulations promulgated at various times by His Excellency the Governor. This Ordinance gave the Governor power to regulate fishing, impose fees and registration of boats, issue licences and determine times of fishing. The first rules published under the Ordinance were the Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Rules, 1914, Government Notice No. 123, page 682 of the *Official Gazette* for 1914. These rules were applied to all that part of the Lake Victorial lying within the then East Africa Protectorate and to the mouth of every river. It contained the following Regulations:

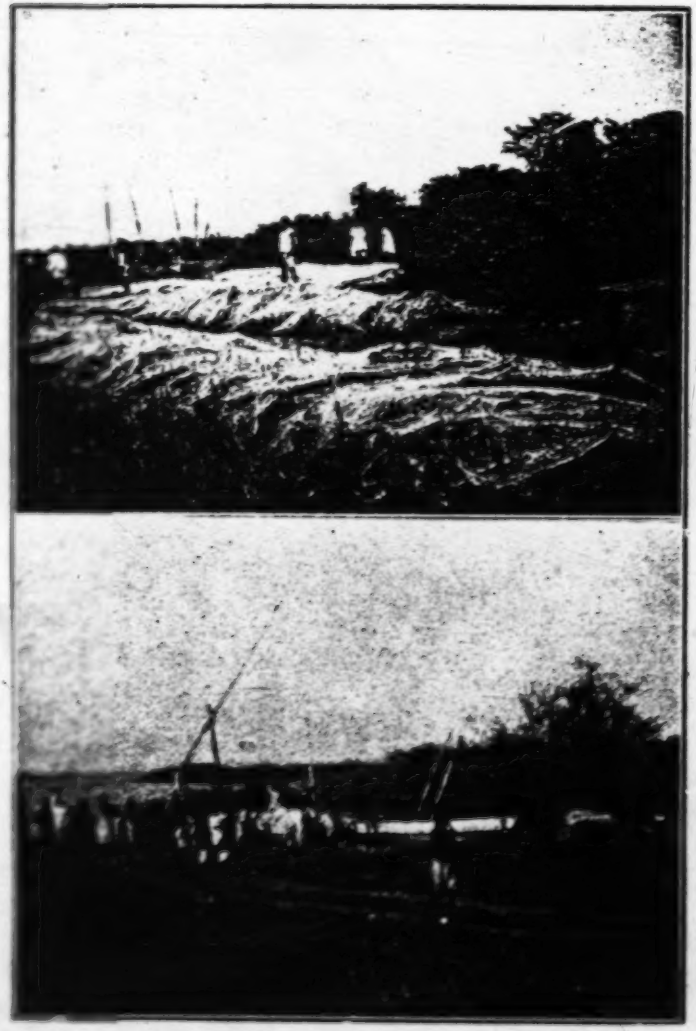
(1) All persons fishing for sale or barter were required to register yearly. The fee was 300/- for all non-natives of Africa. No fee was charged for natives.
(2) All registered fishermen were required to register all boats, nets and stakes.
(3) No mesh was to be less than 1 inch square.
(4) Trawling was prohibited nearer than quarter of a mile from the shore and in water less than 16 ft. deep.
(5) No nets or stakes were to be placed in a fairway.
(6) Fishing grounds with nets to be buoyed.

Later in the year the Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Amendment Rules were promulgated (Government Notice No. 181 of 3/8/14 *Official Gazette*, page 864). These defined " natives " as being South Kavirondo, Kisumu, and North Kavirondo natives and any other natives of African not of European or Asiatic origin who are in the employment of a non-native who is duly registered.

Further rules were published on 14/2/19 (Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Rules, Govt. Notice No. 50, *Official Gazette*, page 103). These provided tha any person other than a native—who is exempt from registration under other rules—who employs natives to catch fish, shall be liable to registration and to other provisions as if he were himself a person employed in catching fish, and any person buying or bartering fish for resale or barter either by wholesale or retail shall be registered as if he were employed in catching fish.

METHODS OF CAPTURE:

[471] The fishing industry is in the hands of Indians who own the boats which are manned by natives. These natives in addition to their pay get a few of the fish caught. The vessels used are locally built flat bottomed boats 25 ft. long, 6 ft. beam and 2 ft. deep and cost about £50 each. They carry a lateen sail and the crew is generally five. They go out in the afternoon and lay the nets at sunset taking up the catch before daybreak and returning in the morning. Asembo Bay,



Drying Nets at Nanga Fishing Village, near Kisumu.

Fishing Fleet near Nanga Fishing Village, near Kisumu.

[p.98A]

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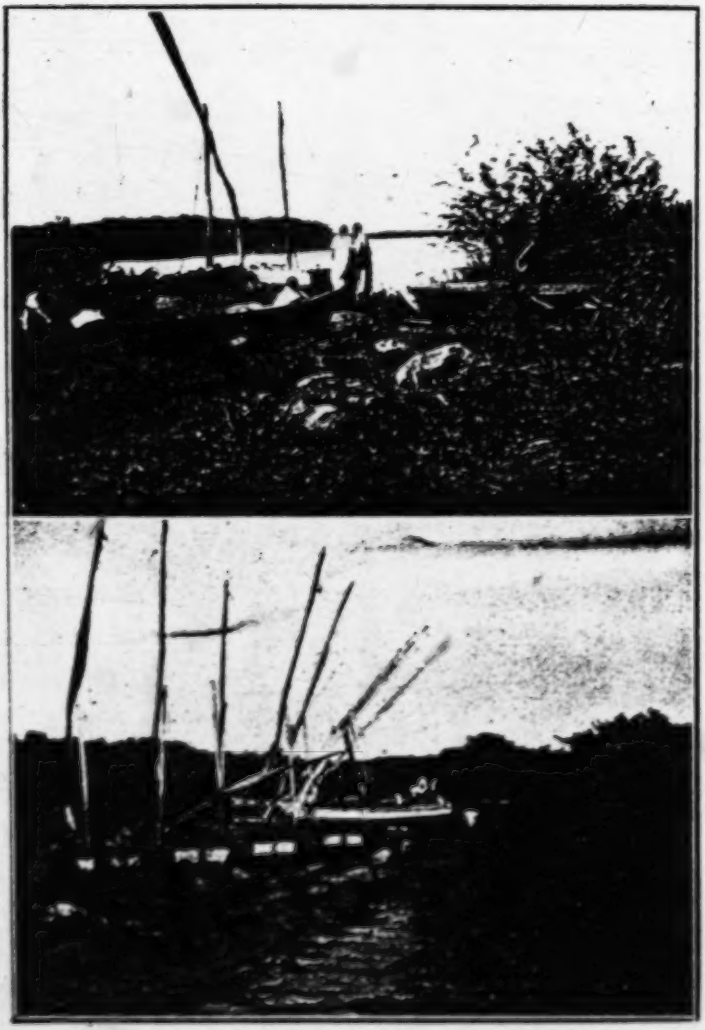

Canoes and Fishing Boat at Nanga Fishing Village, near Kisumu.

Nanga Fishing Fleet, near Kisumu.

[p. 98B]

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Two Rafts and one Fish Trap and Weir at mouth of Kibos River.

Fish Traps (Musathi) near mouth of Kibos River.

[p.98C.]

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Fish Weir (Kew) at mouth of Kibos River.

Kavirondo raft near fish weir at mouth of Kibos River.

[p. 98 D]

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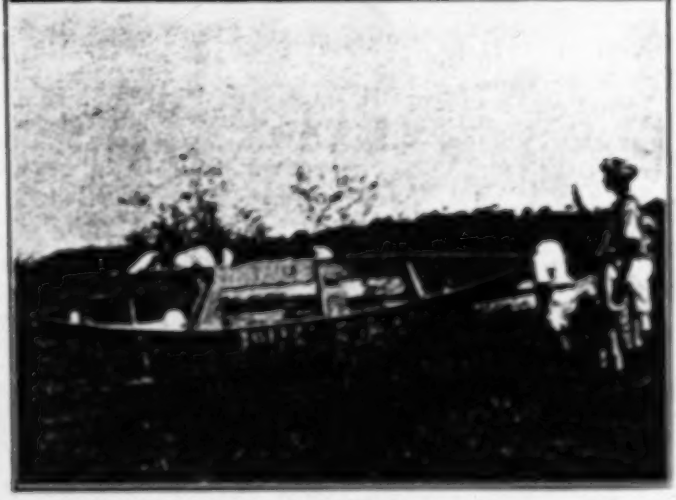

Fisherman in Canoe, Kach Bay, Kisumu.

Canoe on Lake Victoria.

[p. 98E]

228 Kadimu, and Karachonya are the best fishing grounds. Fewer fish are said to be caught during the full moon and the takes are greater when the nights are dark and rainy.

The boats put out 10 to 20 nets each, *i.e.*, 1,000 to 2,000 yards. During the building of the Eldoret Railway one European who supplied fish to the labourers manipulated up to 8,000 yards of nets.

227 The 5 to 5½ inch mesh takes the Ngege, Mbiru, Mumi, Kamongo, Seu, Suma, and sometimes Sira. Occasionally a net of a 3 inch mesh
228 is used and this takes the Ningu, Sira, and Osoga.

These nets run on a coir rope top and bottom. The top is supported by corks and the bottom weighted with iron rings. They only catch fish while drifting and any check through catching on an obstruction will render them useless. The nets are often damaged by floating islands, boats, and crocodiles.

FISHING CENTRES:

There are three Indian fishing villages in the Gulf, at Seme, Asembo, and Nanga. The last is only three miles south of Kisumu and is the only one near enough to supply fish for the Nairobi market.

MARKETING AND COST:

228 The fish for the Nairobi market are brought in by natives in sacks on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. They are cleaned
435 by Kavirondo women under a tree on the Lae shore near the station and are packed in ice and despatched to Nairobi by the 2-25 p.m. train. The Kavirondo women obtain the entrails as their perquisites and the Indian who superintends takes the gills which appear to be regarded as a delicacy and are extracted before the fish are packed. The fish are packed in ice in large chests. The ice costs 18 cents a pound and one pound is required for each fish. The freight to Nairobi is Shs 3/50 per 100 lbs. Together with the other incidental expenses it costs about 25 cents to send a fish to Nairobi. When the fish are plentiful the usual price is 25 cents a fish in Kisumu market.

ADVERSE TIMES FOR FISHING.

228 The months April to August are not good fishing months and during these months the natives entirely give up fishing in the Lake with drag nets and confine themselves almost entirely to catching fish in the river weirs (Kek).

SPAWNING:

136 Most of the Lake fish spawn in May, June and July. Carp (Ngege and Mbiru) are plentiful during the other nine months. The carp (Kavirondo Ngege) spawn in shallow water with sandy bottom at a depth of 3 to 5 ft., and are thus immune from capture by nets which cannot be used in such shallow spots. They do not spawn in the Gulf except in rare cases but choose the spawning

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136 beds near the Islands where the bottom is sandy. The female scoops out a circular hole and deposits the eggs and the male then fertilises them and takes charge hanging over the nest and keeping away sediment by the action of the fins and tail till the young hatch out. This fanning motion keeps fresh water passing over the eggs.

It seems probable that the fish come up the Gulf to spawn and are then caught. A continuance of this year after year may be exterminating the Gulf fish. There is not any close season under the Ordinance. It is possible that the natives catch fry near to the shore under the impression that they are full-grown fish of a small type.

It will be noted that there is a certain amount of divergence of opinion as to where the fish spawn. My authority for stating that they do not spawn in the Gulf is Mr. Oorloff, ex-Government Assistant Surgeon, who is a local authority on Lake Victoria fish.

DECLINE OF INDUSTRY: DIMINISHING CATCHES.

228 433 There appears to be no doubt whatever that fish taken in the Lake are decreasing and various reasons have been brought forward to account for this. Mr. Acton, Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy, dealt with this in his annual report report for 1923 and the figures he gave are of interest and worth quoting:

Year.	Sum collected for licences.	Average retail price of fish.
	Shs.	Cents.
1917-18	16,350 ...	60
1918-19	14,530 ...	70 to Shs. 1/-
1919-20	19,350 ...	50 to 75
1920-21	19,200 ...	50
1921 (9 months) ...	16,300 ...	40 to 25
1922	9,900 ...	25
1923	8,120 ...	25

The following are the corresponding figures for the subsequent years:

1924	8,700
1925	10,500
1926	8,250
1927 to 31/5/27 ...	5,700

He states as follows: " During 1923 the fishermen appeared to have great difficulty in paying the annual licence of Shs. 300/- and although given a good deal of time in which to pay most of them had to be summoned to force payment.

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BASKET TRAPS.

1. Ange, used by women.
2. Ange, used by men.
3. Musati.
4. Sisuya.

[p. 100A]

Possible Reasons for Decline:

228 The decline in the industry appears to be due to three main factors:—

(a) Fewer fish in the Kavirondo Gulf than formerly.
(b) Decline in retail prices giving less profit.
(c) Poverty of the fishermen.

In regard to (c) it may be remarked that during the years of high retail prices many wealthy merchants, Goans and Europeans, were engaged in fishing. These have since withdrawn and the class now carrying on the work usually have to buy nets and boats on credit or pay heavy interest on borrowed money, destroying the fishers' small profit and causing more and more to abandon fishing"

It is generally admitted that the catches of fish are less than they were. In the early years the average catch is estimated to have been over 25 fish per 100 yards of net while the boats operated at only about a mile from shore. In later years the catch fell to 8 per net and to get these the boats have to go from 12 to 15 miles out. The number of boats has also fallen off. At the height of the industry's prosperity there were 150 boats working on an average 10 nets per boat. Some boats worked as much as 20 to 25 nets.

Native Methods of Capture: Nets.

226 Turning now to the methods employed by the ordinary natives
227 living along the Lake shore we find that fish are caught by drag nets, weirs, traps, harpoons, long lines and to a very small extent with fishing rods. The drag nets used are made of papyrus stems fastened close together and are about 5 ft. deep. They are made in two sizes, the larger size being called by the Jaluo "Ongo" and the smaller "Ogodo." One end of the net is towed out by men in canoes some distance into the Lake and is taken round in a half circle so as to enclose a considerable area of water. The two ends are then drawn towards the shore so that the net brings in with it any fish that have been enclosed. When it is fairly close in men wade into the water with long baskets (Dhelue, Aungo) and capture the fish in these. These baskets are a form of trap made on much the same principle as a lobster pot and consist of a large cone of basket work about 6 ft. long with a smaller cone inside it pointing in the same direction. The inner cone is open at the end so that when a fish enters at the wide mouth of the basket it swims through the hole at the end of the inner cone and gets imprisoned in the space between the two cones.

Basket Traps, Portable and Stationary.

227 A smaller form of Aungo is used by women, called Aungo Katenge. There are two varieties of this, one with the double cone and one with only a single cone. When using the double cone cone they place three

227 or four in a line on the bottom. They then go some distance in front and frighten the fish into the traps. The single cone traps are used by the women in a different way. They hold the baskets in both hands with the wide part facing towards them and wade backwards in shallow water drawing the baskets along the bottom towards them. When the fish enter the basket they raise it out of the water in a perpendicular position. The following fish are caught by this means: Nyawino, Ndera, Ningu, and Akunga (eels). The Ningu is not caught in rivers during May, June and July as it goes to the Lake then presumably to spawn.

Basket Traps used at Weirs.

226 Enormous fish weirs (Dholuo, Kek) are a feature of the rivers of
227 Kavirondo. Some of these are built of wood and some of stones and extend right across the rivers from bank to bank. At intervals in the weir there are gaps and basket traps (Dholuo, Musathi) are used on the upper side of these holes to catch the fish as they pass through up stream. The Musathi are similar in principle to the double coned Aunga, but are made of reeds fastened together longitudinally, while all types of Aunga are plaited.

Portable Traps.

Another form of basket fish trap is the Sienyu. This is also a conical basket with a hole at the top or narrow end. The native using it wades along in shallow water pushing it down at intervals on to the bottom of the lake or river. If a fish happens to be imprisoned it is heard splashing inside and the native puts his arm through the top hole and pulls it out. The Sienyu is also made of reeds fastened together longitudinally.

Stationary Traps, Baited.

In addition to the foregoing there is another kind of basket trap used called Omuongo, which is almost identical with a European lobster pot and used with bait and in the same way.

Fishing Spears.

226 Fish are sometimes harpooned by natives wading in the water. The harpoon used is narrow and has no barb and is called by the
411 Jaluo Bedthi. Mumi and Kamongo are speared in this way.

The natives of Mohuru are said to go out in canoes on moonlight nights with grass torches and harpoon the fish.

Fishing with Rod and Lines.

226 Fishing with rod and line is indulged in principally as an amuse-
227 ment and by juveniles. Long rods made from a tree called Poo are used by men. Hooks (Dholuo, Oluo) are bought in the bazaar. The bait used is a sort of worm (Dholuo, Oniambo) found in the mud. Mumi (barbel) are caught in this way. The line is made from

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up. 226 227

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:— 251 262 [161]

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,387

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Yiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai). 226 [501]

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mohuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:— 361

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	33,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	13,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

361
162

South Kavirondo.

Karachonya	21,105
Kochia	7,327
Kaniada	9,579
Kasigunga	2,442
Kaksingiri	1,463
Gwasi	5,390
Karungu	2,569
Kadem	11,145
Mohuru	771
Rusinga (Island)	2,099
Mfwangano (Island)	1,792
	65,682

Brief Account of Visit to Kach Bay.

226 The following short account of a trip round Kach Bay and up the Miriu river may be of interest as showing different methods of fishing followed by the Lake shore Jaluo. I had arranged with the son of Chief Amimo of Kanu to go and see the fish being taken out of the basket traps at the weirs at the mouth of the Kibos river and at 6-30 a.m. on May the 29th started off from the Dhow Pier with B. in the Government Motor Boat. It took us about one hour to get to the mouth of the river and on the way we saw the fishing fleet coming back with the night's catch to Nanga fishing station. We ran the motor boat a few yards up the river mouth and landed and the boy lit a fire and prepared breakfast. While waiting we watched the various fish-eating birds which were very numerous. The ordinary 136 Darter Anhinja rufa (Dholuo, Osoo) was there in large numbers. This bird goes right down under the water after the fish. It is said to capture the Fulu, Adel, and Osoga. An occasional cormorant (Dholui, Kwasi) was to be seen and one or two storks (Dholuo, Okol) while numerous birds like seagulls and toons (Dholuo, Sialo) were flying about and occasionally dipping down into the water to capture a small fish.

The most remarkable birds however were the pelicans, *Pelicanus onocrotalus* (Dholuo, Mbuzi) which were floating quietly about and occasionally dipping their enormous beaks into the water and then raising them skyward to allow the unfortunate victim to slip down their throat more easily. Large numbers of kingfishers, *Ceryle rudis* and *Corythornis cristatus* (Dholuo, Kalamendi) were also seen. The empty shells of numerous fresh water snails (Dholuo, Ogongolo) strewed the shore, which was very sandy. While we were waiting a native brought up a small fish trap (Dholuo, Musathi) which he had just taken out of a ditch running into the Lake. This contained five

small fish: two Adel about four inches long, two Sire and one Ningu. 136
We were also shown two small eels (Akungs). When breakfast was
finished we walked up to see the big weir across the river. It was 226
about 50 yards from the mouth and stretched from bank to bank in
a zig-zag line. It was made of rough poles driven into the sandy
bottom of the river which was very sluggish at this point. Numerous
gaps had been left in the barrier and above every gap facing down
stream was fastened a fish trap (Musathi) of which there were about 226
30 or 40 in all. By this time numerous natives had collected together
and several rafts had been brought down to assist in lifting up the 501
traps. These rafts were of several kinds. One kind consisted of long
thin poles of very light ambatch (Dholuo, Mburi) wood fastened
together. This wood, when dry, is as light as cork and is used for
floats for the Mugondo, or stationary lines, and also by the Mohuru
natives for floating their hippopotami harpoons. The second raft was
a large square frame about 12 ft. by 5 ft. made of poles fastened
together three deep by iron rods. The floor appeared to be made of
some sort of matting. This raft, as it appeared to be the safest, we
chose to stand on while watching the fish traps being taken up. The 226
raft was tied up to the top side of the weir while two natives went
into the water which was up to their shoulders and unfastened the
traps one by one. When they were undone the native who was with
us on the raft pulled the trap out of the water with the mouth up
and the fish that were inside slipped to the end of the cone. When
he got it on the raft he turned it the other way up and the fish could
then be pulled out where the inner basket was fastened to the outer
one at the mouth. The fish were then put into a receptacle of matting
work for safe keeping called Ngaha. We watched 20 of these baskets
being taken out and the following is a record of the catch in each
basket. I was informed that these catches were very very small
compared with what is usually taken in the months when fish are
plentiful.

It is noteworthy that only one of the 20 baskets drew a complete blank and in one other both the fish Ngege were dead.

1st trap	1 Mumi	11th trap	5 Ngege
2nd ,, ...	2 Ngege	12th ,, ...	1 Ngege
3rd ,, ...	1 Ngege	13th ,, ...	0 Ngege
4th ,, ...	1 Ngege	14th ,, ...	3 Ngege
5th ,, ...	1 Ngege	15th ,, ...	1 Ngege
6th ,, ...	1 Mbiru	16th ,, ...	3 Ngege
	1 Ningu	17th ,, ...	Empty
7th ,, ...	1 Ngege	18th ,, ...	2 Ngege
8th ,, ...	1 Sire		1 [illegible]biru
	3 Ngege	19th ,, ...	[illegible]
9th ,, ...	1 Ngege	20th ,, ...	[illegible]
10th ,, ...	2 Ngege		

226 The total catch of the 20 traps was therefore 38 Ngege, 1 Mumi, 2 Mbiru, 1 Ningu, and 1 Sire, *i.e.*, 43 fish in all.

We left the Kibos river at 9-30 and went on towards the end of Kach Bay seeing numerous fish eating birds on the way.

Line with Multiple Hooks.

There were also quite a number of natives in canoes and one of these to whom we spoke was working a long line called by the Jaluo Mugondo. This is a very long line weighted at one end with a stone. At intervals along it are hooks fastened to the main line by short lengths of thinner line and baited with pieces of fish mostly Fulu. It is also buoyed at intervals by floats of ambatch (Mburi) wood. The native in the canoe holds the other end. The hooks of some of these lines we saw were the ordinary barbed variety bought in the shops but one man had barbless hooks evidently locally made.

[139]

They were very sharp and curved almost into a complete circle, while the point was slightly bent to one side. I tried to buy this line from the owner but he refused to part with it.

Weirs and Traps, not in Rivers.

Along the shore and end of Kach Bay, near the mouth of the Nyando river, we saw two other varieties of fish weirs called by the Jaluo Osagoru and Bwanza, something on the principle of the river weir (Kok).

The Osagoru resembles a maze and is made of papyrus stalks (Dholuo, Togo) driven into the bottom of the Lake and fastened together and forming a barrier through which the fish cannot pass. As far as I can discover the fish in the course of their peregrinations meet this barrier and move along it until they get caught in a suitably placed basket trap (Muasthi). The Osagoru is as often as not entirely below the surface of the water and just outside the mouth of the Miriu River we came across a canoe and a raft containing two and one man respectively engaged in building this form of trap. We were informed that a fourth man was working on the Lake bottom pushing in the papyrus stalks. He eventually came up for air and it was amazing the amount of time he spent underneath.

[147]

Traps and Artificial Reefs.

The Bwanza is also made of papyrus stalks. It is a small barrier built across little channels cut into the papyrus swamps or occupied out of the sandy shore either on the side of the Lake or on the river bank.

A small gap is left in the barrier, and basket traps are placed on the side away from the Lake or river as the case may be. The fish

226 trying to work their way into these channels get caught in the traps. On leaving the end of Kach Bay we made for the mouth of the Miriu river. On the way we were much interested in the performances of
136 a kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) which flew for some time parallel to the boat and a considerable height above the water. At intervals it would spot a fish, poise itself for a second or two, then drop like a stone perpendicularly into the Lake beak first with a splash, to rise again
133 almost immediately and continue its flight. The Miriu is known higher up as the Kipsonoi and Sondo, but is called the Miriu when it passes through the gorge in the escarpment and comes out into the Lake plain. From there it runs through the level country at first between high solid banks, but as it nears the Lake these disappear and are succeeded by dense papyrus swamps. The channel is exceedingly tortuous, in some cases nearly doubling back on itself, and the total distance from the gorge to the Lake is about seven miles. We took the boat about five or six miles up till we grounded on a sandy spot
136 after which we returned down stream. Several crocodiles (Dholuo, Nuang) were sighted on the way up and one varanus (Kalaguena) which is said to eat fish. When we started to float down with the engine running very quietly, we saw more crocodiles lying out on the mud banks, especially on the higher reaches of the river.

These reptiles must destroy vast quantities of fish and as very few of them are shot they are presumably increasing. It took about an hour to get back to the mouth of the river and two hours from there to Kisumu. I saw no otters (Dholuo, Mandoholo) on this trip. Some years ago I saw two swimming in the Miriu river.

The following are the names of the various fish found in the Lake, with a brief description of each of those I have seen. The list has no claim to be exhaustive.

(1) Siwa. A big fish with a nose and mouth like a trunk. Inhabits the Lake. It is not very popular as food. It is
[253] rarely taken in nets or on hooks. A few are taken in traps. Scales very small. Has firm flesh. The natives think that they get itch from eating it. —*Mormyrus sp.*

(2) Nonga. A carp-like fish. Firm flesh which lasts well. This is the principal food fish of the Kavirondo Gulf and is sent to Nairobi in considerable quantities. It is extremely like the Mbiru. —*Tilapia sp.*

(3) Mareo. A good eating fish and very difficult to distinguish from the Ngege. The only difference appears to be that it is a bit darker and the tops of the spine are reddish. It does not keep fresh so long. A small variety of this fish, possibly its fry, is called Obidi. —*Tilapia variabilis.*

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date) 1927 FL11 Luo FL11

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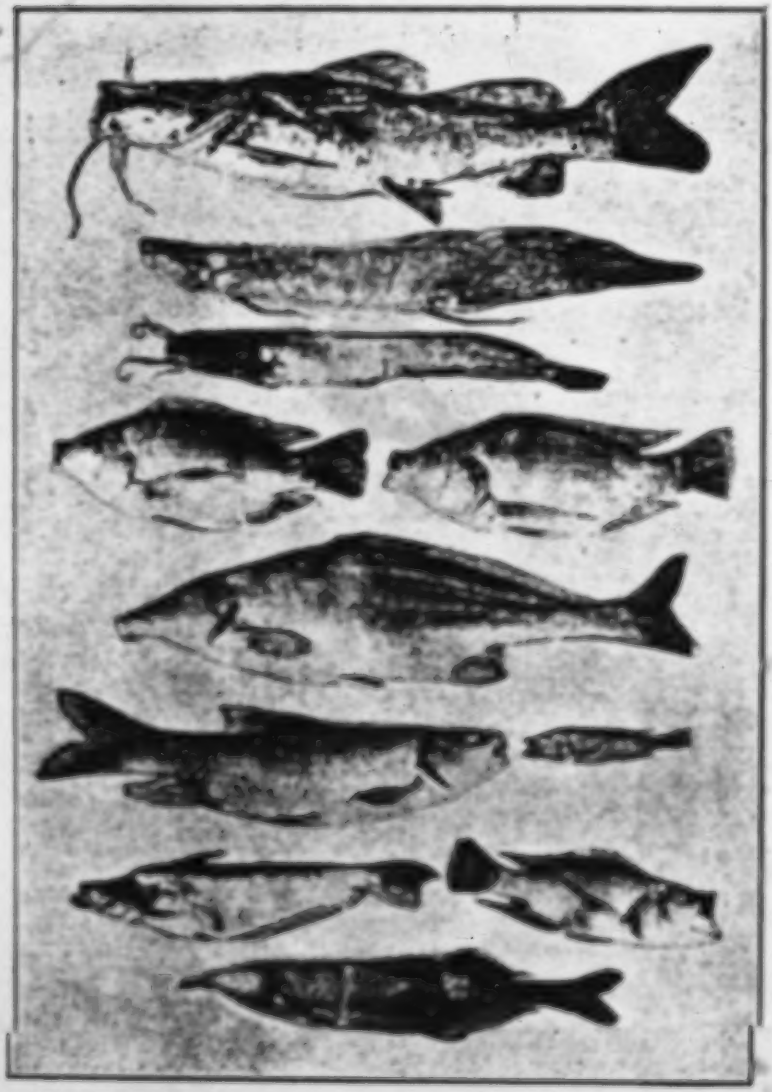

Photo by C. M. Dobbs.

FISH FROM KAVIRONDO GULF.

1. Sea (*Bagrus docmac*).
2. Kamongo (*Protopterus athiopicus*).
3. Mumi (*Clarias mossambicus*).
4. Ngogo (*Tilapia sp*). 5. Mbiru (*Tilapia variabilis*).
6. Soma (*Mormyrus sp.*).
7. Fwani (*Barbus radiciffi*). 8. Fulu (*Haplochromis sp.*).
9. Sire (*Schilba sp.*). 10. Osondapere (*Haplochromis sp.*).
11. Ondhuri (*Gnathonemus longibirbis*).

[facing p.107]

136 (4) Kamongo (Swahili, Mamba). This is the Lung fish *Protopterus æthiopicus*. It is a mud fish and can live out of water in mud for months. The natives are fond of this fish. It breeds in papyrus swamp. When caught it utters a grunting sound. It is not eaten by Mohammedans. Lives in Lake and rivers.

(5) Fulu. A small fish. Lives in Lake and rivers.
—*Haplochromis sp.?*

(6) Sau. A spined barbel. Has a big mouth with whiskers. Eats other fish. Grows very large. Takes meat or fish bait. Not very popular as food. Caught in the Lake. Not a very important fish. Only a few caught. —*Bagrus docmac.*

(7) Fwani. A yellow fish with big scales found often in rivers. Known as the Kisinja. This is the fish caught at the Jinja Falls. A true Barbus. Inhabits the Lake and large rivers. Very bony and poor food. —*Barbus Radcliffi.*

(8) Ondhuri. Found in Lake and rivers. Has a curious fleshy proboscis on the lower jaw. —*Gnathonemus longibirbis.*

(9) Okoko. No scales. Spotted. Upright fin on back. About 9-12 inches. Found in Lake and rivers. Edible.

(10) Mumi. The barbel of South Africa. Called in Swahili Kambare. Has a very flat head and grows very large. Eaten only by Africans. Eats other fish. Of no commercial importance. A mud fish. Will take bait.
—*Clarias mosambiacus.*

(11) Nyigu. Has scales and is very bony. Only eaten by natives Caught in the Lake. The mouth is underneath.

(12) Siri. Found in Lake and rivers. Edible. Has two deep depressions on each side and a hump on top. Has a shovel mouth. Something like a herring. Probably *Schilbe mystus.* Known also as the Butter fish. Breeds in the papyrus. Seldom caught in nets. Generally in fish traps. Said to be quite the best eating fish of Kavirondo waters, but not caught in commercial quantities and probably would not travel well. In season takes bait. When cured and smoked not unlike dried red herring. —*Schilbe.*

(13) Osondoogo. A scaly fish like a John Dory. Found in the Lake. Edible. —*Haplochromis sp.?*

(14) Oscoa. A small silvery fish. Caught along the Lake shore with rod and line. Edible. —*Alestes nurse*

(15) Nyeera. Said to be the young of the Mumi. Very like the Nyawino but lighter.

(16) NYAWINO. Like the Nthira but does not grow big and is of a darker colour. Inhabits the Lake and rivers. Edible. 136

(17) NDERA. Small fish found in the rivers.

(18) OMENA. A very small silvery fish caught in traps in the Lake. —*Engrauli cypris.*

(19) OYORA. Said to be the young of the Ngege.

(20) OBUDI. Said to be the young of the Mbiru.

(21) ADIL. A small scaled fish of silvery colour about four inches long.

There are other fish which I have not been able to see and cannot describe, but they are said to live in the Lake and rivers and to be edible. The names given are: Otenda, Adendi, Otengo, Nyangoro, Obu.

I have also seen small eels (Okunga), about a foot long, caught in the Lake. Crabs (Okela) and Oysters, and fresh water tortoise (Opuk) are also found.

For a good deal of the material embodied in this article I am indebted to reports made some years ago by Dr. Orloff and Mr. Blaney Percival and also for figures and information supplied by the Administrative Officers in Central and South Kavirondo and the Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy. The native names given are Dholuo (*i.e.*, the language spoken by the Jaluo Kavirondo except where otherwise stated. 138

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[Title Page]

THE CULT OF MUMBO IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH KAVIRONDO.

By "Nyangweso."

124 Owing to the African's habit of giving the answer he imagines to be the one required instead of the real answer to a question, it has been a little difficult to sift fact from fiction as regards the Mumbo cult. A further complication is that in this religion, as in others, there are different sects who hold their own views as to the interpretation of the teachings of the founder. I have however endeavoured, after several interviews with members of the cult, and with others in a position to give reliable information, to eliminate minor local divergencies of belief, and to give a broad outline of the main beliefs and practices of the Mumboites.

745 In 1913, there lived in the Central Kavirondo location of Alego, a man named Onyango Dunde, of the Asuja clan. One evening as he sat in his hut, a gigantic snake appeared and swallowed him up. It was so big that as it stood on end in the lake (Lake Victoria) its head reached up into the clouds. Almost immediately afterwards it vomited Onyango back again into his hut, unscathed but rather shaken. Indeed it appears that this was just the snake's method of drawing Onyango's attention to the fact that it wished to speak with him, which it proceeded at once to do. It spoke more or less as follows:—

"I am the God Mumbo whose two homes are in the Sun and in the Lake. I have chosen you to be my mouth-piece. Go out and tell all Africans—and more especially the people of Alego—that from henceforth I am their God. Those whom I chose personally, and also those who acknowledge me, will live for ever in plenty. Their crops will grow of themselves and there will be no more need to work. I will cause cattle, sheep, and goats to come up out of the lake in great numbers to those who believe in me, but all unbelievers and their families and cattle will die out.

[124] "The Christian religion is rotten (mbovu) and so is its practice of making its believers wear clothes. My followers must let their hair grow—never cutting it. Their clothes shall be the skins of goats and cattle and they must never wash. All Europeans are your enemies, but the time is shortly coming when they will all disappear from our country.

"Daily sacrifice—preferably the males—of cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls shall be made to me. More especially do I prefer black bulls. Have no fear of sacrificing these as I will cause unlimited black cattle to come to you from the Lango (Masai, Nandi, and Lumbwa).

Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" in very much the same way as Onyango had been "called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an unintelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called "Boombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially "Called" by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically "Called," chose to join the cult.

At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

7: Nyangweso U-4 (no date)1930 FL11 Luo FL11

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have been more common in South Kavirondo whither the cult had spread and had been received with enthusiasm.

The priests started " schools " which they usually placed on hill-tops, and in the best proselytising traditions, attracted potential adherents by giving feasts of their slaughtered cattle. They also built here and there what might be called groves or places for the worship of Mumbo where sacrifices were made to the accompaniment of many obscenities and dancing.

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In some of these Groves were wooden idols, one of which has been presented to the Natural History Museum by Mr. C. M. Dobbs, late Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province. This practice of constructing sacred Groves to Mumbo and erecting idols is interesting since all the people who were questioned about this cult said definitely that such things had never been commanded by Mumbo himself. True, he had said that there were to be sacrifices made to him with dancing to the accompaniment of drums and bull-roarers (without musical accompaniment), but he meant them to take place in each boma. No instructions had been given for groves or idols.

An extract from the report of the District Officer who found the idol is worth inserting at this point:—

" . . . .The meeting place of the cult consisted of a beautifully swept enclosure adjoining the High Priest's Boma and capable of seating some two hundred people. From the next boma to that of the High Priest ran a made path, four feet wide and trenched at the sides . . . . The enclosure was surrounded by a well-built dry stone wall. In the centre was a little semi-open hut about six feet in diameter, finished with white mud . . . . There was no door, it appeared symmetrical all round, thus:—

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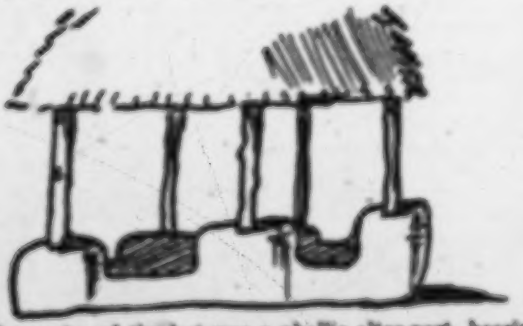

" In the centre of the hut was a phallic altar-post, bearing traces of blood-stains . . . . The High Priest's daughter produced some unpleasant animal relics from a hole in the wall in the enclosure. In the Western corner a bush plant (Nyalothkoth) had been planted. . . .

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In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls.

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The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about 5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo boma the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has a post—called in Dholuo, "Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of [531] the boma has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby boma.

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The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all carved Loches appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these Loches is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Loches in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who hold parallel beliefs.

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It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

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The prophecies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out, especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

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altogether. It gains very few new converts and nearly all of these are natives who have broken away from a native-run Christian Mission known as the Nomiya Luo Mission, but these are not very numerous.

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In conclusion I would like to offer my explanation of the nature of the "Snake" which swallowed Onyango. One morning in April this year while at Asembo location, on the Lake-shore, I happened to look out towards Homa Mountain on the other side of the Kavirondo Gulf. About a mile from the mountain and over the lake hung low a small bank of clouds. It was about half-past eight in the morning. From the centre of the clouds, and reaching down tenuously to the lake, twisting and swaying, hung a water-spout. The distance, some fifteen miles, made it difficult to estimate its height, but I think that a fair guess would be from 350 to 400 feet. I turned to my interpreter and said, "What do the wats make of that?" and he replied, "Oh, they say that that is the great snake Mumbo!"

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SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON LUO MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

By E. C. Shaw.

I. Introductory.

This account of Luo marriage customs was given to me by half a dozen elders of the Luo tribe, living in a location called Nyahera about seven miles from Kisumu. All of them were over fifty, and two at least must have been nearing seventy, if they were not older. The question of the age of my informants may seem irrelevant, but in fact it is not. In the first place their advanced age, as age is counted among primitive people, entailed that they had been brought up, and had passed their early manhood during a period when the customs of the tribe had still not been affected by contact with European civilisation. Their view of life, and of their duties as members of the Luo tribe was the view that had been taken by their fathers and their grandfathers before them. In this they differed from their own sons and grandsons whose attitude towards tribal customs has been and continues to be profoundly modified by white influences. This falling away from the traditional ways on the part of the younger generation is not only a source of grief to the old men: it is also a source of profound annoyance. For it robs them of a large part of the prestige and authority which among the Luo, as among other primitive people, is traditionally the due of those who attain to a ripe age. In the old days this prestige and this authority carried great weight. It was the head and fount of power in the tribe, and the exercise and enjoyment of this power became the chief interest of a man's life as his years increased and his sons grew up and took from his shoulders the family duties and cares of his earlier days. It follows that the decay in the importance of the old men, which is such a marked feature in nearly all the Kenya tribes to-day, makes the elders not only resentful, but also very willing to dwell on the old days, the good days, when their word was law, and the young were still in due subjection to the old and the wise. For these two reasons then, their exact personal knowledge of the traditional mode of life of the tribe, and their interest in the days when this mode of life was still the accepted one, the advanced age of my informants was a valuable factor. Also it pleased and flattered them to be appealed to as authorities, and from the beginning to the end of our interviews they were only too pleased to tell me all they could of the days when they were young. Apart from a natural inclination to view the past through rosy spectacles they took great pains to give me an accurate account of what the tribal customs used to be before the white man came. Long discussions used to go on over points of detail, and it was only when they were all agreed that I was allowed

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *wuowe*,
885 that for a married man *jalt*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *wasembe*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala*=homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resources.

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sacrificing her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilized, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

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system should be borne in mind by those who are inclined to argue that because primitive marriage customs are governed chiefly by practical considerations those who submit to them must necessarily be lacking in what are known as "the finer feelings."

After the choice of a wife had been made and approved on both sides the next step, until as late as ten years ago, was the ceremonial capture of the bride. This was known as *make wpake* (literally "the catching of the maiden"). The man and one or two of his friends armed with clubs and shields would lie in wait for the girl as she went to work in the fields or draw water from the river, and when she came they would take her away with them to his village. She was expected to resist her capture, but not too seriously. As soon as it was known that she had been carried off she was followed by her sisters and as many of her friends as cared to go. On the night of her capture, and in the presence of her friends intercourse would take place between her and her future husband in the *simba* hut (the *simba* hut is the hut inhabited by the unmarried men of the family). The man expected to find her a virgin. If he was disappointed she fell into permanent disgrace. Her parents were furiously angry with her; her husband held her unchastity against her for the rest of her life, and she returned to her village on the following day in silence and shame. But the marriage was not abandoned nor was the bride-price diminished on this account. If she was found to be virtuous she returned to her home surrounded by her sisters and friends singing songs and rejoicing, and the whole party were smeared with sim-sim oil, ghi and sahen on their arrival by the bride's mother. This triumphal return was called *cwa wer*. Before it could take place, however, two other ceremonials had first to be carried out at the bridegroom's dale. The first, called *diere*, began with the arrival there, on the day following the capture of the girl, of a party of young men belonging to her clan. The party was composed of her brothers and some of their friends, armed with clubs and shields. They were met outside the dale by the bridegroom and his brothers and some of his friends and a sham fight usually took place between the two bands of young men, though sometimes they did not trouble to stage the traditional mock battle. After the encounter the visitors chose a bull and a heifer from the family herd. The cattle chosen need not necessarily belong to the bridegroom's father; they might be the property of some other member of the family, and if this was so they were replaced later by beasts belonging to the former and sent to the bride's father. This bull and this heifer were known as the *dhe dier* and were not delivered until a much later stage in the proceedings.

After the bull and the heifer had been chosen a ceremony of an obviously sacrificial nature took place. A hen was brought by the bridegroom's grandmother (his father's mother). A string was passed through a hole pierced in the lower part of the hen's beak, and the

grandmother then hung the bird, still alive, round the neck of the girl. 584
Hanging there it was then killed, and immediately afterwards removed by cutting away the lower part of the beak through which the string was passed, leaving this portion still hanging round the girl's neck. The bird was afterwards roasted and eaten by the men in the *dala*.* 584
After the fowl had been removed the girl put on a small apron about six inches square made of strips of leather hanging free from a supporting strip decorated with beads and cowrie shells. Aprons of this 292
kind were manufactured by a man whose special trade it was. The [463]
beads on it were made of *mukongo* and the apron itself of cow-hide. The apron given to the bride was not a new one. It was borrowed for her from one of the bridegroom's married sisters, and she took it away with her and wore it until he sent her a new one of her own. At the same time she put on a small "tail" of cactus fibre. This tail, like the larger one worn by married women, was known as *chieno*, and the plant from which it was made was called *tworo*. If there was no fibre ready in the *dala* from which the *chieno* could be made, a fresh supply was gathered after the girl's arrival, and the *chieno* was constructed by a woman married either to one of the bridegroom's full brothers, half brothers, or to one of his first cousins, i.e. to any of the men whom he called "brother." The small *chieno* was presented to the bride by the bridegroom, who first, however, gave her a goat. This goat (*diend chieno*) was in turn presented by the girl to her best friend who had accompanied her from her home and who was expected to remain close to her side until she returned to her mother's care. The bride wore the small tail until certain cattle, known as the *dho gole onyimbo* (the cattle of the casting away of the *onyimbo*) were paid to her father. She then took off both the *chieno* and the *onyimbo*, and they were burnt. I did not, at the time, 584
enquire into the motives and beliefs underlying this ceremony, as enquiries of this kind made through an interpreter seldom have any satisfactory results, but the ceremony is obviously a *rite de passage* marking a stage in the girl's progress from the virgin state to that of a married woman. After the night in the simba but she was no longer entitled to the name of *nyako*—a maiden—but was referred to as *miako*—a bride—a designation that was applied to her until she finally left her father's *dala* for that of her husband.

After these ceremonies she was sent back to her home with her companions and to the accompaniment of the songs and rejoicings I have already described (*omu wer*), taking with her a goat given her by her father-in-law. This goat was called the *diend buombwe* because it was decorated for the journey with festoons of the creeper called *buombwe*, which was also used in this way on other occasions of rejoicing. The goat was given by the girl to her father who could

* Women were forbidden to eat fowls (or sheep) for fear that if they did so they would contract *chicken-pox* (*fere*). [262]

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the [393] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The [435 guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that 252] before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish called *kobaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

291 After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known 584 as the *dho golo owimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them he sent a new *owimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *owimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chiewo* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chiewo* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre [77] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

[68] * Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional costume adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtain details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel [78] apparently has matrimonial proportions. For if any man accepts her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

When the *dho gulo ongimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 581 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikwey*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikwey* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikwey*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochieno*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

583 with him three or four cows. The party entered the dala very slowly
585 feigning indifference and reluctance. The bridegroom made himself as inconspicuous as possible, and tried to conceal himself in the midst of his companions. No ceremonies took place on the day of arrival, but the guests were given food and spent the night in the simba hut. On the following day the bridegroom was taken to the hut of the bride's mother and made formally known to her. Meat was killed and the day was spent feasting and drinking. Finally in the evening the bridegroom and the bride's father sat down together and the
[533] bargaining began. The rest of the gathering were entertained by a professional minstrel who sang topical songs, some composed to meet the occasion. His fee, incidentally was a goat, which, for some reason I could not discover, had to be presented to him by the bride. He was also given presents by the girl's father and mother.

During the bargaining the bride's father tried to get as large a payment as possible out of the bridegroom. If he was too greedy the negotiations were broken off, and the bridegroom paid compensation for the expenses incurred in entertaining his party and for the loss of the bride's virginity. But if the two came to an agreement that agreement was final, and no further demands on the father's part or subtractions on the part of the bridegroom were allowed, unless the former demanded to see the cattle before accepting them. This was sometimes done, and if the cattle were unsatisfactory he might refuse to proceed with the marriage. If, on the other hand, he trusted the bridegroom, the negotiations were considered closed, and he might even consent to receive a proportion of the bride-price after instead of before the final marriage feast had taken place, and the girl left her home for good. In this case the bridegroom had to give an extra bull, known as the *randa kirirya*, which was sent over for inspection before the feast took place. If it was accepted the final ceremonies were then carried through.

583 In most cases the bride-price itself was paid by instalments over a period that varied with the ability of the bridegroom's father to meet his liabilities. Usually some months elapsed before the whole number of cattle had been handed over, and it might even be a year or two before the girl's father received all that was due to him. During this period it was customary for the girl to pay her future husband a visit from time to time. She was always accompanied on these visits by one or two girl friends, and was expected to stay for several days. She slept in the simba hut with her betrothed, and intercourse took place. It sometimes, though rarely, happened that the girl conceived
[544] on one of these occasions. This was bad luck for the girl's parents, but fortunate for the bridegroom, for it was absolutely necessary that the child should be born in his dala. He could in consequence hurry on the marriage, which could now take place before the whole of the

dowry had been paid; he was thus enabled to spread his payments of the bride-price over a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. Also the fact that the girl was with child prevented her from being carried off by any other man; apparently a not unheard of occurrence. 583

The wedding feast itself—the *kiriaya*—took place in the bridegroom's dale. The bride arrived accompanied by her sisters, or, if her sisters were too young to go with her, by her brothers' wives. She was also attended by one older woman, perhaps a married sister, who acted as a chaperone. It was the special duty of this older woman to see that the bride was properly treated, and to make herself polite to the father and mother of the bridegroom. But with this exception older men and women were never included in the bride's party. Any man who attached himself to it would have been laughed at for mixing himself up with an affair that concerned women only. On the other hand not only did the bridegroom's sisters attend the feast but, as well, all his brothers, half brothers, and first cousins (in other words all the people he called "brother"), the wives of his brothers, and all his male friends. 585

As a rule the wedding feast lasted only one day, but if the guests had come long distances, it might last two or even three days. The feast consisted of porridge and meat. The young people were not given beer, but the bridegroom's mother usually brewed a small quantity for her husband and his brothers.

The meat provided consisted of the flesh of a bull which was cut up and apportioned according to certain definite rules. The division was the duty of the bridegroom's father, who first of all cut a small piece from the neck and sent it into the bridegroom's mother, who waited in her hut to receive it. He then cut more small pieces from the neck and scattered them outside and inside her hut. This was an offering to the ancestral spirits, and was accompanied by the following prayer:— 585 782

> *Dho wanings dhiang mar dhakonga jaogi dato ubi uchom bad jachira akete nii tiolaka kwara gi wuara gidega umi ringere ogasi akwe nata kiringia marach ebed man gima maker dale dato.*

Prayer and offering were together intended to placate the ancestral spirits and to persuade them to bless the marriage. After this the right fore-leg was cut off and placed in the centre of the mother's hut. This fore-leg had a special name, *badjachira* and was a gift to all the ancestral spirits. It was afterwards eaten by the bridegroom's father and mother, and part of it was dried and sent to the bride's mother.

The whole of the breast, with the exception of a small piece reserved for the bridegroom's brothers, is sent to the brothers of the 585 184

585 bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*pauyaopo*=bachelors)
[184] may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugoma, Asembo, Kadimo and Ugenya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the older men living in the dala, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the older men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This concoction was called *kichari* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the
[184] bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, and Ugenya on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *kichari* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The hump was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women
[262 gueats, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men
753] are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *hydrocele*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 After the *kirirpa* was over the girl was regarded as having finally
541 passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the *simbu* hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachira*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as
585 other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were
[151] in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten pots full, and when the girl returned to her husband's *dala*, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *reyus dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wen dipo*. *Reyus* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the *dala*. *Wen* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *reyus* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wen* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the *reyus dipo* she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The framework was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally bobbing herself at the beck and call of the older woman. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly- 591 591 591 606 515 606

585 606 famous tribes the women should be contented with a system that deprives them and their children of the exclusive care and attention of the husband and father. But it is easy to see that a young Luo wife might well be glad to share her claims with another in return for a lightening of her domestic burdens. A description of the full nature of these burdens does not lie within the scope of this paper. But I might say here that they are in all cases extremely heavy. There is little doubt that the premature ageing that is such a marked characteristic of the women in all primitive agricultural tribes such as the Luo, is due to the almost unremitting toil incidental to the early years of marriage and child-bearing even where the family circumstances are comparatively prosperous. 145 461

(To be continued.)

[the continuation of this article was never published. - Analyst]

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[Title Page]

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FOOD PRODUCTION AND KINDRED MATTERS, AMONGST THE LUO.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

(Paper read at the 3rd Annual Scientific Meeting held in Nov., 1933.)

Soil:

134 The production of food must necessarily be associated with knowledge of the soil. The principal soil varieties have been named by the Luo, and the methods appropriate to each variety are well known. Black cotton soil, called "anywang," occurs over a wide area, mainly around the lake shores, and is conspicuous in the locations of Uyoma, Karachwonya, Kasigunga and the Kano Plains. Red earth, called "lwala," is, speaking generally, found further back from the lake, on the higher lands, and is to be found over wide tracts in Central and South Kavirondo, a notable location being North Gem, in Central Kavirondo. Sandy soil, called "kwayo," is generally found in the neighbourhood of outcrops of granite, which is a prominent feature in many parts. The locations of Asembo in Central Kavirondo, and Suna in South Kavirondo are good examples of areas where this sandy soil is abundant. Murram, called "gu" when solid and "ge" when disintegrated into a soil, occurs in places all over the country, Sakwa and Alego in particular providing many examples of it. Stony soil, called "kite," is to be found over large stretches, particularly in those neighbourhoods where escarpments rise from the regions round the lake. Though the labour involved in the cultivation of this stony soil is very great, where there is pressure of population, every available patch is made to produce food.

Rainfall:

132 Over certain sections of the country rainfall is very uncertain. The worst locations in this respect are lower Sone, Uyoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, parts of Asembo, Miranda, Kasigunga and Rusinga. In other districts rainfall is abundant, running from forty to sixty five inches in the year, well distributed over the months, with the exception of January and early February. January is reckoned to be the driest month of the year, and is the month when there is most relaxation from agricultural operations, this being the favourite time for the interclan wrestling matches.

[524]

[illegible] Contrary to what many would expect, amongst people who periodically suffer from lack of rain, the Luo have developed no system of rain makers. At the top of Usenge Hill in Kadimo, there is still to be seen a site marked by a collection of votive pots, where the local

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance,
776 it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large
measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian
spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous
as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake
shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account
very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply
say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-
makers.

791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-
maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-
maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the
Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it
is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the
rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not
infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches
782 of the Rosia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct,
according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river.
The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young
one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned,
before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though
shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago
I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be
collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose.
The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent
for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done
so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their
offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity
that they should waste their substance on what could do them no
earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the
609 rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely,
but at the end of it were "of the same opinion still." I left them
gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile
or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from
nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got
thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been
able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely
my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no
doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers.
It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land
791 had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

24l 791 " Jabilo " or leading medicine-man of the community concerned performed a sacrifice or " misango " the purpose of which was to render ineffectual any harmful magic left behind in the soil by those from whom it had been taken. It occasionally happens even to-day that a cultivator will suspect that an enemy has buried " yath " or harmful medicine in a field. In this case no preparation of the soil of this field for a crop is begun until a diviner has been consulted in order to find out the enemy. The Luo have a great faith in the power of the diviner to discover an enemy. That the diviner denounces people, and that he is oft times right, cannot be denied. Sometimes it may be guess work, as when there has been a notorious quarrel and it is simple to suspect the other party in the quarrel, but at times the medicine man has more certain sources of information. In the year 1910 I had the good fortune to get into rather friendly relationships with a medicine man who had become a Christian. In one of our conversations I asked him how it was possible to divine a wrongdoer. He told me that it was generally very easy. If a man wished to put down medicine, he had to procure it from a medicine man. Or, if he proposed to rob his neighbour he applied to the medicine man for protective medicine. Following upon the injury or the robbery, the injured party applied to the local medicine man in order to find out the enemy. If the injured person was prepared to pay a fee exceeding that paid by the enemy, the medicine man had no scruples about giving his client away. But I do not say that this is a complete explanation of all the powers of divination exercised by medicine men. Still, there can be no doubt that often both parties consult the same diviner, just as at times in our own social life both parties to a lawsuit will approach the same lawyer. Perhaps I had better safeguard myself. I am not, please, to be understood as implying that a lawyer will give his client away.

24l In the preparation of the soil for the crop, all members of the family who are fit, take their share. Only in bush country, where there is heavy clearing to be done, is the work left to the men. This operation is called " keto." In all other types of land there is no discrimination between the sexes, even where tall-grass, called " olenge," has to be dug up. But there is a certain amount of discrimination amongst the age groups. When a man has advanced in 24l 867 years, and younger members of his family are sufficient for food production, he leaves it to them, while he devotes himself to less arduous tasks, possibly herding, or some form of social service such as the elders perform in settling the lawsuits of the clan.

24l The next operation after "keto " is " puro," the turning over of the soil. Where weeds or grass have been heavy, this is followed by " wang'o " or burning. In sandy, stony or red soil, sowing the seed

241 comes next, but in cotton soil, there is further preparation by breaking up the clods, getting a fine tilth. This is called "buso." I well remember my surprise, and critical attitude, when first I noticed that sowing was done without any attempt being made to break up the rough grass-matted clods. However, the crop, which happened to be "bel" or millet, which resulted from these primitive methods, was, a heavy one. I was told that the clods afforded protection to the young seedlings.

With regard to the sowing or planting three terms are used. Broadcast sowing, as of millet, simsim and beans, is called "chwayo" or "lodo." The planting of each seed individually, as with maize, is termed "kosno," while the planting of cassava and sweet potatoes is known as "pidho."

241 Under the system now fast dying out, sowing was surrounded by
805 many taboos. First of all, was the knowing the time to sow. In
821 a normal year there are two sowings, one in the early part of the year, February or March, and one during the shorter rains about September-October. The slower growing crops were put down in the spring, and the quicker crops in the autumn. For the spring sowing guidance was sought from the stars. Amongst a people who had no names for the months of the year, natural phenomena had to be relied upon. These the stars supplied, and especially the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades. These two constellations are called by one name "Yugini" by the Luo. They further differentiate by calling the three stars of Orion's belt, the "chuo" or "men," and the cluster of the Pleiades the "mon" or "women." (The men are obviously polygamists.) When the time of the year comes round during which these stars are observed shortly after nightfall, to be about midway between the zenith and the horizon, then they know that sowing time has arrived. No matter how good the rains may have been before these stars reach the traditional position none must sow, and, conversely, if rains do not come by the time the stars say that sowing ought to be done, there are dismal forebodings about the crop. The Luo say that if the millet (their main food crop), has not flowered by the month when these stars dip below the horizon shortly after nightfall, then there will be a poor harvest and scarcity of food.

241 Other natural phenomena which guide them are birds. There is
825 a bird called by the Luo "Ondiek ti oyieng" ("the wild beasts are well fed") which has a very monotonous three note cry. Some Europeans call it the brain fever bird, from the deadly monotony of this call. The Luo have given words to this cry "Dak to kom" meaning "Aren't you going to sow to-day." There is another bird, called "Oliech ga apol" which follows behind the digger for the insects turned up with the soil. The presence of these birds is held to

241 826 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the ordinary African kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, feeding in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

241 782 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called " kilo " was performed before sowing took place. If the " Jadwong' kilo " was warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. " Kilo " was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to graze. The present " Jakilo " in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of " kilo " in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1932 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

241 177 [924] When the time was ripe for sowing, the " Mikayi " or chief wife of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the " mikayi " had thus given permission. Any who were so bold as to begin before the " mikayi " were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the course of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism, accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the " mikayi " is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the shorter crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called " kal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the workers squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the striga weed, called by the Luo " Loyenge." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop.
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a
" medicine " is employed called " migalo magalo pe." This consists
of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 8—9 feet high,
which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[252] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a
herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[679] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is
unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time
to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms.
In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
917 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on
the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
136 monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and
elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo
it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at
night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary
business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where
mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[320] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in,
organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like
136 Miranda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage
both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried
to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture
forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts.
This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and
occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through
guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Ask, one of
the most famous of ancestors of the Loo, is said to have lost his life
in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he
told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to
his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on
guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was
happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons
mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal
results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of
the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds
are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

291 life of the countryside. Oftimes the boys are armed with slings from
136 which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or
857 into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo decide the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

291 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in
136 their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our
789 civilization. The medicine is called by two names, "yadh miri" or "yadh lesse." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo "Nyangiriya" which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied
[illegible] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, "yadh miri" is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of "yadh miri."

578 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry
685 passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

291 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task
[illegible] of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets
857 and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

24] common to allow some of the standing roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

25] 57] The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

25] 26] The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large stores run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket-work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the Jakilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

[93] 96] 24] 96] It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year. Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

96] 95] Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultivation was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

case of the main store being depleted. Grown up unmarried sons and also daughters could have each his or her own "mundo." In case of necessity their grain went into the family store, but from it they were allowed to barter grain for the personal ornaments which were common in the tribe. Grain which was still in store when the new crop came in was at the disposal of the woman, who frequently used it in barter for domestic animals. This custom is called "rundo," and the beast procured, if a cow or heifer is called "dier tekre." It was the woman's own property, subject to the limitations of absolute ownership which pertain to all notions of property among primitive peoples. It could not be bequeathed away from her by her husband. In case of famine she could take of its offspring and barter it for grain. Once having acquired the beast she did not readily part with it, but kept it for her children.

As at the present day so also in days gone by, there was no tribal organization of food supplies as a provision against famine. During the last two or three years when crops have been short through damage by locusts there has been one word which was heard very frequently. The word is "kimma." It means to journey away from the home locality in search of food for the family. In days gone by domestic animals were taken to those who had food to dispose of, and bartered for grain. A man without stock would marry off his girl child, and with the cattle get food. This was the only way in which famine conditions were met. Needless to say when famine was widespread, very much suffering was entailed.

Rotation of crops is practised to a limited extent. The order of rotation is decided largely, by the period of the year in which the first crop is put down. If virgin or fallow land is prepared for the autumn sowing, then the first crop is one which ripens quickly, such as simsim or lonna. When this is harvested, the land will be put under a slower growing crop, like millet or maize. Before being allowed to revert to fallow land, it may be put under sweet potatoes. If the land is first prepared for the spring sowing then the order is reversed. But it must not be taken that what has been written above is the invariable rule. I have known a field to be put down first in sweet potatoes and then followed by a second crop of potatoes before being planted with maize. Also where the land is very rich, as in certain valleys, year after year maize or millet may be put down until the land shows signs of exhaustion. It then reverts to fallow. There is no strict rule governing the length of time it rests. Some allow a rest of three, some of five years. It depends upon the amount of land available and the pressure of population upon it.

The names used by the Luo for the different phases are as follow:— Virgin soil, "Obuyg." Land under rotation, "Tung." Fallow

242. land, "Mbwa." A piece of land used infested in the middle of cultivation is called "sino," and the Loo are alive to the menace this neglected patch is to the crops surrounding it. A man who allows "sino" to endanger his neighbours' crops is very unpopular.

[678]

STATUS OF WOMEN:

SL2. 773 The position of women amongst the Loo is one of great influence, in spite of many things which show that they are not regarded as the equal of the men. While they have nothing in their creation stories which gives the male such pre-eminence as is given in the Hebrew account of creation in the second chapter of Genesis, yet even in their stories it is the male which is created first. The origin of the female is surrounded with mystery, none have any clear account of her origin. But it is significant that the name by which the first woman is known to many of the Loo is ALOO. LOO or LOWO is the term meaning earth or soil, and there is undoubtedly some connection in their minds between the fruitful soil and woman. But though her origin is surrounded in mystery, she was in some to carry the responsibility for the fact that the sons of men have got to work. Lest the story should be unknown to some it is worth while repeating it here. According to the creation story, the first man to be created was one called Pudho. To him the Creator (called Nyanaye) gave a magic hoe, which worked by itself, requiring no arm to wield it. With the hoe Nyanaye gave Pudho a command that he was never to attempt to do any work with it himself. If he should disobey this command then the hoe would lose its virtue and cease to work unaided. This happened before the advent of ALOO (sometimes called also MIHAHA). When eventually Pudho was given ALOO, he gave the hoe over to her care, telling her at the same time of the command which Nyanaye had laid down. For a time all went well. When they wanted any digging to be done all they had to do was to take the hoe out to the site, show it what they wanted it to dig and leave it to do the work. In the evening it was brought in again. But one day curiosity was too much for ALOO. She felt that she must feel what it was like to turn up a few sods. So she picked up the hoe and with it turned up a little soil. Then becoming suddenly afraid she dropped the hoe and went home, but did not tell her husband, Pudho. However she was unable to hide what she had done, for in the evening when they went to bring in the hoe, it lay where she had dropped it, and had done no work. Then the voice of Nyanaye said that as they were now so clever that they knew how to dig, never more would the hoe dig for them. So to this day women is blamed as the one through whose wrongdoing the curse of work came to men.

SL2. However the tradition came into existence it reflects the common tendency of many creation stories to put the blame on the woman,

SL2 and possibly was invented to keep women in subjection. It has only partly succeeded. Something more potent than a creation story is required to keep many of the LUO women down. Two illustrations
[SL3] suffice to show this. The first in Church. The collection is being taken up, and a man finds himself without any cash. He crosses over to the women's side, whispers a few words to his wife, whereupon she gives him a cent for the collection. Like many a wife in other lands, she holds the purse strings. The second the Law Court.
[SL4] A wife pleads for a divorce from her husband on the ground that he has become a polygamist. She gets her divorce.

SL4 Much of the apparent inequality is only apparent, not real. The thing which, more than any other, has been quoted as showing the inferior position accorded to women, is the manner in which girls are given in marriage. But this is not as much a matter of sex as of age. If it be true that girls are sometimes given in marriage without their wishes being consulted in the matter, it is also true that many a young man is provided with a wife without his wishes being consulted either. Not so long ago I asked a man what the girl to whom he was engaged was like. He replied that he had never seen her, that the marriage had been arranged by his father. This kind of thing is quite common. And it must not be forgotten that the girl's mother is taken into the fullest consultation when the question of her daughter's betrothal is raised. It is not decided by the men only. And generally there is some form of consultation with the girl. Long and bitter experience has taught the community that to force some girls beyond a certain point is only to lay up trouble for the future. Only three weeks ago a father came to me to ask me to try to mediate in his daughter's affairs. She had been betrothed when quite a young child to a man old enough to be her aged father. He had in due course taken her to wife, and there were two children by the union.
SL6 Then she left him and consorted with another man, more nearly her own age. I saw the woman, went into the matter and found that the old man was so uncongenial to her, that even the fact that she had born him two children was not strong enough to reconcile her to her lot. She had much of my sympathy, though I could not condone the desertion of her children.

SL1 Not even the very strongest bonds can bind a woman who wishes to break them. The most binding form of betrothal known to the LUO, is that which is the outcome of an alliance between two families. The Luo have a proverb which runs "Osiep otho, to wat olivtho." In English it would run "friendship dies, but relationship does not die." So, as in other lands, the heads of two Luo families may desire to
SL1 cement their friendship by ties of intermarriage. A feast is provided by one of the parties, generally by the one taking the initiative in

the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar suche," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties, mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposed to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. In some ways wives are in a stronger position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
941 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
787 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women
791 who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[131] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
252 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great.
462 Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

957 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family last year.

593 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are those lads when they return to the Reserves, through some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 There is nothing in the social life of the Lue in the way of
178 organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the [166] younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax,
178 we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has
651 given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Lue. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

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water. The young son could not find employment and was wandering about trying to scrape together the money for his poll tax. Upon the father came the demand for not tax. He had no money and could not pay. Next year another demand was made, this time for the current year and for that of the previous year. Again he could not pay. The third year he was dunned for three hut taxes, and as he was unable to pay his hut was confiscated to Government, the door was sealed up, and his aged wife driven to seek shelter among neighbours. Homeless, the old man made a frantic effort amongst his relations, who were already liable to pay their own dues, and by dint of much supplication managed to get enough to satisfy the tax for the first of the three years, whereupon his hut was unsealed. Is it any wonder that the younger generation regard the aged as a liability as never before? Demands for hut tax upon the poverious aged is one of the greatest solvents of filial affection in the Reserves to-day, for the burden falls largely on the young.

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THE NORTHERN BANTU

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME CENTRAL AFRICAN TRIBES OF THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE

BY

JOHN ROSCOE, M.A.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO AND THEIR COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT, MARRIAGE, BIRTH AND PUBERTY

The tribe and their district—origin of the tribe—chiefs as rulers—land tenure—the local chief as the magistrate of his village—courts and court fees—making peace between two sections of the tribe—theft—adultery—murder—inheritance—marriage customs—distinctive dress of married women—birth customs—birth of twins—initiation at puberty.

101 **The tribe and their district.** The Nilotic Kavirondo are so named to distinguish them from the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo. They are a branch of the great family known as Nilotic tribes or tribes of the Nile Valley, and are quite distinct in language and custom from Bantu tribes. This particular branch may be found extending southwards from Mount Elgon along the coast of Lake Victoria Nyanza into German territory. They are settled in groups of villages among the Bantu and yet are quite distinct from them and do not intermarry with them. The clans met with live chiefly in the hills bordering on Lake Victoria. The mornings and 191 evenings are comparatively cold in these hills, yet the people are absolutely destitute of clothing; indeed they consider clothing as indecent, and members who have been abroad and have adopted clothing are requested to put it away during 142 their residence in their old homes. The features of the people are more closely allied to those of the pastoral tribes than to the Bantu. In stature the men are not, however, quite so tall as the Bahima, few of them reach six feet, five feet six to five feet eight being more usual. Their frame is slim like that of the Bahima, and the nose inclined to have a bridge. Again their love for cows is stronger than that of the Bantu. The women are shorter than the men, they are slim and athletic, a stout woman being seldom found; this may be accounted for by the amount of exercise they take and their constant activity in the field and home.

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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		

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Plate XXII

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(1) Elastic Kavirondo girls

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(2) Young women ready for initiation ceremony
(Bagesu Tribe)

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Government.

643 **Chiefs as rulers.** There is no king of the country, nor is there any single paramount chief; the Bantu chiefs claim equal, if not superior, rights to the land. Certain chiefs rule over extensive districts inhabited by the Nilotics, and their rights as leaders are considered to be hereditary; they are also looked to in cases requiring settlement or legislation.

423 **Land tenure.** Land which has not been cultivated in the past may be tilled by any family; but, when once it has been tilled, the community regard it as the property of the family whose ancestor first cultivated it. Should it be left fallow for a number of years, no other family may appropriate and till it without first obtaining the original owner's permission. Few people seek such permission, preferring to dig virgin-land which will afterwards belong to their children.

621 **Local chiefs as the magistrates.** The people live in communities. They build their houses in close proximity and in most cases surround them with a growing fence, leaving a gateway which can be closed during the night or in times of
622 danger. Such a village group is ruled by a sub-chief who is under the authority of the district-chief. The chief of a village is magistrate and controls the general affairs of his people. This chief levies no taxes, but his people make him presents of goats and sheep, and of grain also at harvest time.

692 **Courts and court fees.** Any person wishing to bring a
694 charge against another for any offence, real or imaginary,
695 pays a small fee to the chief of the village before whom he lays his complaint or accusation. The chief or elder then summons the accused person and appoints a time when the case shall be heard. The chief sits with one or two village elders and gives his judgment. A person may appeal from a village chief to the principal chief in the district, and the elder who first tried the case will then go to the superior chief to be present when the case is reheard. The parties appealing have to pay fresh court-fees before the case is retried. The punish-
681 ment in almost every case is a fine and the amount is determined by the gravity of the case. The losing party has to

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681 pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

728 **Making peace between sections of the tribe.** Should there be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be
627 felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

674 **Theft.** Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious
789 theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under
[685] such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to
554 death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief. 554

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen. 685 791 787

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage. 684 937 586 836

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members 787 695 682 783

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783 of his village and lives in a hut with an old woman who attends to his wants, cooks for him and also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his hands. Separation lasts for three days, and on the fourth day a man who is himself a murderer, or who has at some time killed a man in battle, takes the murderer to a stream where he washes him all over. He then kills a goat and cooks the meat, takes four sticks and places a piece of meat on each stick and gives the man the meat to eat from each in turn. When the meat has been eaten, he gives him four pieces of porridge made into balls and put on the sticks. After this meal the goat-skin is cut into strips, one strip being put on the neck and one strip round each wrist of the murderer. This ceremony is performed by the two men who are alone at the river, and after it the murderer is free to return home. It is said that, until this ceremony is performed, the ghost cannot take its departure for the place of the dead, but hovers about the murderer.

428 **Inheritance.** It is usual for a son to inherit property. While a man is still in health, he makes known his wishes as to whom he desires to inherit his property, and his wishes will be observed. Should a son be too young to succeed to his father's estate at the time of death, the deceased man's brother manages the property until the son is old enough to take control. Should a man with property die intestate, the members of his clan elect one of his sons to be heir. There is no fixed law as to which son shall inherit. It is not a question of age nor may the son of a particular wife claim precedence over the sons of other wives, but the clan-members are at liberty to choose the man they consider the most suited for the office. Women never inherit or hold property. The father's stool and bracelet are given to the heir and are the insignia of lawful succession.

[562 421]

Marriage, Birth and Puberty.

582 **Marriage customs.** It was impossible to discover the ritual of marriage or the groups into which a man might or might not marry, all that could with certainty be learned being that there are exogamous divisions within the tribe.

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There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried women have their own quarters in a village and the young men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however, from another village pay visits to the young women during the day and make love to them, and in the evening the women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is not stopped nor discountenanced by the older people, as it is a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed. When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter. The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee. During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste. The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

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a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

Distinctive dress of married woman. Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time, but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

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shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 946

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 945 [421]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 957 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 882

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812 with the youths of the village, and girls go to the young women's quarters, and both cease to live in the house of their parents. From this time until marriage these young people live in their communities and have much freedom, their morals not being considered, but each following the leading of natural impulse.

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CHAPTER XXVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, WARFARE, INDUSTRIES, RELIGION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Treatment of the sick—ghostly possession—death and mourning—death of a wife—manner of conducting warfare—treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy—agricultural pursuits—cow-keeping—oxen used as riding animals—mode of building—religious beliefs—terms of relationships.

Treatment of the sick. Sickness is thought to be due to one of two causes: it may be, and the people think most frequently is, the result of magic which has been worked by some person who wishes to give pain or even to cause death because of a grievance, real or imaginary; or it may be due to some ghost. Under either circumstance, when a serious case of sickness occurs, the family seek the aid of a medicine-man who by his various tests and incantations discovers the cause; and, in a case where magic has been worked, he not only discovers the cause but also discloses the name of the culprit, who is thereupon sought and asked to give his motive for afflicting the sick person, and is paid to release him from the spell. Should the man have intended to kill the other because he has suffered some discourtesy or received some offence at his hands, he would probably have speared his shadow, so that the sick person will die unless the spell or magic is removed. Again, it may be that some magic has been worked and certain objects have been hidden near the house which are causing the sickness; these have to be removed and the spell broken before any drugs or treatment will avail the sick man. The perpetrator will only remove these when his grievance has been settled and he has received the needful compensation. In the case of a ghost, the medicine-man will tell which ghost is working the trouble and why it is thus causing sickness.

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753 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict
755 grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the
775 duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order
769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifesta-
775 tion of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins
761 of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

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the deceased enters with a son of the dead man and together they fill in the grave and beat the floor hard. Some of the blood of the animal that was killed is poured into the grave as it is being filled with earth; and, after the grave is filled up, four pieces of meat are taken and one piece is placed at each corner of it. A pot of newly brewed beer is placed on the grave and left to ferment until it runs over the sides when the relatives drink it. When the duty of filling in the grave is completed, all the mourners wash, shave their heads and have a meal of the meat of the animal that was killed. The widows remove their girdles and place them on the roof of the house containing the grave. A goat is killed, and an elderly woman related to the deceased man ties a portion of the entrails of the goat round the waist and neck of each widow, and also winds a portion round her own neck; and this is worn by each widow during the period of mourning. On the following morning a grandson climbs the house and breaks the end off the central pole which stands out above the thatch; he also breaks the cooking-pot in which the deceased man's food was cooked. On the second day after the funeral a goat is brought into the house and each of the mourners strikes it with his fist and kicks it; it is then taken and killed, and its flesh is cooked in part of the broken cooking-pot and eaten by the mourners. After this meal the male relatives go to war against some group of their tribe who are said to have been the cause of the man's death. After mourning four days the party shave their heads and continue to the end of the mourning period without further shaving their heads or paring their nails. The widows continue to live in the house which contains the grave. When the ox or cow for the funeral ceremonies is killed, if the deceased is a man, it is speared to the heart; but, when the deceased is a woman, it is speared in the head between the horns. When the mourning ceremonies are ended, each widow makes a girdle, with the fringe at the back, which she wears for a year while she continues to live in the house containing the grave. At the end of the year she burns the girdle, goes to the river and washes, takes her old girdle from the house-roof with her and leaves it in the river-bed. After washing

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765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** The people are not fond of war and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

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Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When [302] the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious [687] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 234 **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the people. The numbers vary in a village according to the prosperity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article [262] of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. [462] Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side. 234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

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butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family. 234

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk. 492

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind. 231 262

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans. 342 361

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the [771] 776 782

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776 782. flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Musoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amodwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, waya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor waya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod waya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar waya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, wonwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao

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Mother's sister's child (girl), nyamin mar nyina hao, nyamera mar nyina hao 601
Sister's son's wife (m.s.), chi nyakweo, chi nyakwewa
Sister's son's child (m.s.), nyakwar, nyakwara
Sister's daughter's husband (m.s.), chwor nyakewo, chwor nyakewa
Sister's daughter's child (m.s.), nyakwar, nyakwara
Father's father, Kwar, kwara
Father's mother, da, dana
Mother's father, Kwar, kwara
Mother's mother, da, dana
Husband, chwor, chwora
Wife's father, or, ora
Wife's mother, mar, mara
Husband's mother, mar, mara
Husband's father, or kwar, ora kwara
Wife's brother, or, ora
Wife's sister, yu or, yu ora
Husband's brother, yu or, yu ora
Husband's sister, yu or, yu ora
Wife's sister's husband, omin, omera
Husband's brother's wife, nyek, nyeka
Son's wife's parents, nyawaña, nyawanana

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[Title Page]

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Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. HARTMANN.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

596 The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmaried daughters.

595 Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women [833] that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

842 If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kedo)* made [304] all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(tero kedo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kelo kedo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nońgo misalo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yadh agulu)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

[837] In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

844 When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

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844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thuñgo* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[201] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut *(Kor amach* = lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor attung* = the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

852 After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, *simsim* is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with *simsim* seeds, seedballs of a wild plant *(ochok)* are strung on plaited grass *(oganga)* and creeping grass *(modhono)* and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of smallcircular pieces of ostrich eggs *(rek)* and big iron beads.

[262] When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *awinja* (= pounded *simsim* mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneeds a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(athwanyo otonge)* which she fills with *awinja*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(iñgado imbo nyathi)*.

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

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the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

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smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

Mund Kumu is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

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ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take 585
the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simba*, where they 585
spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest.

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new- [431]
"chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the [292]
occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi*, others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament [431]
round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about $^1/_2$ of an inch [301]
in diameter *(atalu)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a powo-tree. With this stick

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585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 583 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass [301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 273 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from [533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparation

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would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yuath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

11: Hartmann, M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

764 721 178 Since the Administration of the country by the "White Man" these wars are a thing of the past. However, the old custom remains, in so far, that even at present on the morning after a person's death his relations and tribesmen have a sham-fight, at the same places where formerly they used to fight their real wars.

764 The wailing at a person's death spreads the news in no time, and at day-break all the men of that tribe attire themselves in their wardress, after having smeared themselves with oker and mud, and go out with their shields and spears. They gather at the kraal of the deceased, and having brought some cattle they go out to the uninhabited boundary of their district for their sham-fight.

There the performance starts with the killing of a chicken as a sacrifice to the gods, that they might favour and bless their war, just as they did in the days of old. Whilst the old folks roast and eat the chicken the warriors dash forward to their imaginary enemy here and there stabbing a tuft of grass or throwing their spears in a bush, and rushing back again as if the enemy was on their heels.

When after an hour or two of fighting the enemy is defeated, they go back to the village of deceased. From the moment he gave up his ghost (and sometimes before that) the people of the village have been bewailing him, running in and out of the hut; shouting and yelling all the time. They have also taken his cattle one by one to the doorway of his hut, that they too might bewail their deceased master.

And now, after the warriors have returned, the corpse is put in front of the hut. The warriors and the people of the surrounding country (sometimes thousands of them, if deceased was a chief, a witchdoctor, a rainmaker, or other important personage) go up to the corpse, and bewail it, running in and out and round the kraal, all of them yelling like madmen.

The warriors also take their "spoils" up to the corpse, to show the spirit of deceased that his death has been revenged.

Whilst this is going on three men are digging the grave. If he was a rich man, i. e. if he had many wives, the grave is dug next to the hut in which he died, after a small temporary hut has been built over the spot. If he had only few wives then the grave is dug inside the hut in which he died. The corpse is lowered in the grave by 4 men, and the children of the village with their hands and feet scrape the earth into the grave, always with their backs towards the same. After the actual burial the wailing goes on for another half hour or so, whereupon all the outsiders return home.

In the evening the people of he kraal go to the grave with a chicken, which, held by the legs, is smitten with its head on the grave till it is dead. Then it is roasted and eaten. They also put a broken cooking pot on the grave, which they trample to pieces there. Then they kill a sheep, which is eaten by the men that night. Its skin is cut into narrow strips. These are tied round the right wrist of all the male inhabitants of the kraal, and round the left wrist of all the females. This finishes the ceremonies for the day.

765 Next morning arrangements are made in the open space outside the village for a dance. The older women beat a couple of drums, the young women and girls from he neighbourhood dance, the men and boys in their war-costume run about

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yweyo lief)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (orindo) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwono lief)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a course untwisted one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets

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768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of
769 deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
753 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First
769 however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
273 ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochot*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*. These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vesseis with which they go to the well to feich water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it is poured on the fermenied *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewiched may not die; and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch. No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her socalled pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an oclockplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

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765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maduong*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailled by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

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764 has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her.

765 On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies.

763 If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attemp is made to save the child.

764 P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood. 234

765 After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept. 241

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.

12: Evans Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

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[Title Page]

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

GHOSTLY VENGEANCE AMONG THE LUO OF KENYA

by

PROFESSOR E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

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[p.86a]

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
FL11 Luo FL11

775 133 In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which
171 it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
755 Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and
775 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jociendi*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

775 626 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives; and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

753 755 775 [787] Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compensate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 775 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's homestead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

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775 It seems that normally it is only kinsmen who haunt a man, but any man who kills another, whether he be related
783 to him or not, is in danger of ghostly vengeance. For this reason a Luo does not care to spear an adulterer found with his wife. Also, as Roscoe says, a man who slays another in war may be injured by his ghost if certain rites are not performed. These purificatory rites, called *gut*, are conducted by a man, called *jagut*, who has himself killed a man and been through the ceremony. The slayer comes back from the fight to his homestead with a crowd of his companions, who make a demonstration there, singing and pulling out the eaves of his mother's hut. His father and mother strip themselves and cover their bodies with ashes. The slayer remains outside the homestead and there the *jagut* pierces the beak of a fowl and hangs it round his neck. He then cuts the beak of the fowl and it is killed when it falls. The slayer may now enter the homestead, but not through the gateway. A special entrance is cut for him through the euphorbia hedge which encircles the homestead.

[p. 87a]

775 He goes straight to the hut of the *pim*, the old woman
783 of the home, and there a goat is thumped and kicked to death. Afterwards it is skinned and cut open. The heart is extracted and bits of it are put by the *jagut* to the lips of the slayer and of some of his companions. He cuts strips from the skin of the goat and lays them along the backs of the slayer's fingers. He also gives the slayer medicines, among them a wild pig's tusk, which the slayer wears round his neck. The man is now purified and may drink milk again. [114] Roscoe's account is very different from that given to me by Luo, which I have recounted above.

775 Clearly there is much more to be discovered about Luo beliefs about ghosts than what I have recorded, but I can only add to my account that the word *jociendi* is sometimes used for ghosts in general—and not with special reference to troublesome ghosts—and that some ghosts appear to be thought to become nature spirits dwelling in water and in the air, and others to occupy the gourds used by diviners and to answer questions the diviners put to them.

[p. 876]

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LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

Veterinary Department, Maseno.

The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

231 521 The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome [753] than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that [511] women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

231 The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

262 Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo [272] unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is 753 not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

*Mr. Walter Odede is a Jaluo who has passed through Makerere College and the Entebbe Veterinary School.—*Editor.*

262 buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by
[252] both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have
[251] died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such
[583] biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

281 Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields,
291 drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

435 Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time,
437 i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

231 The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell
438 heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The
237 horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other
[232 domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and
824] animal patients, e.g.. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

231 Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after
262 animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Editor.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects. 231 262

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers. 231 583 [554] [431]

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers. 583

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked 583 585

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
604 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of
593 abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

MANAGEMENT OF ANIMALS.

Rich people do not keep all their stock together in their own kraal. Usually they give some of them to their friends
233 or relations to look after. The latter take the milk as a reward for their trouble. Owners of animals when visiting those friends or relations who are responsible for them, take careful notice of the colour of the offspring in order to check any mischief on the part of an untrustworthy friend or relation. Keen cattle-owners rarely give their animals to doubtful friends or to those living in remote places where frequent visits would be difficult. During dry seasons when grazing becomes scanty some owners remove their herds to better pastures and return them only when their own pastures have improved. This is not, however, the usual custom and it is more usual to take the cattle to better pastures early in the morning and return them late in the evening. The former practice is adopted during a general dry season when wide areas of veld become useless for herding. The length of time that the animals are allowed to remain out grazing each day varies with the quality of the pasture. The quality of the grazing around the Kavirondo Gulf depends upon the season of the year. In winter when there is much rain, cattle remain on the pastures for a very short time, roughly about seven hours; whereas in summer, they may remain as long as twelve hours. Sheep and goats remain on the pasture for about five to six hours in winter and in summer for about seven hours a day. These animals are usually herded together with the unweaned calves. Weaned calves go with the main herd of cattle unless owing to climatic conditions or disease they are somewhat debilitated.

During the night cattle are brought in and tied up with ropes inside the kraal. Bulls, oxen and strong cows are tied near the gate while young beasts are tied in the centre. Goats, sheep and young calves are stabled in a stable where a smouldering fire made from dry cow or goat dung is kept every night. At sunrise they are brought out and tied in the sun in front of the stable until herding time.

232 An intelligent cattle-owner usually castrates all the bulls that he thinks are useless for stud purposes and keeps only one good one for breeding. The effect of this good bull on the herd is often spoilt by casual services from bad bulls belonging to less progressive people in the village who think they will be noticed and honoured when their bulls run after cows. As a rule a bull is not allowed to serve its mother or sisters, although this may happen when there is no unrelated bull in the herd. Expert owners usually castrate bulls before they are allowed to run with their mothers and arrange the services of their female stock so that they calve at the beginning of the long rains. Unfortunately only a few people think of these methods of improving their herds.

When a cow calves about two days are allowed to pass while the calf is suckled before milking commences. The milk obtained from the cow during the first two weeks or until the umbilical cord of the calf drops, is all drunk by young men in the village. This milk is stored in a pot in which a little buttermilk, which has been treated with urine, has been placed. As mentioned before the Luo believe that drinking fresh whole milk is the cause of tapeworm infestation, and the buttermilk is added to the fresh milk so as to eliminate this danger. When the umbilical cord of the calf has dropped the woman who owns the cow is allowed to use the milk for churning butter. The roots of a plant known in Luo as *obuuo* is added to the churning calabash as a preserving agent because fresh milk is stored in the calabash for about twelve to twenty-four hours before churning. During the churning process a little bovine urine, which has been stored for a few days, is added to the milk to accelerate the formation and facilitate the separation of the butter. This urine is also believed to be a good preservative for both the butter and the buttermilk, which will be stored for use in cooking various kinds of food. On the day the first butter is made into ghee, a little of the ghee is fed to the calf and the rest eaten by a group of people in the house. The reason why a sample of the first ghee is given to the calf is not very clear; but some people say that it protects the calf from developing diarrhoea and indigestion when the later butter of the dam is boiled and made into ghee. They believe that otherwise the boiling of the butter during ghee-making would cause diarrhoea in the calf.

Milking is done twice a day, in the morning and evening, by the boys and young men. Girls, women and old men are only allowed to milk in homes where there are no young men. Before commencing milking, the calf is allowed to suck its dam for a minute. It is then tied in front of the dam while she is milked. After some milk has been drawn the calf is allowed to suck for another minute and then re-tied while more milk is taken. Finally, the calf is allowed to suck and stay with the dam for about an hour, after which it is separated from the mother for at least ten hours before the next milking.

If a cow is slow to wean her calf a method used for drying her off is to fix a muzzle (*osembo*) on which strong thorns are fixed around the mouth of the calf so that when it tries to suck, the thorns prick the dam and cause her to kick the calf away. Another device is to smear the teats of the dam with cow dung, the taste of which stops the calf from sucking.

If the calf dies, its hide is dried, folded properly and a little salt solution is sprinkled on it to make it taste pleasant when licked by the dam while being milked. Before milking, the teats are washed or cleaned with warm water to stimulate the milk flow.

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed
[837] and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn
764 is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock. A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions" are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them
[842] believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth [564] because the average man does not possess a number of oxen with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle, especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however, [232] also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours,
822 but there are some colours which are considered objectionable. Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark, dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagreement during the arrangement of the marriage or between the wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

231
822

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

232

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug.

824

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes.

278

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

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*See footnote to page 128.

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THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE

AN ATTEMPT TO GIVE SOME DESCRIPTION OF THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, BOTANY, ZOOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, LANGUAGES AND HISTORY OF THE TERRITORIES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA, BETWEEN THE CONGO FREE STATE AND THE RIFT VALLEY AND BETWEEN THE FIRST DEGREE OF SOUTH LATITUDE AND THE FIFTH DEGREE OF NORTH LATITUDE

BY

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[Title Page]

101
174
[171] The manners and customs of the *Ja-luo*, a fragment of the Nilotic peoples which is now isolated, are very similar to those of the Aluru (to the north-west of the Albert Nyanza) and the Japalua (incorrectly called "Shefalu"), who live in the northern part of Unyoro. It would seem, indeed, as though at some time or other the Ja-luo of Southern Kavirondo had not come down direct from the north-west, from the Lango country where their nearest relations reside at the present day, but that a large tribe of Nilotic people closely allied to the Acholi and Lango had formerly

[p. 779]

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101 174 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud [178] or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses [342] are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually 513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The 882 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

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near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it.[1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUO

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e.) A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (cw p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

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291 wears European trousers, he must have a piece of goat skin underneath. 5% Unmarried girls wear no clothes. Married women wear a tail of strings

[301 142]

429. JA-LUO WOMEN: TAILS AND APRONS

behind. When they go to visit another village, they don a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which a curious and rather pretty pattern has been burnt with a red-hot stick. When a woman is married, she puts on

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this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

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301 "nyaluo." It is thought by some authorities that these have wandered down in past ages from the direction of Egypt—in fact, some of the

[142 291]

431. A JA-LUO MAN WITH EAR-RINGS

more northern Nilotic peoples declare that they came from the north or north-east. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads made considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills,

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and that the beads were constantly being dropped and lost in the fields. After floods the loosened soil might expose to sight some of the beads which had thus been dropped or thrown away. The supply of these blue

432. A JA-LUO MAN WITH EAR-RINGS

beads is, of course, quite inadequate for the population, and many are making up for the scarcity now by using the ordinary blue beads of commerce.

The Ja-luo men often wear an armlet of threaded cylindrical wooden

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433. HEAD-DRESS OF FEATHERS AND NECK AND ARM ORNAMENTS IN IRON WIRE OF JA-LUO MEN. (NOTE THE PROMINENT UPPER INCISOR TEETH, DUE TO THE LOWER INCISORS BEING REMOVED)

[p.786]

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blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp.* Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

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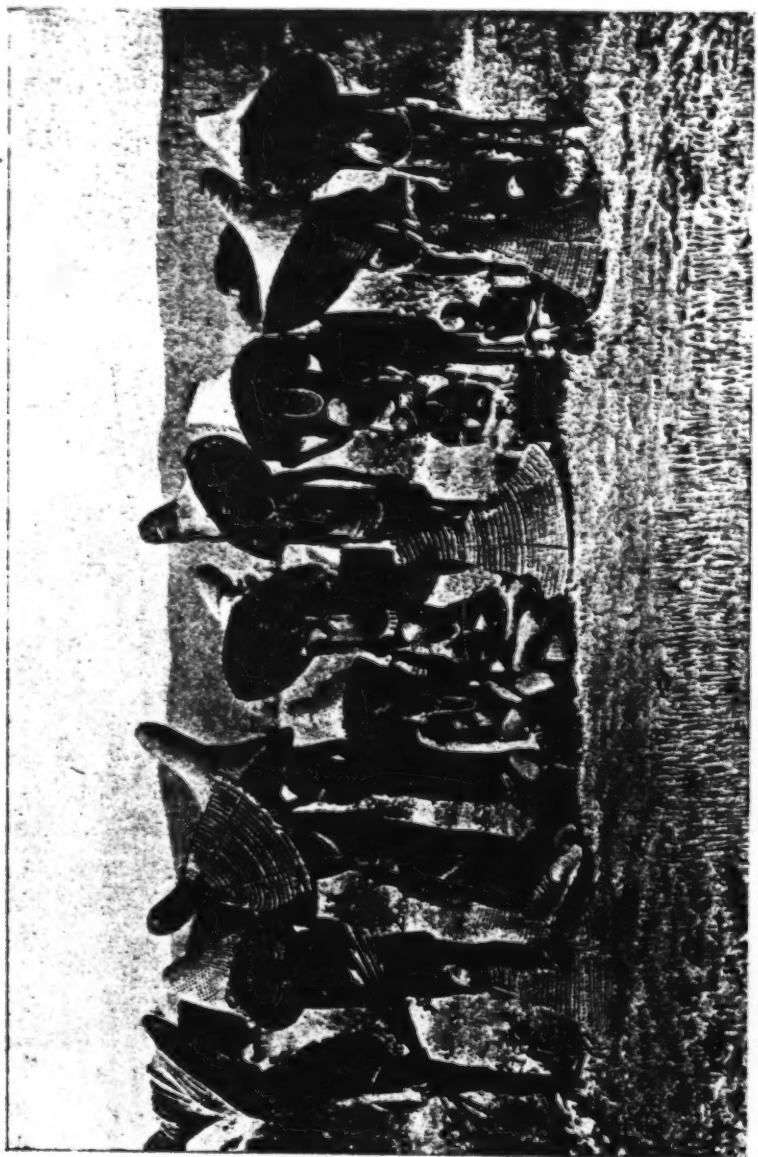

434. A LUO FISHERMAN AND THEIR BASKETS

[p. 788]

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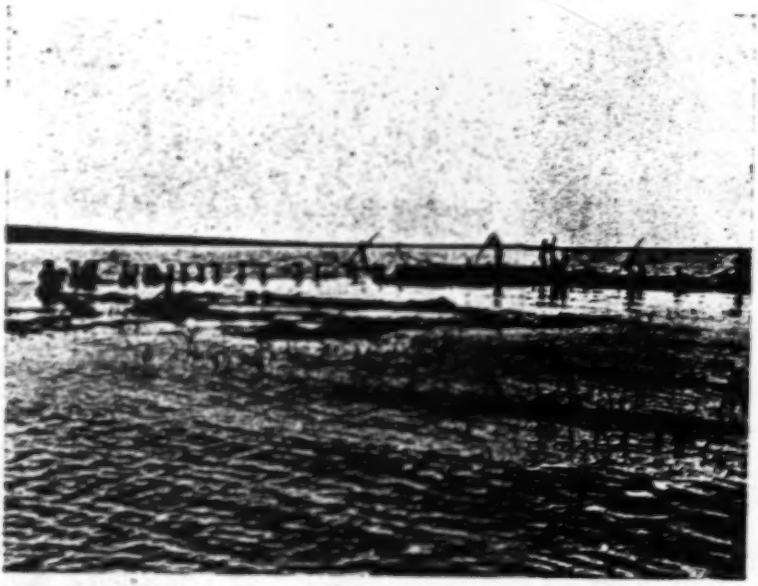
stripe makes this arrangement into a kind of pliable fence. This, by means of canoes, is brought round through the water back to the shore till it describes rather more than a semi-circle. The bringing round of the rope serves to chase all the fish that are between it and the shore towards the mouths of the big wickerwork traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water. The women, at the same time, walk up and down dragging traps of smaller mesh, in which they collect numbers of small fish. A good deal of fish-spearing takes place at night by torch-



435. JA-LUO OUT FISHING IN KAVIRONDO BAY WITH SHEAVES OF PAPYRUS STALKS

light. The Ja-luo fishermen state that they get the best hauls of fish after a downpour of rain. *Rafts* of ambatch wood similar to those in use on the Nile are employed in laying out the nets. The Nyakach people of the south shore of Kavirondo Bay fish to a great extent with hook and line. The Ja-luo canoes are small dug-outs of poor appearance. Large quantities of fish are split and dried in the sun and sent inland to exchange for game.

Both sexes smoke and chew *tobacco*, but only old men smoke *hemp* through water-pipes. Boys and young men in the prime of life are not allowed to smoke hemp, as it is thought injurious to their manhood.

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273
234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

326 The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu
439 Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst
[549] the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu
411 neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed,
278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived
534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands
584 at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the
585 years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man *stops* paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already
587 paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with
586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after
583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

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husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

456. SHIFTING THE FIRE-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in a *supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

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754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
683 man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingu." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
695 form of ordeal called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man
777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by
787 *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
844 for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

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hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

[illegible]

When a person dies, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of mourning the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a block tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

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765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his property goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[587] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior has killed a man in warfare, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by lightning, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 to make peace with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[293] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a healthy people.

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They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; *remedies* for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

438. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EAST CENTRAL AFRICA. [THE PLAYERS HERE ARE TAO SOLDIERS FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA]

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

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Burial Customs of the Wa-Kavirondo in the Kisumu Province. 35

By A. S. Millikin

764 When a Kavirondo dies he or she, as the case may be, is stripped of everything in the shape of clothing and ornaments and these, as a rule, are distributed amongst the children, should the dead person have any; if not, they are taken by the near relatives. As soon as the person has expired the relatives in the same "boma" commence howling and crying, and in some cases this is done before the sick person has expired, but is close to death.

The first persons informed of the death are those relatives and friends residing close at hand, who arrive quickly to join in the mourning and do their share of crying.

The relatives and friends from a distance begin to arrive decked out in all their finery, bringing food for the dead, and also some of their cattle, as a rule a few cow and [765] bull calves. The mourning lasts for about a fortnight, but the body is kept only for about five hours after death, when it is buried underneath the floor of the hut of the dead person; but should several people have been buried there before and no space left, the body is buried just outside the hut, on the left-hand side.

As a rule after one person is buried in the hut, if it is intended to bury a second, and even a third person in the same hut, it is customary to knock out the back part of the hut and enlarge it.

775 The Kavirondo belief is that the dead can hear, and this is their reason for burying their dead in and close to their huts, as they like the dead to hear what they say.

764 The grave is dug about 4 feet deep and is circular, and the dead person is put there in a doubled-up position. The body is buried quite naked, but sometimes the skin on which the person slept, or which he wore, is placed at the bottom of the grave.

When the grave is filled up, the earth is put back in small pieces, and is pressed tightly down, so that when all the soil is put back the surface is absolutely level, and to the casual observer it would not appear that the earth had been disturbed. As a precaution against hyænas and other wild animals a species of cactus is placed for a few days over the grave.

765 Should the dead person be a grown male, the wife or mother or the nearest relative of the dead man will cry continually for three months for about an hour before day break, but will stop when day breaks.

A peculiar custom is followed by the near relatives, who, during the first few days of mourning, smear their faces with wood ashes.

764 When a grown-up person dies, male or female, neighbours will come and hold a "ngoma" (dance), dressed up in all their finery, especially the warriors, who walk into the "boma" and march round on the inside, passing the hut of the dead person and sticking their spears into the roof of the hut. They continue to march round two or three times, finally passing the dead person's hut and withdrawing their spears,

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when they pass outside; this happens before the "ngoma," and is a sort of honour to the dead.

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The wife or wives of the deceased person go to the sons, the eldest having preference, but in no case does a son take his own mother, and any property of the deceased man is taken by the sons in the proportion of the dowry originally paid by the father for the wife which each son has claimed.

428

Should a wife of the dead man have a daughter, or several daughters and sons, the dowry received in the event of one of them being married will go to the girl's brother, and not to the step-father; but in the event of the girl having no brother, the step-father will claim the dowry.

A. S. MILLIKIN.

[p.55]

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THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [626] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably [262] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the 291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [301] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[581] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

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towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

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642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

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allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

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583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats, though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is
[852] also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it
551 was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *oching*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieeh*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obonyo*—the man like a locust.

763 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

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together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

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754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is
755 ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to
757 malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the Jaluo use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found,
[752] on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

789 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and puts them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

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storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

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641 the time of their grandfathers are constantly brought for hearing, and the complications which ensue would bewilder the most legal mind.

153 The adaptability which they show in learning the lower stages of all kinds of work is a hopeful sign for the future. To the writer's knowledge they are now 463 employed as soldiers, sailors, police, masons, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, gardeners, and boys. In none of these occupations can they be said to excel at present, though at the head-quarters of the Kavirondo Province, Kisumu, the native sergeant instructor is a Jaluo and does his work very efficiently; but, on the other hand, it is only during the last four or five years' time that Kavirondo and the Jaluo have been taken seriously, and for this short time they show a great progress.

153 Combining as they do an undoubted industry and keen trading character with a surprising quickness to learn the lessons of civilisation, *e.g.*, their ready change from trade goods to cash in commercial matters or their almost immediate recognition of the advantages which may be gained by taking their disputes to the Station for settlement, the Jaluo give us every reason to hope that in them we have a valuable subject race, the study and consideration of which will in a very few years bring to the Protectorate Government a great and enduring profit.

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THE KAVIRONDO LUO & CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DIVISIONS

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LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

By

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MAKERERE COLLEGE, UGANDA
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LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

I. THE SETTING

The Luo people constitute the third largest tribal unit in eastern Africa, and are by far the largest of the Nilotic-speaking peoples, numbering, by 1947 estimates, some 800,000 individuals. They are entirely contained within the three Kavirondo Districts of the Nyanza Province of Kenya except for some thousands who have now crossed its southern border into the Musoma District of the Lake Province of Tanganyika.

In terms of racial distribution the Luo are the spearhead of the great southward [illegible] Kavirondo and Tanganyika are the tip. The nearest Nilotic neighbours of the Luo are the Padhola of the Eastern Province of Uganda, whose territory comes within a few miles of the northern Luo boundary; but linguistically their nearest relatives are the Alur who now live 300 miles away, partly in the south-western corner of the West Nile District of Uganda and partly over the border in the Belgian Congo. In geographical terms the Luo occupy the coastal plains which border Kavirondo Gulf and the open expanse of Lake Victoria for fifty miles or so on either side of the entrance to the gulf, and also the foothills and uplands to which these plains give way a few miles inland. Although their territory forms a continuous block all round the gulf, it bears no correspondence to the boundaries of the North, Central, and South Kavirondo Districts, but within each of these consists respectively of 1 out of 19, 14 out of 15, and 19 out of 30 locations.[1] These locations form the territory of lineages or groups of lineages.[2]

II. PRELIMINARY ARGUMENT

The purpose of this article is to document certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.[3]

If formally questioned on the point, Luo would admit that the members of a lineage are all the agnatic descendants of its founding ancestor, both male and female, living and dead. However, as Mayer remarks (see *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, I.A.I. Memorandum XXIV, p. 7), 'it is no straightforward matter to define the lineage allegiance of women', and the operative members of a lineage in its observable activities are not those who would have to be included in it according to a strict

[1] The word 'location' is in Kenya applied to the [illegible] subdivisions of administrative districts and has a quite different connotation from that with which it is used in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere.

[2] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, where these groups are described.

[3] For some, see next page.

[illegible]

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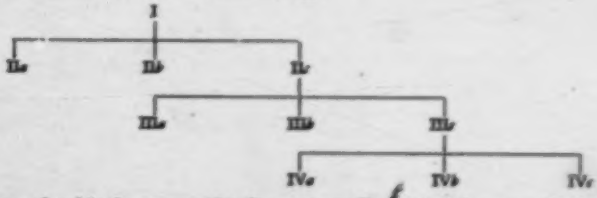
theory of agnatic descent. Most prominent in lineage activities are the group of living male agnates. Dead females, though technically lineage members by descent from the founder in the male line, are of no importance since no segments in their own lineage of origin can ever spring from them. Their only significance was during their lifetime, when they returned from the lineages into which they had married to participate in the rituals of the lineage of their birth. On the other hand, dead females who married into the lineage from outside it, and became eponyms of new lineage segments, are of lasting importance to the lineage as the genealogical points by reference to which parts of the internal articulation of the lineage are defined in theory, and upon whom the grouping of its living members is consequently based in practice. Living females who have married into the lineage are important to it, not only because after death they may become lineage eponyms, but because while alive they are already the heads of groups which Luo regard in theory as the prototypes of lineage segments and, in practice, they are the actual organizers of activities which are both the result and the demonstration of the segmentary principle (see below, p. 37).

The importance of the family to the lineage is shown by the fact that Luo regard every segmentary relationship as having its symbolic prototype within the compound polygynous family. The essential principle of lineage activity is the opposition of co-ordinate segments to one another, coupled with their unity within the same superordinate, itself in similar opposition to other co-ordinates and bound with them in the unity of a still higher superordinate. To the Luo the prototype of this process of segmentation is that aspect of the family cycle (see below, p. 17) in which elementary families are opposed major segments within their superordinate polygynous family, and superordinate segments in relation to the sons who compose them, which sons are themselves the starting-points of major segments in relation to these elementary families. Wives may consequently be considered as the heads of superordinate segments to their sons and of subordinate segments to their husbands. It is important to note that either prototype is equally valid for the Luo; sons in relation to their mother, or co-wives in relation to their husband. Therefore daughters are seen to be of no structural significance though members of the lineage

[1] I have used the following conventions of terminology:



The points numbered in the accompanying diagram represent the eponymous ancestors of a hypothetical series of lineage segments arranged in their genealogical order.

All the segments of series II are *co-ordinate*, and similarly with series III and series IV.

The segments of series III are all *subordinate* of segment IIc, and similarly segment IIIc is the *superordinate* of all the segments in series IV.

The relationship between co-ordinate segments of the same superordinate is expressed in the Luo concept of *likambo*, and I refer to it as their *theory of co-ordination*.

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according to a strict theory of descent, while wives are fundamental to the structure from the start. From the point of view of lineage activity it is indeed true that recruitment to the lineage is of men by descent and of women by marriage.[1] It is the final rite in the sequence of marriage ceremonies which definitively transfers a woman's reproductive powers to her husband's lineage (see below, p. 35, *Rito*). For the Luo, we cannot abstract a man and his sons from the family as the microcosm of lineage,[2] for this is found conceptually—as Luo terminology shows (see below, p. 27)—either in the sons of one mother or the co-wives of one husband. Only when the ideal of family composition is not achieved, because a man fails to beget male issue by more than one wife, or because wives fail to bear more than one son each, can the actual prototype of lineage segmentation be simply a man and his sons. The ideal of family composition, displaying both the segmentary prototypes conceptualized by the Luo, must therefore be regarded as a man with more than one wife, each of whom has more than one son.

What has been said about lineage and family largely explains the other purposes of this article. That the Luo conceptualization of lineage structure in family idiom is something more than a trick of projection is shown by a study of property ownership, marriage, and inheritance in relation to the family. A sufficient account is therefore given of the family system (pp. 16–23) to show the direct influence which these matters can have on the formation of new lineages. The jural arrangements of the family are further correlated with the actual pattern of residence, with the functional alinements of family members to one another, the primary attitudes acquired in early infancy, and the subsequent moulding of these, during the whole period of maturation, into a motivational system which is at once consistent with, and productive of, a segmentary social structure.

In any society structure is an abstraction from observed behaviour, including verbal behaviour, which has a certain degree of continuity over space and time. This behaviour is, obviously, the net result of motivations in the individuals living together in that society. If the society is not changing there will be consistency between the structural behaviour of one generation and the next. A family is, in particular, a direct result of the structural behaviour of a few individuals. But it is also, in general, the result of motivations imposed on the individuals who create it, by a system of upbringing which is itself part of the structured behaviour transmitted from the past. In Luo terms, then, a lineage is the net resultant of a certain type of structural behaviour on the part of all its members from the time of the birth of its founder down to that of its living members. But the activities of its founder were partly determined by the particular characteristics of the family into which he was born, and by the general structural characteristics which determined the form of family composition and child-rearing in it, back from the present to the time of the lineage founder, and long before that.

The reason why I stress certain aspects of the family as the point of departure for describing the lineage system is that such an approach seems to be called for by the material itself, yet it has received less emphasis than the other, in which lineages are treated mainly as groupings inherited from the past, and the structural aspects

[1] See Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[2] Cf. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 32.

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|2| of the family and the dynamic features which link it to the lineage system are only treated afterwards. It is a question of methodology in relation to the distinction between the clan principle and the lineage principle in social organization. It may be possible to analyse a clan system in terms of clan and family as two distinct principles operating from opposite poles of the social structure. But this is not the most illuminating way of analysing a segmentary lineage system in which the connexion between lineage and family is of the most intrinsic kind. In a lineage system such as that of the Luo you have a graded series of segments from the level of the living sons of one mother or the living co-wives of one husband up to the maximal lineage. There is a continuous increase in numerical size, territorial size, and distance of origin in time, but common principles operate throughout. There is a gradual change in functional emphasis from one end of the series to the other, but no discontinuity. On the other hand, in a clan system there may be no descent groups at all intervening between the clan and the compound family, the discontinuity is more striking than the similarity of principle, and though there are a few common functions there are many more which are quite distinct. While, therefore, both clans and lineages are behavioural systems transmitted from one generation to another, in the case of clans it is only the extant groupings and the behaviour appropriate to them which is transmitted; whereas, in a lineage system, the inculcation of the approved structural behaviour not only ensures that a new generation will fit into a framework of groupings already extant, but that it will also add its own contribution of new groupings on the pattern of the old. In the one case there is only replacement of old members by new within the old framework; in the other, new members indeed replace the old, but the framework itself is also partially renewed, though the principles underlying the renewal are constant.[1] This renewal springs directly from the segmentary structure of the family and gives to the latter an importance for the lineage which it does not have for the clan.

I prefer, therefore, not to use the term 'clan' in the analysis of the lineage system which forms the subject of this article. In my view an extreme segmentary lineage system is based on an implicit principle fundamentally different from that of clan organization, and to apply the word 'clan' simply because a lineage is exogamous, or because it is the widest grouping based on putatively continuous agnatic descent, only obscures an important distinction. There are other societies (e.g. Tallensi) where clan and lineage principles contribute jointly to the social structure and both terms are properly used, but this is not so in the present case. Whereas in a clan system the operation of exogamous rules may be quite precise, in the Luo groups here studied there is a vagueness of definition as between two consecutive levels of segmentation. This is because the higher level is the one which is claimed as exogamous by the most authoritative elders, who still remember its entire genealogical structure, while the younger members tend to remember it only as far as a lower level of segmentation and, if they had their way, would restrict exogamy to this.

In a series of social groups graded according to their age, the aspect of permanence which pertains to any one of them is correlated with its age in relation to the others involved in the same context. But no lineages are regarded by the Luo as really

[1] Cf. Mayer, op. cit., p. 21: 'the idea of *oganda* (lineage) is essentially one of growth leading to fission'.

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permanent; it is only in relation to a particular transitory situation that they may for convenience be taken as given; as when two segments are in dispute, larger segments of which they are parts may appear to have a relative permanence.[1] Lineages which are exogamous are the largest and oldest of a series the other end of which is found in the segmentary structure of the compound family. The whole series is relative and impermanent because, as it moves forward in time, it is always tending to add new units to itself at one end as old ones drop off at the other. Exogamous lineages are maximal lineages, which are vaguely recognized to be the successors of older groups now forgotten, just as they themselves are destined in turn to be replaced at some future time by newer segments which are at present still regarded as their constituent parts.[2] A clan is expected by its members to be everlasting, and its origin may antedate the earliest events remembered by the tribe as of an historical kind; while lineages of the Luo segmentary type tend to depend on historical processes of settlement which have not yet been obscured by subsequent changes. It is because this is normally so that deviant cases can be accounted for by fictions. Lineages whose genealogies have been fabricated to account for and conform to changes in their structural relations are none the less based on the pattern provided by lineages whose genealogies are not fictional. Clans can be dispersed into far removed sections, yet still forced to recognize common membership through the possession of a common clan name, totem, praise name, or other fixed identifications; but the continued existence of a lineage often depends upon the maintenance of consistency between the recognized genealogical presentation of the relations of its component segments and the pattern of their territorial settlement. Many Luo maximal lineages and their component segments can be represented as both a spatial and a temporal series, either being a consistent projection of the other (e.g. see Figs. 1 and 2 for the temporal, and Figs. 3, 4, 5 for the spatial aspect). A maximal lineage, possibly including a few small groups assimilated to it by group-kinship fictions, may coincide with a tribe[3] where it has maintained this consistent space-time projection, or it may be one of several maximal lineages of roughly equal status, bound by political ties within the same tribe. In Luo lineage theory, then, and also most often in practice, the relationship of siblings at some epoch in the past determines the seniority of their descendants in the present. Hence the genealogies are remembered as an historical validation of the present system of seniority among lineage segments. There may be an opposite process in the case of certain segments, where, as a result of changes in the relations between them, these validations come in time to be based on genealogical fictions, when the original genealogical relations are no longer consistent with the contemporary state of affairs.

On purely linguistic grounds it is difficult to describe Luo lineage organization except on the basis of family organization as the point of departure. For the number of levels of segmentation intervening between maximal lineage and family varies from one lineage to another, and, of course, the number of generations which separate different living members of the same maximal lineage from its founding ancestor varies even more widely. It is impossible to describe such a system adequately by

[1] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 262.
[2] Cf. Mayer, op. cit., p. 34.
[3] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, p. 4, where 'tribe' is used in this sense and examples are given of different types of tribal composition.

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any series of terms tied to specific levels or even denoting functions characterizing different levels. Any terminology of this type assumes that there is a single system of segmentary articulation for all purposes in every maximal lineage, whereas, among the Luo, certainly two different types of segmentation must be distinguished. For convenience we shall call these two different types class A and class B. The chief characteristic of class A is that all segments in it are corporate landholding units (see below, p. 23), arising from the establishment of lineage settlements and their progressive subdivision. Class B segmentation comprises all those lineages which only emerge into actuality on the specific occasions which demand it. At all other times this class of segments remains a latent basis of grouping. It is especially in answer to ritual needs that they emerge, but it is important to note that the organizational aspect of a ritual occasion (e.g. provision of the necessary food) calls into being a far more extensive segmentary organization than is required for the performance of the ritual itself. This will be fully described later (see below, p. 36). All class A lineages act on occasion as class B lineages too, but the total number of potential class B lineages is far greater than the number of class A lineages extant at any one time. There is some justification for regarding the lineage process as the formation of class B lineages within the compound polygynous family, followed by the establishment, according to certain determinants (see below, pp. 38–43), of some of these class B lineages as class A. It is possible that, in certain circumstances, a class A lineage may relapse again into class B (see below, p. 34). Class B segmentation is genealogical segmentation at its purest, while class A segmentation may be distorted from its genealogical basis by the addition of continuously exercisable functions such as landholding and political order.

Each stage of class A segmentation therefore represents a selection from a large number of possible points of fission derived from both male and female ancestors.[1] When asked about divisions between segments the Luo account for them by reference to the kinship relations of their respective ancestors as represented in the recognized genealogy. These kinship relations are described as if they were those of living persons in an actual homestead. Luo genealogies, then, record far more instances of relations of this type than have ever, apparently, given rise to the segmentation of class A, and the causes which precipitate the latter will be discussed.

In describing both types of lineage noted above, I restrict myself to an *ad hoc* numerical and descriptive nomenclature, by which it is intended to avoid giving any impression of rigidity to what is an exceptionally flexible system. As far as the class A lineages are concerned, segmentation between the level of the maximal lineage and the smallest landholding lineage (primary settlement) may be from twofold to sevenfold; but if as much as sevenfold, the genealogical basis would probably be ignored to the extent of approximating it to a fivefold segmentation, which is common in a large lineage like Karachuonyo (see Fig. 1). Class B segmentation can proceed as far as the genealogy permits, and so may be anything from ten- to twenty-fold in a large lineage, but, of course, it is never more than a small range of the complete system which is brought into operation on any one occasion.

When recent cases of lineage formation are studied, it appears indubitable that the occurrence, at all levels of segmentation, of lineages with female eponyms must be

[1] See Fig. 1 (class A) and Figs. 2 and 6 (class B), also diagram on p. 40.

[text continues on p. 12]

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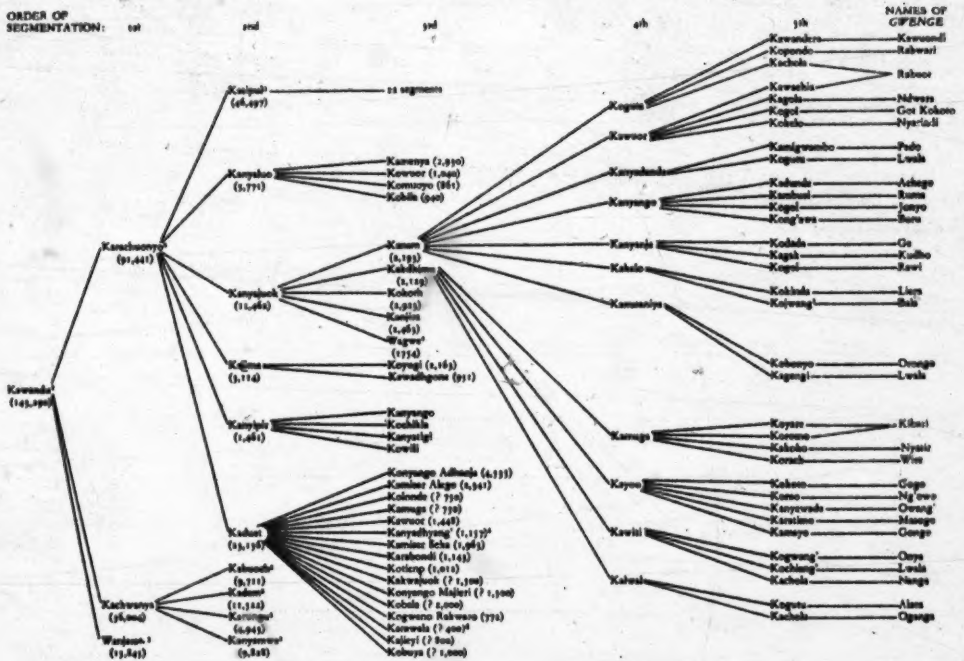

FIG. 1

DIAGRAM OF CLASS A SEGMENTATION

Bracketed figures underneath or to the side of names are 1947 populations.

¹ The maximal exogamous lineage.

² 'Tribes' according to Evans-Pritchard's classification, in *Luo Tribes and Clans*.

³ According to legend Wanjare was the third brother who wandered and got lost among the Bantu Kisii; cf. BoNchari in Mayer, *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*.

⁴ Associated lineages.

[p. 11]

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12 interpreted in the light of the relation between husband and wives, between co-wives themselves, and between groups of half-brothers in the compound polygynous family. Every group of uterine brothers with their mother forms a very distinct unit over against all other such units in the same compound family. These matrifocal cells of the compound family are all separate stock-owning and land-holding units, and their semi-autonomy is emphasized in the pattern of residence (see below, p. 17) and in the arrangements for cooking, eating, and other domestic activities. It is strikingly exhibited on ritual occasions (see below, pp. 35–7). Another indication is the fact that the Luo clearly remember the names of their ancestors' wives, whereas other peoples in the Luo-speaking group, such as the Alur, do not.

There is here no question of matrilineal principle intruding on an otherwise patrilineal system. The point is that uterine brothers have strong incentives for rivalry with and distinctness from half-brothers, and the pattern of social grouping thus engendered is passed on to their agnatic descendants, so that lineages with female eponyms may appear at any level of segmentation. They are groups of agnates defined by reference to their progenetrix because she alone can distinguish them from other groups of agnates descended from the same male ancestor. Since only a proportion of class B lineages ever become class A, the selection of class A lineages which have male and which have female eponyms follows no invariable principle, but depends on the particular context in which each one became a class A lineage (see below, pp. 38–43). Since co-wives represent subordinate segments in relation to their husbands but superordinate segments in relation to their sons, there is nothing to indicate that female eponyms are correlated with subordination and male eponyms with superordination in lineage activities.[1]

In most contexts of lineage activity it is possible to find on different occasions lineages with male eponyms acting as major segments of a superordinate with a female eponym, or vice versa, or major segments and superordinate both with female eponyms, or both with male, or even major segments some of whom have male and others female eponyms. However, most lineages which act politically as tribes (see Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', p. 4) have male eponyms. Some exogamous lineages have female eponyms—as being groups of agnates who no longer maintain the ban on marriage with the descendants of co-wives of their progenetrix, because their distance in space and time permits forgetfulness of the bond between them. That on balance male eponyms occur more frequently than female may be due to the fact that while the structure of the family sometimes necessitates the use of female eponyms, there is sometimes a possibility of choice, and in a patrilineal society the choice would fall more readily on a male. Moreover, when spatial contiguity, and the social relations consequent upon it, no longer necessitates their recollection, and names have actually become very remote in time, there is rather more likelihood of forgetfulness of the names of ancestresses who are drawn from a multiplicity of different exogamous lineages than of the names of male ancestors who follow one another in an unbroken male line.

There are further reasons for describing lineage structure first at the level of the domestic and residential units and the smallest territorial settlements, rather than

[1] Cf. Fortes, op. cit., p. 32.

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by starting with the maximal lineages descended from the first-remembered ancestors. The position of these smalles groups on the lineage genealogy is not far removed from that of the present families, so that their interpretation by analogy with family composition is strengthened by the shortness of the time which has elapsed since the actual existence of the compound and elementary families from which they grew. This especially aids the interpretation of female lineage eponyms in relation to the structural position of co-wives in the family. Another advantage is that the segments of a lineage tend to engage the activity of their members in inverse frequency to their size; thus the business of the maximal lineage, though of great importance as being the largest scale of corporate action ever undertaken by lineages, is least frequent, while that of the minimal lineages absorbs the greatest proportion of their members' time. Consequently there will always be a greater quantity of observable behaviour relating to the minimal segments of a lineage than to any of the rest. Among a numerous people such as the Luo, without centralized political institutions, it may well be that the principles of small group organization are relatively uniform throughout, while description of the larger groups is complicated by their great variety of size and the differential effects of population growth, length of settlement, inter-lineage warfare, and the like. The smallest groups are, on the average, the most recent groups, and can therefore be dealt with in terms of observable activity or relatively well-remembered past events, whereas the history of the larger groups is less likely to be authentic and is more strongly moulded by myth. However, though genealogies and lineage traditions may be more properly regarded as expressions of social values than as historical records, they can hardly be irrelevant for the understanding of how lineages develop through time. Other things being equal, there must be a tendency for the maximal lineages of the present to be derived from the minimal lineages of the past, and for some among the minimal lineages of the present to form the source of the maximal lineages of the future.[1]

It is to be noted that not even genealogical segmentation can ever follow a regular pattern, since the number of wives a man marries, and the number of children of each sex whom he begets upon them, do not do so. When the increasing irregularities of growth between one line of descent and another over a long period are taken into account, it will easily be understood that lineage principles, which are necessarily stated in terms of regularities, suffer profound modifications in practice. As will be seen, the genealogical segmentation may be adhered to fairly strictly in ritual contexts and in their organizational background. In economic and political relations, however, the operative segmentation frequently diverges from the genealogical, but

[1] See Forde, *J.R.A.I.*, vol. lxviii, p. 8: 'particular ecological conditions appear to be prerequisite for extensive proliferation of unilineal kin and the formation of large and successively segmented clans. These appear to be the maintenance of social continuity over a widening series of territorial entities, a condition which requires both considerable physical mobility and facilities for continued territorial expansion.' Judging from the Luo, the maintenance of this social continuity is fundamental, and facilities for continued territorial expansion are more vital to it than physical mobility. The requisite mobility is ensured by the lineage ideology itself, which permits free visiting among kinsmen as long as they occupy a continuous territory. When the conditions for fairly rapid numerical and territorial expansion are not fulfilled, we should expect to find an increase of the fictional element in clanship and lineage organization, a synthesizing of discrete groups, and fictional genealogical unification. Probably Luo conditions until recently permitted an unusual congruity between actual and putative genealogies as a basis of social organization.

[text continues on p. 15]

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[p. 14]

Men shown in CAPITALS.
Women shown in *italics*.
——— Connects co-wives with husbands.

FIG. 2

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the divergences are glossed over and the relations of segments treated in the same kinship idiom as if the implied regularities had been maintained.

I now proceed to the more detailed description of those features of the Luo family which aid in the interpretation of the lineage system. The lineage concepts of the

FIG. 3

Luo are then discussed, and six cardinal principles abstracted from them. Some statistics are given to show the divergence of lineage activities from the norms implied in the concepts and from the genealogical structure itself. More details are given of the nature of segmentary activity within the extended family, between the extended families of whose members the smaller lineage segments are composed, and between the larger lineages. Lastly, an interpretation is given of the transformation of class B into class A segments as small landholding lineages, from which

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originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 3) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awandu, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

The most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dala* or *wuon pacho*; *jaduong* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Luo family has a 'house-property complex' of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often striking in ritual. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

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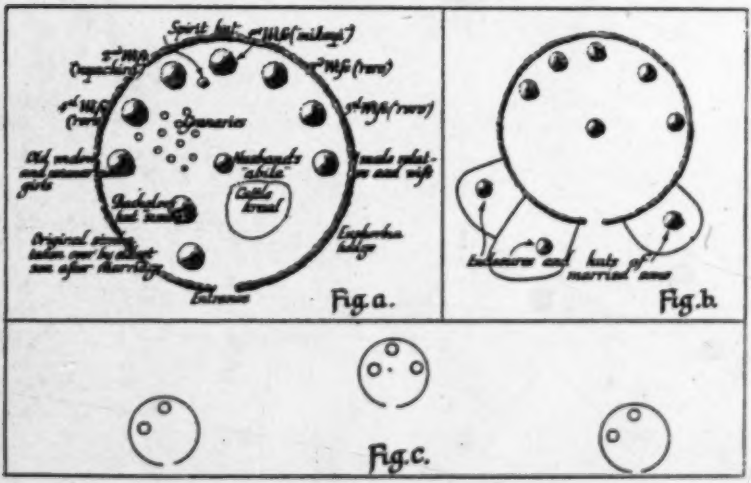
and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.[1] The title of the first wife is *mikayi*, that of the [illegible] and *nyachira*, and of all subsequent wives *ruru*.

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at [illegible] phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted fro[illegible] figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described abov[illegible] ary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

PHASE 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring.

2. The eldest son matures, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*simba*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*).



3. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead hedge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the compound polygynous grand family. (Fig. *b*.)

4. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate ones of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their stepsons or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or ablest of the dead man's sons as head, the sons' homesteads now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.)

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family

[1] It is the possessive form of *nam* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'grandsire'.

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is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (Dholuo *jepidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would remain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 133.

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the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the gost hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simbe*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groupsbreak up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbe* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always hods a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*mwa*) and father's sister (*nyar*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a unbile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a [illegible] dying before he has experienced sexual [illegible] the latter being treated similarly to a [illegible].

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842 said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

595 The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups [428] of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

000 It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

613 582 Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

[171] [2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Meyer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, esp. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 155–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. III, 1930, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

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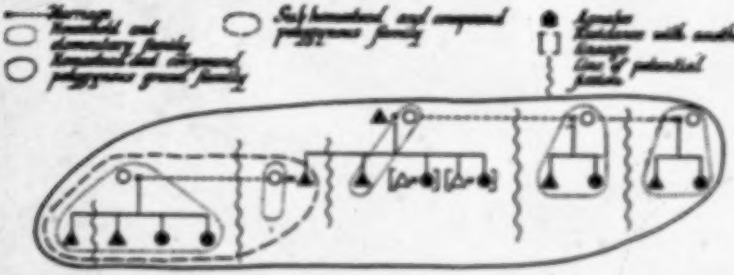
with one maximal lineage, which includes the lineage segments whose territories are marked on the map (Fig. 3) as the locations of Karachuonyo, Kasipul, Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem.[1] These lineages all claim patrilineal descent by a recognized genealogy from Awandu the wife of Jook, an ancestor from nine to twelve generations of ascent from elders still alive. This is an exceptionally large exogamous group and has no parallel even among the Luo, with their very wide tracing of marriage bars. Its present population is about 120,000, including a small percentage of settlers (*jodak*) from other lineages. The ban on intermarriage is still observed throughout this group except for the *jodak*. Its major segments would



probably have separated from one another completely and ceased to claim effective common descent, if it had not been for the tendency of European administration to crystallize the relations of maximal lineages at about the stage they had reached when outside control was first imposed over half a century ago. Since that time the population of the group has probably doubled to reach its present size. It is regarded by all the Luo as one of the most important and most authentically Luo groups among them. Since, as the map shows, the territories of its major segments are not contiguous, but form three separate blocks, their day-to-day activities have become similarly divided; I deal chiefly with the block formed by the locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, which have a population of 90,000. The lineages of both these locations claim agnatic descent from Rachuonyo, and will be referred to together as Karachuonyo. (They were, in fact, called East and West Karachuonyo by the British administration until recently.) Karachuonyo people can intermarry with the lineages of the surrounding locations—Nyakach, Gem, Kanyada, and Kagan (see map, Fig. 3)—as well as with the groups of *jodak* who have been permitted by them to settle within their territory.[2]

Cases of murder between Karachuonyo and other lineages would—before the British administration—have occasioned blood-feuds between them in which the

[1] Wanjare is also included, but these people separated from the Luo and were incorporated into the Bantu Kisii.

[2] There are only three considerable groups in Karachuonyo which are not agnatic descendants of Rachuonyo: Kanyadhiang' (1157), Wagwe (1754), and Kanwele (400); see Fig. 1. Tradition accounts for them as descended either from wanderers who became dependants of Karachuonyo families or from orphan castrways discovered and reared by them. In either case they married Karachuonyo girls, as is almost inevitable in a system of localized exogamous lineages. They therefore rank as sister's son's lineages to Karachuonyo.

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lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *nuru*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chulo* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility in the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ode* (in-laws) and *nuoje* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simbo* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on pestheads and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruok kode* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simbo*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *Ariewo* is held. This completes the customary twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some examination of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My own data are short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consistently present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 7–10. Chapter iv (superseded among the Nuer, the obligations of glever marriage to her dead maternal cousin) follows principles. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kavirondo Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acholi.

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to his home and continue to live in the *simbu*, the bride not cooking on her own, but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *rire* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *ulwé* and his mother-in-law the goat of *nwe rimulu*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *simbu*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter so long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simbu* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded. 586

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simbu* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, where adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and where the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the more approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match. 583 [659] [78]

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal clan A lineage; but the Lese do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead. 587 58

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Through the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded some the 422

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less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

Cattle of the shrine
Entire property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Minor to subject, next to spoken, one among one wives.

1. Cattle entirely property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rath kode* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ombo* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received as daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of surviving cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received as a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of these qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuorwa, luong' wuoru uchiewo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

769 778 782 [764] 551 769

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

The special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot*, *gweng'*, *libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

601 613

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family. [361]

[text continues on p. 27]

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613

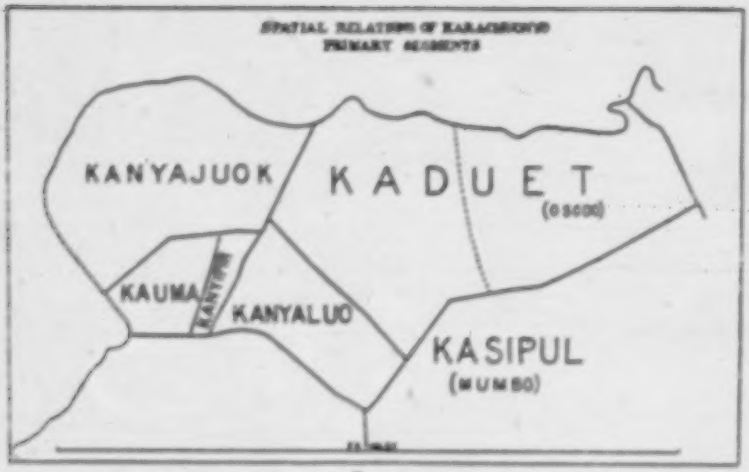

Fig. 4

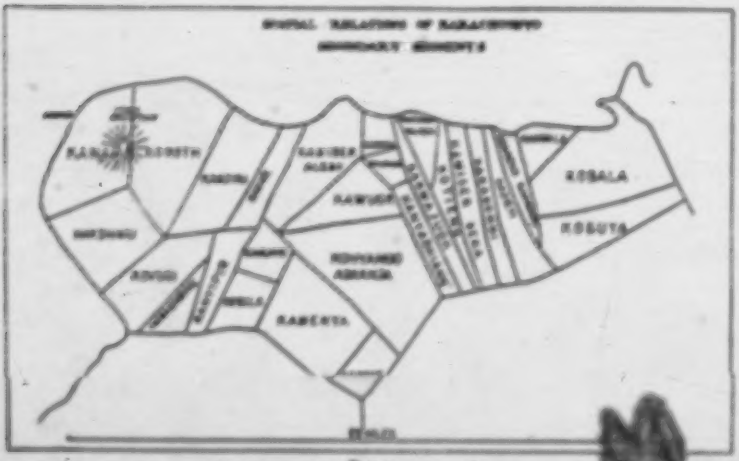

Fig. 3

[p. 26]

friendly games of *adhula* (Luo hockey) between the smaller segments, through the wrestling and club-fighting of medium segments to the ritual warfare and open conflict of the larger lineages. Etymologically *dhoot* means 'mouth of house' (*dhok*, mouth; *ot*, house) and, as quotations will show, often refers to the issue of children from the doorway of their mother's hut. This might further imply a principle of matrilineal descent, but of this there is not the slightest trace among the Luo. All their lineages are essentially patrilineal, but the original ancestors from whom they spring, and whose names they bear, may be either men or women, depending on whether segmentation took place between brothers of an elementary family or co-wives of a compound family. The significance of this etymology, and of the Luo interpretation of it, seems to be that the unity of uterine brothers in their mother's house is to them symbolic of the solidarity of members of the same *dhoot*. But, as has been previously noted, uterine brothers are also regarded from the opposite point of view, as symbolic in their quarrels of the fission between lineage segments. Nor is this inconsistent, but is in line with the character of all Luo lineage segments, which in one context emphasize their unity against all outsiders and in another their internal divisions.

The *dhoot* of Karachuonyo is to its members the largest lineage which carries general social functions and which occupies one continuous block of territory. It is subdivided into smaller *dhoudi* down to the level of those which are the primary settlement units. This is the class A system of segmentation which, as previously noted, may be from twofold to sixfold, and is usually fivefold in Karachuonyo, according to the particular agnatic line taken. The points of origin of these *dhoudi* are only a small selection from the very large number of points of potential segmentation which appear in the whole genealogy of Karachuonyo (see large genealogical chart, Fig. 6, facing p. 32). For all uterine brothers, or co-wives with surviving male agnatic issue, from those of living families back to the earliest ancestors of the genealogy, represent points of fission in the class B segmentation, some of which have achieved class A status as *dhoudi*.

Karachuonyo as a *dhoot* is thus a group of people claiming common agnatic descent from Rachuonyo and subdivided at several successive levels into a number of smaller *dhoudi* all segmentally articulated. Karachuonyo as a continuous block of territory occupied and controlled by this group is also correspondingly subdivided, so that the arrangement of parts into a whole coincides in both cases. It is when they have the territorial aspect of a *dhoot* particularly in mind that the Luo refer to it as *gweng'* (pl. *gwengy*). The basic connotation is land, but the social group occupying the land is always implicit in the term *gweng'*. It would never be used for unclaimed or unoccupied land, which is *thim* (wilderness). Settlement, in the sense defined above is thus a reasonable translation of *gweng'*. In Karachuonyo all *gwengy* are thought of as being essentially lineage settlements. When the Luo have a territorial unit in mind as being the most inclusive of its kind, as they do in the case of Karachuonyo itself and occasionally in some contexts the *dhoudi* which are its major segments also, they refer to them as *piny* (country) rather than *gweng'*. The average population of minimal *gwengy* is approximately 300.

Dhoudi, which are major segments of the same superordinate lineage, refer to one another as *lihambe* (pl. *lihambini*). The etymology of this word is uncertain, and it

601 may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic
borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God; *wasigu*,
613 enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained
the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimi-
lated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *libamba* all those forces of friction and
[578] competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further
subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are
regarded as typical of these. A *libamba* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate
to one's own. When a man speaks of his *libamba* he always means a segment other
than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has
in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoudi*
which stand in the *libamba* relationship to one another which play together at *adhula*,
wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

613 The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion
with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their
genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*,
down to and including the members of compound and elementary families, are con-
stantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and
funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and
reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*.
The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according
to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a mis-
613 fortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ajunge*) is consulted,
769 and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble.
Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of
782 lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the
eponymous ancestors of *dhoudi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If,
however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge
from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot*
who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates
may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occa-
sions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is
itself represented by its major segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way,
whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *anyuola*. Even a
segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *anyuola* in this context. The
etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. How-
ever, as with *dhoot*, every *anyuola* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes
613 its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives
and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Tallensi concept of *sunsut* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 52, 57, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but to the Tallensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *libamba* to one another whether their eponyms were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 55. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Tallensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 51).

[3] *ayuol* n., birth; *ayuola* v., to give birth. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

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derived from them. Here again it seems as if a whole series of groups were identified with one symbolic prototype, and the ideational qualities of the elementary family cell of mother and children are extended to much larger and differently derived groupings organized upon similar principles of solidarity. When *oyuolo* groups act in co-ordinate relationships they also may refer to one another as *libamba* in the same way as is done by *dhoudi*. But in the co-ordinate relationships of such class B *libembini* the competitive element is not so marked as the ordered marshalling of articulated segments in the achievement of a common purpose. Competitiveness still appears, however, in the haggling over shares of meat distributed at many rites.

Besides these generic terms lineages are referred to in particular by adding the prefix *ka* to the name of the eponymous ancestor. A lineage is said to be *Jokang'at'ackiel* —people of one person—and a man's lineage affiliation is indicated by adding the personal prefix and the locative prefix to the lineage name, as *Jakaruchuonyo*—a man of the lineage of Rachuonyo.[1] Luo paraphrase *ka* as *pacho* of so-and-so, using *pacho* in its figurative sense of the social group associated with a homestead; also, with their characteristic relativity, it can refer not merely to an actual homestead and its family, but to any lineage settlement however large, since all such must in theory be ultimately derived from the original homestead in which the eponymous ancestor lived.

Asked for the meaning of *dhoot* an elder usually leans back on his stool and points round the homestead at the doorways of his wives' huts as the concrete demonstration of what he says. Thus:

Obuya-Mboya of Konyango Adhanja:[2] 'If you have three wives and each has a number of children, and the children with their mothers scatter to different homesteads, they drop your name and take their mothers'.' Obuya-Mboya is a great-grandson of Onyango Adhanja by his first wife Ambogo Nyamagari. As may be seen from the chart (Fig. 6) Onyango Adhanja (93) had three other wives besides Obuya's ancestress, and the descendants of all these have actually made separate settlements of their own called Kanyandiero, Kanyajwang', and Kobala, after these three wives. Obuya had also been speaking of his grandfather Minguua, whose descendants also have their own settlement, and saying that as Kaminguua grew he would expect it to split up into three settlements named after Minguua's three wives.

Oyugi-Mboya of Kanyariro said of *dhoot*: 'You get your *dhoot* first from your mother, then it changes in the grandchildren to the father. It is just a question of naming you after the mother from whom you were born.' Oyugi is a great-great-grandson of Nyariro (85), first wife of Ogweno (82) (Fig. 6). He refers to the fact that the elementary family of the mother's hut is the primary unit in the system of segmentation, within the secondary grouping of descent from a man by all his wives taken together. Derivation from father or mother may alternate in different generations, and where segments are derived from women it is simply a naming device for distinguishing between descent groups all of which are patrilineal, not the result of any special value attached to descent from women as opposed to men.

[1] *ja*, pl. *jo*, personal prefix, *ng'ama*, a person; *ka*, prefix of place; *achiel*, one.

[2] I hyphenate a second name to the first when it is the name of the individual's father; when it is the individual's nickname or a woman's pet-name I add it without a hyphen. In either case, the addition of the second name serves to distinguish between the many individuals who have the same personal name.

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613 Oyugi also said: 'A *dhoot* begins when the sons of one wife leave their father's *dala*, form a *dhoot*, and begin to compete.' It is this competition which sharpens the boundaries, ideological as well as physical, between *dhoudi* and strengthens their internal solidarity. Oyugi's own lineage illustrates his point with the separation of the descendants of Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

Obware-Akoko of Kamboya said of *libamba*: 'A man can produce two sons; those two usually, according to custom, leave their father's homestead and make their own near by. Each of them will produce sons and daughters; at one time there might happen a quarrel or disagreement, then one will say to the other: "Now you go away from me since now you are a *libamba* by yourself, and I am a *libamba*." So you find each multiplying and becoming a *libamba* on either side. *Libamba* is not used except when there is a quarrel. Usually a quarrel comes in dividing the bride cattle of a girl or girls when married, when in spite of the old man's distribution the sons dispute it.' Then he referred to his own *dhoot* of Kamboya and said that it had no quarrels and therefore no *libembini* within it, because it is *pacho achiel*—a single homestead (figuratively, of course, for in fact it contains several dozen homesteads, and the original homestead of Mboya himself was probably deserted a century or so ago); but informally even two uterine brothers in a household can quarrel and one say to the other, 'you are my *libamba*'. Obware is a great-great-grandson of Mboya (98). The process of segmentation in his own lineage bears out his account of *libamba*, both in the separation of the descendants of Mboya from those of Omolo (100), and at the next level in the separation between Ogembo (91) and Onyango Adhanja (Fig. 6).

Oyugi-Mboya also said of *libamba*: '*Libamba* starts with quarrels between children of one wife and children of another.' This again follows the structure of his own lineage in the separation of the descendants of his ancestress Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

These statements, though at first confusing when taken together, do embody the cardinal principles of Luo lineage structure, and present some of the striking characteristics of Luo thought. This could be confirmed by many further quotations for which there is no room here. The main points may be summarized as follows:

1. *Derivation*

The eponymous ancestor of a lineage may be either a man or a woman.[1]

[170] [1] Contrast the discussion of male and female eponyms among the Arabs in Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 28–36. Clearly the Arabian situation was different from that of the Luo. Female eponyms were only found among the earliest ancestors, and in every tribe which had a female eponym those of all its segments were male. By contrast, female eponyms appear at all levels in different Luo lineages, interspersed with male, and the reasons for it are deducible from a study of recent cases of lineage fission (see pp. 40 et seq.). Robertson Smith did not admit the relevance of present residential arrangements and pivotal family relationships to the development of future lineage segments, or that the relations of persons within a family may in a very significant way be mirrored by the relations of large descent groups within a territorial unit. He suggests as a law of general validity that 'where the bond of maternity is so strong that it binds together the children of the same mother as a distinct kindred group against the other children of their father, there also we may be sure that the children of one mother by different fathers will hold together and not follow their father. And this is the principle of female kinship.' Both these situations can be demonstrated over and over again in Luo lineage structure, yet the Luo lineages are strictly unilateral in descent on the father's side. The application of terms whose ety-

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2. *Constitution*

The solidarity of the lineage (*dhoot*) is likened to that of the mother and her children in an elementary family.

3. *Interrelation*

The relation of one co-ordinate segment with another (*libamba*) is likened to the competition between uterine brothers, and to the competition between the sons of one co-wife and the sons of another.

4. *Personalization*

Lineage segments are so closely identified conceptually with the individuals and family nuclei from which they are descended that the latter stand for the former in linguistic idiom.

5. *Compression*

The symbolizing of lineage processes in certain relations between the members of elementary and compound families in the homestead leads to:

(*a*) Telescoping of the time sequence. Changes in lineage structure which took place a number of generations back and over a considerable period are treated as events among individuals of a family in an undifferentiated present.

(*b*) Telescoping of spatial distance. Relations between large social groups or territorial sections are treated as occurrences within single households and homesteads.

6. *Egocentricity*

Lineages are spoken of in the context of the structural position of the speaker, and utterances about them can only be interpreted in this light.

V. NORM AND DEVIATION IN THE SEGMENTARY SYSTEM

GENEALOGICAL segmentation can only be adhered to with absolute consistency as a dominant principle of social organization in situations which allow the irregularities of lineage growth and their consequences to be ignored. On the whole, ritual situations conform to this requirement, whereas political, economic, and many other general social needs frequently do not. The result of this is that in Luo lineage organization it is the *oyuolo* groups of the class B system of segmentation that are able to conform most closely to the abstract principles suggested by their genealogical

mology implies derivation from females to groups derived from male ancestors is taken by Robertson Smith as conclusive evidence for a switch from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. Among the Luo the inference from both social action and traditional theory is that terms such as *dhoot* and *oyuolo*, whose etymology suggests descent from a woman, are applied sometimes to groups with female and sometimes to those with male eponyms because groups of both types are identical in social function, and both alike reflect the cardinal attributes of these terms as shown in those situations which Luo adduce as symbolic demonstrations of their significance.

The *ruoth* and *nyaseke* (mother- and father-derived groups) of the Ilo are likely to afford an important comparative example, though the data on them are at present inadequate. It will be of great interest to know the real significance, for the social structure and for the process of segmentation, of these groups when they are fully analysed.

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613 structure, whereas the activities of the *dhoot* and *gweng'* groups of the class A segmentation frequently diverge from them. The *anyuola* groups within the minimal *dhoot*, being those of the least generation depth, have not existed long enough for the disparity of growth in different lines to become excessive, and this makes it easy for their activities to be consistently based on principles of genealogical segmentation. The class B segments above this level emerge only in ritual activity, in which disparity of size may be immaterial because the real balance of power of social groups is not an insistent factor on such occasions. But in the operations of *dhoot* and *gweng'* the balance of power between groups is usually a fundamental element, and often the consciously predominating one. It is none the less true that, despite divergences in practice, the Luo do regard the mechanism of genealogical segmentation as the normal organizational basis of the relations of social groups. When actual practice conforms to this it is regarded as natural; when it departs from it the divergence is glossed over, and the relationships are described in the same idiom as if conformity had been maintained. Luo lineage principles must, therefore, like other social norms, be looked for both in the activities of lineage segments, where significant variations about the norm may be revealed, and also in the theoretical recognition which they have in the minds of the people, as part of their 'projective system' revealed in their verbal behaviour, and here they may present a regularity and consistency which is otherwise impossible in social action.

These practical divergences from lineage theory may be made clearer by showing the distribution of class A and class B segments and the co-ordinate relationships of *libambini* on an actual genealogy. The chart (Fig. 6) shows certain parts of the genealogy of Karachuonyo. It includes only ancestors belonging to generations already dead, the most recent one shown being Omolo (100), who is separated from the living head of Komolo by one intervening generation. Each of the following is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* in the class A segmentation. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51, 59, 60, 62, 65, 67, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101. These may now be divided into those which follow the *libambo* principle as recognized by the Luo in theory and those which do not. That is to say, those *dhoodi* which are co-ordinate segments according to their genealogy, and those which are not genealogically co-ordinate although they act as if they were.

Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 are co-ordinates, their superordinate being No. 3.
39, 40 " " " 34.
42, 43 " " " 44.
77, 78, 79, 80 " " " 81.
94, 95, 96, 97 " " " 93.
98, 100 " " " 92.
99, 101 " " " 100.

But,

Nos. 25, 60, 28, 13, 14 are not co-ordinates, though they are major segments of *dhoot* 4.
35, 29, 44, 32 " " " " 5.
34, 36, 24, 59, 75, 76, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87 are not co-ordinates, though they are major segments of *dhoot* 8.

It is to be noted that the following *dhoodi* (Nos. 25 and 60, 9 and 4, 44 and 29, 62

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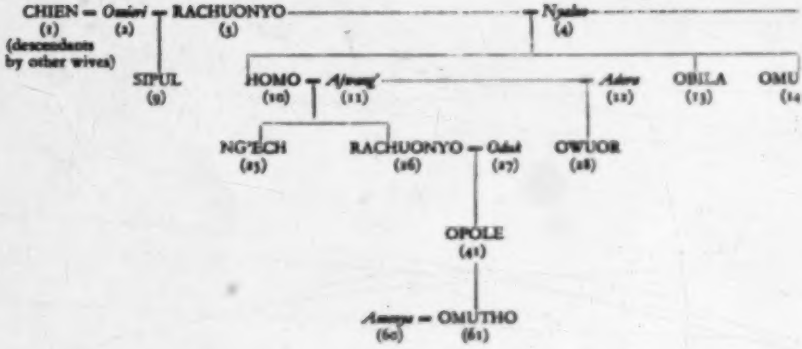

Men shown in CAPITALS.
Women shown in *Italics*.

——— common co-wives with husbands.
- - - - used where men inherit widows of re
longing to a different generation to

[facing p. 32a]

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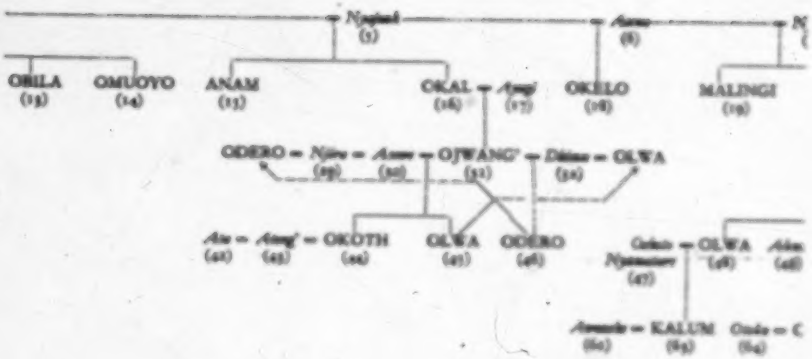
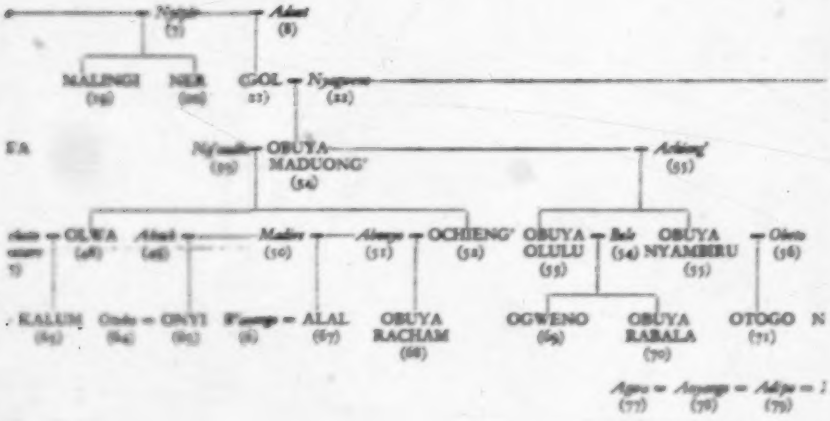


with husbands.
nherit widows of relatives be-
ceeser generation to their own.

[facing p. 32, b]

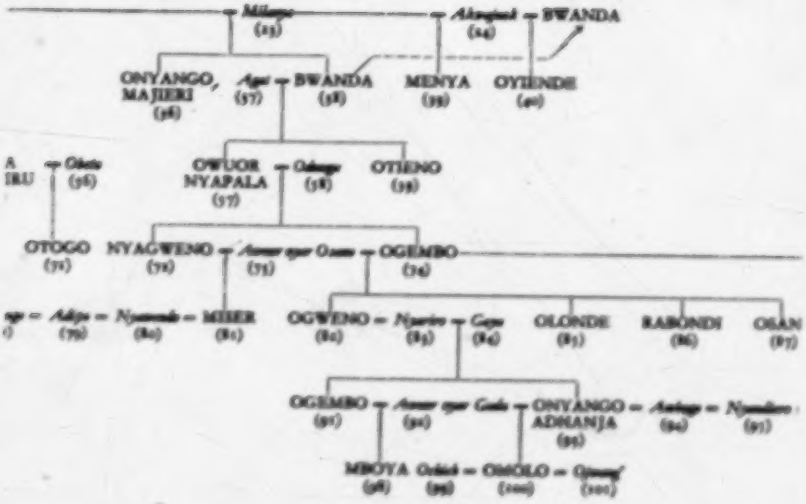
613



p. 6

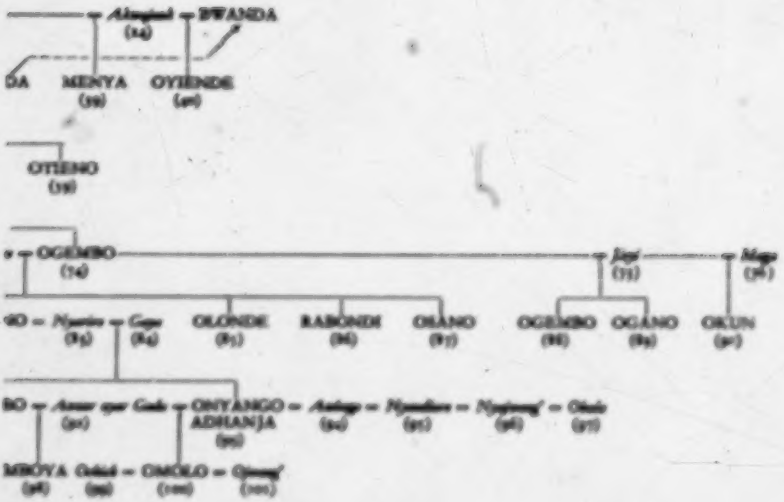
[facing p. 32, c]

613



[facing p.32, d]

613



[facing p. 32, 2]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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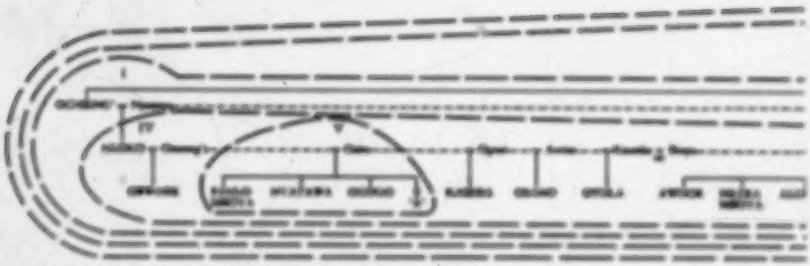
Men shown in CAPITALS.
Women " " small lemon.
- - - - common co-wives with husband.
——— ——— shows the rounds of distribution combined in the order in which they occurred.
⊙ marriages without rude issue.



[facing p. 33, a]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

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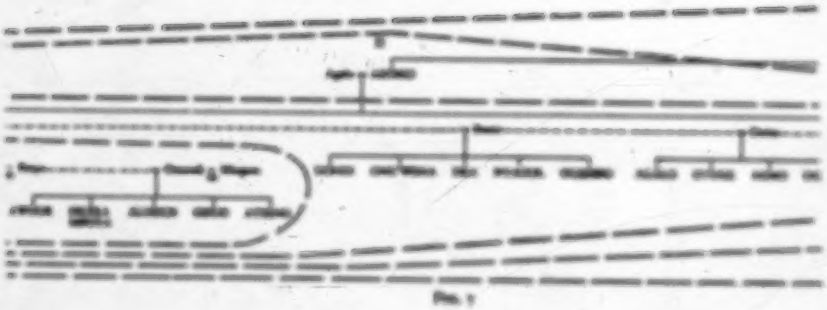
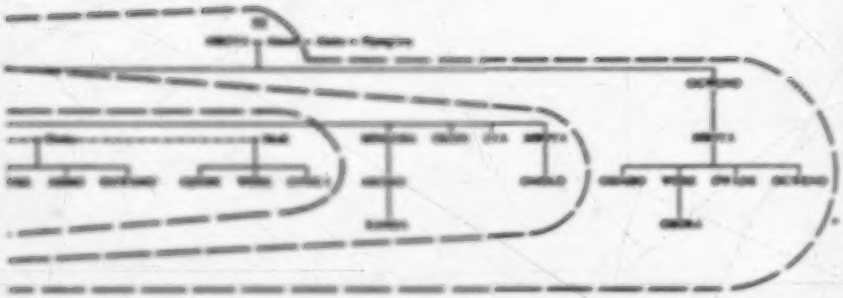


[facing p. 33, b]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 F:11 Loo FL11



[facing p. 33, c]

6B and 52, 54 and 24) are co-ordinate because they segment from the same generation level although their actual eponyms do not. This ambiguity arises when an ancestor has surviving issue only through one wife and one son, or when men leave issue only by inherited wives as in Nos. 45 and 46.

The question arises why the following segments are not recognized as *dhoudi* superordinate to the segments they contain:

No. 11	as the *dhoudi*	superordinate	to Nos.	25 and 60
10	"	"	"	11 and 12
16	"	"	"	29, 44, and 52
32	"	"	"	65, 67, and 51
33	"	"	"	62, 65, 67, and 52
84	"	"	"	92 and 93
73	"	"	"	81, 82, 85, 86, and 87
74	"	"	"	73 and 76
57	"	"	"	73 and 74
57	"	"	"	57 and 59
23	"	"	"	36 and 37.

A variety of reasons may contribute to the explanation of these anomalies in particular cases, but the most usual reasons can be illustrated from one out of these examples—the *dhoudi* of Kogweno (82). Kogweno, with its population of over 9,000 (estimate for year 1947), has far outgrown its co-ordinates Kolonde (85), Karabondi (86), and Kosano (87), of whom only Karabondi has a population of as many as 1,000. Kamiser (81), with a population of over 4,000, is also very large, and both Kogweno and Kamiser overshadow all the other *dhoudi* in Kaduet (8) in numbers, territory, and consequently in political power. Kogweno and Kamiser, therefore, need no intermediate level of political organization between their own and that of Kaduet (8), and affairs too big for settlement within Kogweno or Kamiser could only be dealt with by Kaduet as a whole. Thus *dhoudi* such as Kobuya (34), Konyango Majieri (36), Kotieno (39), and Kakwajuok (24) would join in council with Kogweno (82) and Kamiser (81) on equal terms although they belong to much higher levels of segmentation. On the other hand, small *dhoudi* such as Kolonde (85), Karabondi (86), and Kosano (87) cannot even claim this seniority to counterbalance their lack of size. They might get places in the council of Kaduet (8) by courtesy, their voices carrying little weight unless through outstanding individual ability, or else they might be content to tack on to Kogweno (82), and rely on the proximity of their relationship to this lineage to secure their rights.

Furthermore, *dhoudi* which are somewhat overshadowed by their rivals may form subsidiary groupings which break the principle of co-ordination by including some but not all the co-ordinates in a superordinate segment. Thus Kolonde (85), Karabondi (86), Kosano (87), Kajiryi (75), and Kamuga (76), tend to group themselves together as Kogombo (74), to the tacit exclusion of Kogweno (82), which can stand alone without their help. Kobuya (34), Konyango Majieri (36), and Kakwajuok (24) tend to group as Kogol (21), to the exclusion of the descendants of Bwanda (38). In these instances Kogombo (74) and Kogol (21) have the quasi-status of *dhoudi*, being regarded as such by some but not all of the segments they contain.

613 There may also be cases of former *dhoudi* which have lapsed into passivity. This seems to have happened to Kowuor Nyapala (57) and to Kagaya (84). Since Kanyariro (85) is a *goong'* and *dhoot* on its own and has been so for several generations, the original split was probably between Kanyariro (85) and Kagaya (84), so that both these segments would then have been a *dhoot*. But the growth of Kagaya was so rapid that it quickly split again into the *dhoudi* of Kowuor (92) and Konyango Adhanja (95) and later these segmented even farther. This seems to have made Kagaya redundant as a *dhoot*, for it was no longer a necessary intermediate grouping for political or economic purposes between its own subordinates and Kogweno (82), and it must therefore have lapsed into a class B segment, leaving Kanyariro without any genealogically co-ordinate *dhoot*. Kowuor Nyapala (57) is a similar case, and here, too, it probably happened that Kowuor Nyapala and Kotieno (59) originally divided each as a *dhoot*, after which the rapid growth and further segmentation of the descendants of Owuor Nyapala rendered it redundant, with the large *dhoudi* within it, such as Kogweno (82) and Kamiser (81), acting as immediate subdivisions of the *dhoot* of Kaduet (8). Kotieno (59) was then, like Kanyariro, left without any *dhoot* genealogically co-ordinate with it.

Kakwajuok (24), Kanjira (25), Kadkhimo (32), and Kawuor (92) represent another class of *dhoudi* derived from women. Here the reason for choosing female *dhoot* eponyms appears to have been not the convenience of basing segmentation on co-wives, but the fact that they were inherited by stepsons or brothers-in-law after their husbands' death, and thus united in one segment lines of descent begotten on them by different lineage members.

We have seen that the general relations of *dhoudi* are far from being in strict conformity with the theory of co-ordination which the Luo speak of as a norm in lineage activity. But when a *dhoot* acts ritually it conforms to this much more closely, just as the *sepuole* segments of class B do. For example, if Konyango Majieri (56) sacrificed to their eponym they would call representatives of Kalwanda (58) as their co-ordinate, and of Kolwya (54) and Kakwajuok (24), which are co-ordinate to Konyango Majieri and Kalwanda combined. Here Kalwanda is called into activity, and the great disparity in strength between it and the other segments represented is ignored. Similarly, in ritual Kanyariro (85) would treat Kagaya (84) as a *dhoudi* co-ordinate to it, although in other matters Kanyariro has to submit to equality with Kamboya (98), Komolo (100), and Konyango Adhanja (95), which are genealogically junior to it. In ritual relations the genealogical order of seniority between the lineage segments which are called is also strictly observed, for the elders who represent them receive their shares of meat, or take their places for the drinking of beer, according to this order of precedence.

However, the members of *dhoudi* probably become so used to the order of relationships which prevails between them in political or economic affairs that on the rather infrequent ritual occasions when strict genealogical co-ordination might be preserved they may fail to take advantage of it. It is likely to be segments such as Konyango Majieri (56) or Kotieno (59) which search at opportunities for enforcing theoretical parities on ritual occasions, precisely because in day-to-day affairs they forfeit their seniority to segments such as Kamiser (81) and Kogweno (82) which they cannot match in strength.

VI. RITUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAGE STRUCTURE

It is among the *sepaele* segments subordinate to minimal *dhondi*, which have not had time to become too unequal in size, that the strictest adherence to the theory of co-ordination is practised. As an illustration of this I give here an account of the performance of *rice*—a ritual transaction between a husband and his wife's mother—at which I was present. It is a typical example of the co-ordinate activity of class B segments. The diagram (Fig. 7, facing p. 55) is a continuation of the chart (Fig. 6), and shows the members of the *dhoot* of Mboya (38) who participated or were represented on this occasion. Female as well as male members of the lineage participate; consequently the personnel of the smallest *sepaele* segments includes both the wives and daughters of male lineage members, and so coincides with that of the extant elementary families. But in the genealogy of dead ancestors the daughters of members are omitted, as having normally married and become ancestresses in other lineages and so lost significance in their own, while the wives of members still have to be included for their structural importance.

Since a lineage tends to act ritually at two levels simultaneously—the super-ordinate lineage deployed into its major segments[1]—it is all the easier to picture it, even at its remoter ancestral levels, as a family divided into its component cells (see above, p. 51, 'compression'). It was the woman 'A' whose *rice* was being performed. She belongs to the elementary family of her mother Osiro, a minimal *sepaele* segment. Osiro's two children co-wives and the five others, with their sons, represent the compound polygynous family of Akoko-Ochieng', now dead. The compound family of his father, Ochieng'-Akoko, contained the four elementary families of Nyasewa, Buoss, Owiss, and Modi. Ochieng''s father Akoko-Mboya had issue by one wife only, the elementary family of Agalo. Akoko-Mboya and his brother Ogweno together represent the elementary family of their mother Abiero, whose agnatic descendants constitute the *sepaele* of Kabiero within which the *rice* was performed. Mboya had other wives besides Abiero, but their descendants are very few and do not live in the *geong'* called after Mboya. The result is that the descendants of Abiero can call themselves *dhoot* Kandoya, since they have successfully claimed Mboya's name for it, but in ritual situations such as this it is more correct for them to call themselves *sepaele* Kabiero, for *sepaele* Kandoya would include the descendants of Mboya's other wives, who had no share in the occasion.

Rice is said to be a *chigrand* (promise) with the mother of one's wife. Until it is performed the wife is technically free to go to her home and associate with other men, visiting the *chuka* (see p. 19) if she likes, but after *rice* has been performed she can no longer do so, and her own lineage would prevent her. The husband kills a bull, retains one fowling for himself, and sends the rest to his wife's mother for division by the elders of the *sepaele*. The senior living elder of *sepaele* Kabiero is Dondi-Ochieng'. The first round of meat distribution (marked I on the diagram) was the taking of their shares by Dondi, Aomo, and Ojuok, senior living elders of the *sepaele* segments of Buoss, Owiss, and Modi. Each of these, after taking his share home, made a subsidiary division of it to his senior brothers or to the elder

[1] *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 91.

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sons of senior brothers who were dead; thus Dondi to Ong'wena, Dio, Nyagol, and Ogendo; Asmo to Ojwang' and to the eldest sons of Agulo and Oyuke who were dead; Ojuok to Were and Oyugi. This completed the major segments of the *oganda* of Odiang'-Akoko except for that of Nyawera, the actual grandmother of the woman; this segment, as here, came last. The lineage of Odiang'-Akoko has as its co-ordinate those of Mingora, Okun, Geya, and Mbeya. There were no representatives of Okun or Geya present, but Randa and Ouolo were there for Mingora and Mbeya, and their taking of shares completed the distribution to the major segments of the *oganda* of Akoko-Mbeya (marked II on the diagram). This latter has one co-ordinate in the *oganda* of Ojwenu, which was represented by Ojwenu's senior grandson Otiendo, who took his portion to share it with Owuolo and Ojwenu, younger brothers, and Okora, eldest son of his dead brother Were. Thus the senior structure of *oganda* Kaloro (marked III on the diagram) was represented in the ritual. There followed the distribution within the 'core' *oganda* of Nyawera, the woman's own grandmother (IV on the diagram). First the woman's half-brothers Okwaro, Kasera, Omoro, Otula, Awuor, Hezon Mbeya, and Ahoch took their portions; then there was a separate distribution in the *oganda* of Osiro (V on the diagram) to the woman's senior brothers Paulo Mbeya,[1] Nyawera, and Ojwayo.

During the morning, before the actual distribution was made, all the elders present ate together certain other portions of meat[2] which by custom have to be eaten now on this occasion. Besides this there was the customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother; the neck and top ribs to be cooked by the woman's mother for her brothers to eat together with any friends they like to call; the kidneys to be cooked by the woman's sisters who are still in their mother's house, and eaten by them together with any friends they like to call, and the liver and remaining ribs and offal to be eaten by all the women of the homestead where the division is made. The division of the animal might be tabulated as follows:

a. First footing: for the daughters, husband of the woman.
a. Second footing: for all the descendants of the woman's father (except those who receive under *a*).
b. First binding: (*a*) to be divided to the hands of the heroes of each of the co-wives of the woman's paternal grandmother, and to be shared by them with their surviving senior brothers and the eldest sons of any deceased senior brothers;
(*b*) to be divided to the hands of the heroes of the senior brothers of the woman's paternal grandfather and similarly shared by them;
(*c*) to be divided to the hands of the heroes of the senior brothers of the woman's paternal great-grandfather and similarly shared by them. (No intermediate division to the hands of the heroes of the co-wives of the woman's great-grandmother because Agulo was the only wife of Akoko-Mbeya.)
c. Second binding: for the woman's mother and her sons.
c. Neck and top ribs: for the woman's brothers and their friends.

[1] Paulo Mbeya was Chief of Kamkwamboo from 1951 to 1958, and since then has been Executive Secretary of the Luoni Native Council of South Nyanzaland. In 1958 he was appointed a nominated Native Member on the East Africa Central Assembly. I was deeply saddened to learn his much-loved assistance during my stay in Kamkwamboo.

[2] These were *kwer* (bones), *mud ng'o* (chest), *mud ngeno* (ribs), *dhoo*, and *abala*. The abala and *ayoga* are eaten after they have been cooked by the method of their wrapping in bubbling fluid over the open fire.

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6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bale*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its special significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Lao youngsters of either sex begin to grasp why, on certain occasions, a receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every 613
case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure.
There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indi- 782
cated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually
within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage 769
whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status.
If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would
certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at
some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration
of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be
eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves
according to principles similar to those of *nin*.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is 613
also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceed- 574
ingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 273
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not
yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the
vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there
is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating
in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old [571]
men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial
pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the
innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of
at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settle-
ment of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage seg- 613
ments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 574
order of drinking is entirely determined by lineage seniority, starting with the repre- 576
sentatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority
of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the
line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

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of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these ritually canalized social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the remotest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves occasion a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *nia* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *ayanda* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contribution of her group, followed by the female heads of each *ayanda* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segments is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Ayanda segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*ayanda*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its

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minimal extra to operate as superordinate of the newly formed segments. The process is an extension on a larger scale, of that which begins whenever married sons leave their father's homestead and form separate ones of their own. Custom sets limits to the period within which this occurs. A son cannot leave his father's homestead and form one of his own till he himself has a son able to 'carry the axe' in the ritual of opening a new homestead. On the other hand, a son is not supposed to stay on in his father's homestead after he has a daughter who is nubile. When this occurs while he still has no son, he must move to the homestead of one of his father's brothers or other agnatic relative. If his father dies before he has been able to establish his own homestead he must then sacrifice to his father before doing so. Within these limits the spanning apart of married sons from their father's homestead will depend on their relations with one another, their character and ambition, the contrary pulls of allegiance to a common father matched by the jealousy of sons of different mothers, and the division between brothers matched by the need to unite in competition with other sibling groups. These human relations will always be further pointed by the need of every family for its own building, arable, and grazing land. When a family segments it may be able simply to divide its land correspondingly to satisfy all the segments, or else the latter must collectively occupy a larger area than before. Similarly, when a group[1] splits into several new groups it may simply divide its territory or have to occupy more at the same time. The net result of all these integrative and disintegrative forces is worked out within the framework determined by the Luo adherence to an agnatic basis of social grouping. Throughout, the behaviour of segments is largely a repetition on the group plane of certain attitudes of individuals within the family, the people themselves regarding the lineage system as a magnified reflection of the family process. Both are, of course, the product of human biological growth and reproduction interacting with a particular set of values expressed within a limiting physical environment. It is therefore misleading to represent them only by a formal analysis which omits intrinsic causes of variation.

Given the structure of the Luo family as earlier described, if a man marries several women and begets sons who repeat the process, the result is bound to be the multiplication of homesteads. To the extent that the families of a whole settlement act in this way, the result is bound to be the multiplication of settlements. Conversely, if families fail to multiply, homesteads either disappear or are merely replaced, and the membership of a settlement is also merely replaced, with no change of structure except an increase in genealogical depth. The rivalry rooted between individuals and groups within the family is repeated on a larger scale in the natural divergence of interests and weakening of sentiments of solidarity between different *segmentary* segments. Complementary to this general weakening of bonds which predisposes fission must be the appearance of initiative in some individual suitably placed to lead his group in the establishment of a new settlement. This positive factor is the necessary precipitating agent of the process in which the *new threads* of the primary settlements are formed. The size of each co-ordinate resulting from the fission of a superordinate segment must be adequate to admit male membership to support the responsibilities of a separate settlement.

Finally, there must be adequate land available in which the *new group* can be

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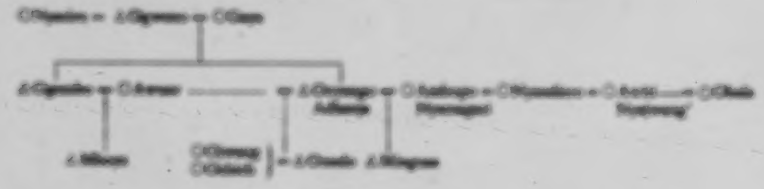
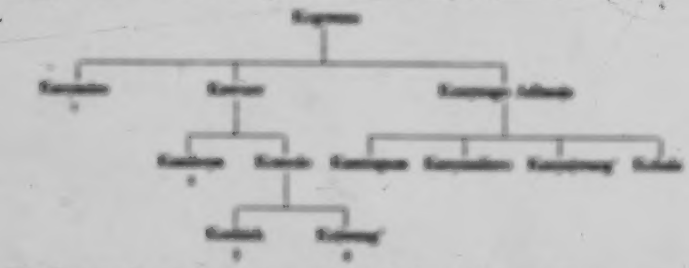
613 founded. *Gwoy* left a belt of unoccupied land in between one another's territory, referred to as *thiw* (wilderness). This insulated one lineage from another, and disputes between lineages took place in it. It was also a reservoir which could be drawn upon for expansion when a new *gwoy'* wanted land to found its settlement. Karachuonyo is now densely settled except where land is poor, and there is practically no *thiw* left which could support new settlements. Consequently the process of *gwoy'* and *dhoot* formation has now reached its limit in Karachuonyo, as indeed it has in many parts of Luoland today for the same reason. But some parts of South Kavirondo still have land to spare, in which the old process of settlements splitting into new segments and expanding into the *thiw* can still go on. The other lineages of the Jook group (see map, Fig. 3)—Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem—all have *thiw* still left.

The process of *gwoy'* formation is best demonstrated with reference to a concrete instance. The diagram below shows the genealogical relations of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoot* descended from Ogwono, see (82), fig. 6 a male ancestor fifth in line of descent from Rachuonyo.



The present structural relations of these *dhoot* may be charted as follows:



The four numbered segments are all minimal class A lineages. Their structural positions are obviously very different. Their comparative depth is indicated by the fact that the present *gwoy'* head of Kanyairo belongs to the fifth descending generation, the head of Kandeya to the third, and the heads of Kochich and Kojwang' to the second descending generation from their eponymous ancestors. In all these cases the difference in depth is correlated with a difference in the rate of numerical expansion. Kanyairo has grown most slowly, Kochich and Kojwang' most rapidly of the four. Indeed, the line of Kochich and Kojwang' has undergone no less than four

stages of class A segmentation in very quick succession: first, the separation of the descendants of Ogweno's second wife Gaya from those of his first wife Nyasiro; second, the separation of the descendants of Awuor—the wife of Ogendao inherited after his death by his younger brother Onyango Adhanja—from the descendants of Onyango Adhanja's own wives; third, the separation of the descendants of Omolo from those of his brother Mboya; finally, the separation of the descendants of Omolo's two wives Ochich and Ojwang'. During all this process Kanyaciro grew so slowly that it failed to segment at all. Of course, each new stage of segmentation does not destroy the groupings of the last, but raises their operation to a higher level. The fact that Kochich and Kojwang' split apart to form new *gwang* does not destroy Komolo as a *gwang'*, but rather gives it a new importance as it is then no longer a minimal *dhoot* but has its own subordinate *dhiedi*. So by an immense process of secular competitive elimination, certain households and homesteads of the past have given rise to *sepsels* segments which later achieved the status of *gwang'* and *dhoot*, and have finally been raised by successive stages of segmentation to their present level as maximal lineages. 613

But are the figures in these genealogies historical figures, and did these families really multiply and those stagnate, or are all the circumstantial details a *post facto* rationalisation of structural relations in terms of a lineage ideology? It seems on balance as easier hypothesis to suppose that there is a genuine element of truth in recorded genealogies and in recollections of recent events; that the omissions from and additions to factual history increase with time depth, and in proportion to the strength of motives for distortion and to the lack of endorsement of recollections of group events by frequent recapitulation in various social activities and embodiment in the pattern of territorial settlement, rather than to regard them purely as a mirage reflecting certain functions of the contemporary social structure. Genealogy is not myth, though it may well, and for the Luo certainly does, bridge the gap between an actual present and a mythical past. It is unlikely that a people, whose memory is shown by indubitable checks to be good (e.g. in the recollections of the coming of individual Europeans to Lockard more than fifty years ago, and of other known historical events of the same period), are wholly inaccurate in what they say about their immediate ancestors' activities in founding *gwang* and about the descent of *gwang'* members from a personal grandmother or grandfather. And if this is accepted there is no reason to throw much more doubt on the accounts of earlier ancestors, up to five or six generations back, where these conform to what is evidently true of more recent times. At the remote genealogical levels the need for caution is obvious, and the stories told of first ancestors twelve to fourteen generations back are of a mythical type easily distinguishable from the more historical accounts of events and persons nearer in time. The Luo of Karachuonyo frankly admit that they know much less about their ancestors before they crossed over Kavirondo Gulf to their present territory about seven generations ago. From this time onward they can give endless details of ancestral activity, for ancestories are provided by the topography itself and their continuous association with it; but before the crossing they have little to say of their ancestors except for those eponyms who are still of structural importance and who are the focus of a rich body of myth. I have, therefore, approached the account of the most recent levels of the lineage structure on

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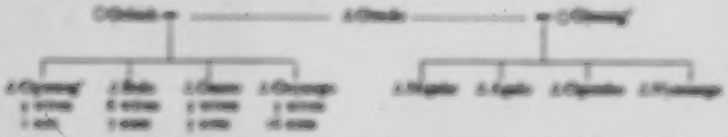
613 the assumption that it is likely to be correct, in proportion to the certainty with which
127 it is given, the absence of deviant and contradictory versions, and its conformity with the probabilities established by a knowledge of the forces operative in contemporary family life and in the contemporary activity of lineage segments.

613 To return to the lineage of Komolo: the rapidity of its growth can be seen from the diagram below showing some of the immediate male agnatic descendants of Omolo. Both Omolo's wives produced four sons, and the families of all these multiplied. The sons of Ochich between them married nineteen wives and begot twenty-nine sons, all these later themselves having issue. The sons of Oywang' were also prolific, but I have no exact figures for their agnatic issue. Rweya, the present *jalang' gong'* of Kochich, is a younger son of Onyango the founder of the *gong'*, and Bolo, the present *jalang' gong'* of Koiwang', is son of its founder Agalo. Rweya's father Onyango was also a very famous leader, acting as chief elder of all Karachuonyo.



The conditions of *gong'* formation were here satisfied in the reproductive growth of Omolo's patrilineal descendants, the presence of leaders necessary for the new settlements, the suitable numerical size of the *gong* defined by the lines of agnatic fission, and the availability of *rhoe* for them to occupy.[1] The descendants of Omolo were quite numerous enough to form more than a single *gong'*, and by dividing according to the segments of Omolo's two wives they formed two new *gong* each of suitable size. They could not, however, have divided into the segments of Omolo's sons, for this would have meant fission into too many major segments each of too small size. None of these, except perhaps Onyango's, would have been large enough to form a separate *gong'*. It would have been very unusual for Onyango's lineage to form a *gong'* while its co-ordinates were unable to do so, for these latter would refuse to join Onyango's *gong'* and call themselves after him, and could only remain in the undivided *gong'* of Omolo or else divide into *gong* called after his wives, as actually happened. It is practical questions of this sort that require some *thought* to derive their agnatic structure from spiral ancestors who were women, and to be called after them, and which give rise to the principle that one co-ordinate cannot split off from its superordinate lineage without the sun.[2] It is fruitless to argue that these ancestresses were merely the wives of agnatic forebears and not even members of the lineage in the entire sense. To any question as to why they are derived from and called after non-agnatic females the members of such a lineage simply say

[1] It appears that [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

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'because she is our mother'. The members of a lineage with a male eponymous ancestor reply as unhesitatingly 'because he is our father'. Lineage members certainly appear to think that the one derivation is as normal, logical, and useful as the other, and co-ordinate segments are tied together as well by descent from wives of a common husband as from sons of a common mother. Where there is a choice of points of origin, as when a co-wife has one son only, and either her name or his would serve to distinguish the same agnatic group from its co-ordinates, it is natural that the son is usually chosen as eponym. It remains true, none the less, that as focal points in the system of class B segmentation, both in family alignments and in ritual organization, both while still alive and when they have become points in the genealogies of the dead, the wives are frequently as essential as the lineage members who are their husbands, and in the case of class A lineages either may be chosen according to the exigencies of the settlement process. This ambivalence must be implicit in any lineage system patrilineal or matrilineal, for in either case the members of the unilateral descent group can only produce heirs and lineage members through cohabitation with non-members, who interpose their own pattern of potential segmentation inter-mediate to that of the spinners themselves.

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An attempt has been made to show how lineages arise from the matrix of family life. Lineage and family differ by their unilateral and bilateral emphasis. Despite the fact that the Luo uphold the unilateral basis of the lineage when they say that the mother's blood counts for nothing in procreation, it has been seen that women are of great importance in the day-to-day affairs and in the actual structure of lineages. A man's daughters are members of their father's lineage. They may be present at lineage rituals, and even after their marriage into other lineages they may return to the lineage of their birth on important occasions; but their children and descendants are entirely cut off from the lineages of origin of their mothers. A man's wives always belong to other lineages, since the maximal lineage is exogamous, but as wives, and as mothers of lineage members, they also may be recipients of rituals of their husband's lineage; they are fundamental pivots in the system of ties and cleavages within the family out of which lineages spring, and in process of time they become ancestresses within their husband's lineage and may be the points of origin of lineage segments. The position of women in the lineage is thus of great moment, and is its ambivalence lineage and family are linked. As far as the individual member of either is concerned, there is a hen-egg relationship between them which cannot be further broken down by sociological techniques.

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BLOOD GROUPS IN SOME EAST AFRICAN TRIBES

By A. C. Allison, Elizabeth W. Ikin, A. E. Mourant and A. B. Raper

[p. 55a.]

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Kikuyu FL10

I.—Blood Groups in some Kenya Tribes

By A. C. Allison, *Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford*, Elizabeth W. Ikin *and* A. E. Mourant, *both of the Blood Group Reference Laboratory (Medical Research Council), Lister Institute, London.*

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This communication embodies the results of A,A$_2$BO, MNS, and Rh tests on the Luo and Kikuyu tribes of Kenya, together with P tests on the Kikuyu and ABO tests on the Masai. The specimens were collected as part of the anthropological investigation carried out while one author (A.C.A.) was a member of the Oxford University Mount Kenya Expedition, 1948.

The only previous anthropological blood group study carried out in this area is the work of Elsden-Dew (1939) on the ABO groups of some East African native populations.

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The Luo and Kikuyu are two of the largest tribes in the country and although neither is "racially pure" they differ in language and customs and are generally believed to differ in origin. The Luo may be taken as representative of the Nilotic group and the Kikuyu of the Eastern Bantu.

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The subjects were hospital patients and groups of labourers, the Luo from Nairobi and Nakuru districts, the Kikuyu from Nairobi, Kiambu and Embu districts. Individuals who were tested were unrelated to one another and were not aware of having any forebears from other tribes. Specimens were taken in the form of clotted blood by means of "Venules" and sent by air to London. Specimens were taken without mishap or complication from 128 Luo and 128 Kikuyu. Specimens were also taken from a further 61 Luo and 111 Kikuyu, but owing to an unsatisfactory system of labelling became mixed in transit. As will be shown below, the Luo and the Kikuyu differ little in their blood group frequencies and the mixed specimens differ little from either of the pure batches. Moreover, the total number of area

[p. 55 b]

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MNS and Rh tests recorded for Africans is very small. It has therefore been thought desirable to place on record the results of our tests on these mixed specimens as representing a general and not highly heterogeneous sample of the East African native population.

The specimens arrived in London in good condition in about three days. Tests for the ABO system were done with anti-A, anti-A_1 and anti-B. Rh tests were done with anti-C, anti-D, anti-E and anti-c. All E positive bloods were tested with anti-e, and all bloods negative with saline anti-D were tested for the D^u antigen by means of an indirect Coombs test with "incomplete" or albumin-agglutinating anti-D. Dr. K. Henningsen, of Copenhagen, was visiting the Laboratory and tested 66 Kikuyu bloods for P by the elaborate and highly accurate method which he has devised for detecting this difficult antigen, with results which he has recently published (Henningsen, 1950). In addition, ABO grouping was carried out in the field near Magadi on 233 Masai tribesmen.

The methods used in the gene frequency calculations are based on the accepted theories of the genetics of the respective blood group systems, which are conveniently set out in the chapters on the various systems by Race and Sanger (1950). The details of the methods are too complicated to set out within the limits of a paper such as this, but will shortly be published in full by Mourant (1953).

For the ABO system the methods are based on the corrected method of Bernstein (1930). For the MNS system the total frequencies of the M and N genes are calculated by the gene adding method (e.g. $\overline{M} = \overline{MM} + \frac{1}{2}\overline{MN}$) and the total S frequency thus:

$$\overline{S} = 1 - \sqrt{\overline{MsMs} + \overline{MsNs} + \overline{NsNs}}$$

This value for S is then divided up between $\overline{MS}$ and $\overline{NS}$ in proportion to values for $\overline{MS}$ and $\overline{NS}$ derived separately from the values of $\overline{MMS}$ and $\overline{MsMs}$; and of $\overline{NNS}$ and $\overline{NsNs}$.

For the Rh system the total frequency of the C

[p. 55c]

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gene (which is the sum of the frequencies of the chromosomes carrying C) is obtained by gene adding methods:

$$\overline{C} = \overline{CC} + \tfrac{1}{2}\overline{Cz}$$

$\overline{E}$ is obtained similarly.

If, as in all these samples, recognizable genotypes containing CDE and CdE are absent, then:

$$\overline{cde} + \overline{cD^{\prime}e} + \overline{cDe} = 1 - (\overline{C} + \overline{E})$$

Provisional separate values for these three chromosome frequencies are obtained by square root formulae involving the frequencies of the phenotypes cc$\overline{Dde}$, cc$\overline{D^{\prime}ee}$ and cc$\overline{Dee}$, and the resultant values are adjusted proportionally so that their sum is that already obtained. The frequencies of the rarer chromosomes are then obtained from these basic values by further equations based on the simple genetical rules, e.g.

$$\overline{Cde} = \frac{\overline{CcDde}}{2\,\overline{cde}}$$

In certain cases, such as that of the Luo, it has been necessary to devise further equations, based on the same principles, to meet special eventualities.

The good agreement between the observed phenotype frequencies and the expected frequencies calculated from those of the genes are evidence of the general accuracy of the serological tests and the homogeneity of the populations tested. The deficiency of AB among the Masai, as compared with the expected number, is probably due to a small number of A_2B bloods having been taken for B, an error difficult to avoid under field conditions. Since both on internal and on external evidence the mixed series of Luo and Kikuyu specimens was probably not highly heterogeneous from a blood group standpoint, and since gene frequencies are of great help in comparing one population with another, this series has been treated as though homogeneous, and gene frequencies calculated as for the others.

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TABLE I. *The ABO Blood Groups of the Luo*

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	58	0·4531	0·4725	60·59
A_1	24	0·1875	0·1760	22·52
A_2	9	0·0625	0·0512	6·55
B	25	0·2734	0·2807	32·69
A_1B	3	0·0234	0·0367	4·70
A_2B	0	0·0000	0·0118	1·51
	128	0·9999	0·9999	127·96

[p.56A]

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Gene frequencies

O	..	..	..	0·[illegible]
A_1		..	..	0·1127
A_2		..	..	0·0362
B	..	..	..	0·1629
				0·[illegible]

TABLE II. The MNS Blood Group Frequencies of the Luo

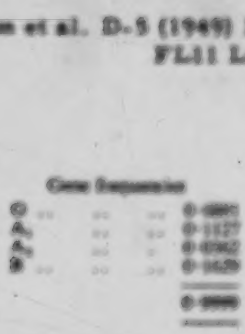
Phenotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
MMS	11	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	11·[illegible]
MMSs	19	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	21·[illegible]
MNS	28	0·2187	0·[illegible]	28·[illegible]
MNSs	42	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	37·[illegible]
NNS	13	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	14·[illegible]
NNSs	15	0·1172	0·[illegible]	14·[illegible]
	128	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	128·[illegible]

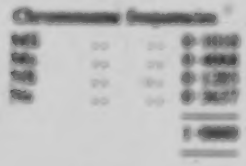
Chromosome frequencies

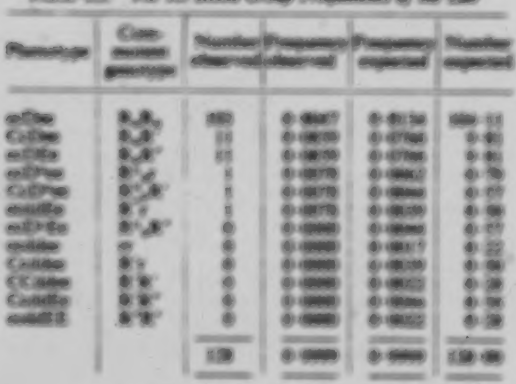
MS	..	..	0·[illegible]
Ms	..	..	0·[illegible]
NS	..	..	0·[illegible]
Ns	..	..	0·[illegible]
			1·[illegible]

TABLE III. The Rh Blood Group Frequencies of the Luo

Phenotype	Common genotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
cDe	R_1R_2	[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	[illegible]
CDe	R_1R'	11	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
cDEe	R_1R''	11	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
cDEe	R_1R_2	1	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
CDEe	R_1R_2R'	1	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
cdEe	R_1R_2	1	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
cDEe	R_1R_2R''	0	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
cdEe	R_1R_2	0	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
CdEe	R_1R_2	0	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
CCdEe	R_1R_2	0	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
CdEe	R_1R_2	0	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
cdEE	R_1R_2	0	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]
		128	0·[illegible]	0·[illegible]	128·[illegible]







Chromosome frequencies

R_1	cDe	..	..	0·[illegible]
R_2	cDe		..	0·[illegible]
r	cde	..	..	0·[illegible]
R'	CDe	..	..	0·[illegible]
R''	cdE	..	..	0·[illegible]
				1·[illegible]

[p.566]

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Table IV. The ABO Blood Group Frequencies of the Kikuyu

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
A1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
A2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
A1B	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
A2B	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	134	1.0000	1.0000	134.00

Gene Frequencies

O	...	...	[illegible]
A1	...	...	[illegible]
A2	...	...	[illegible]
B	...	...	[illegible]
			[illegible]

Table V. The MNS Blood Group Frequencies of the Kikuyu

Phenotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
MNS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
MNSs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
MNs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
MsNs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ms	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
NS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	134	1.0000	0.9999	133.99

Chromosome Frequencies

MS	...	...	[illegible]
Ms	...	...	[illegible]
N	...	...	[illegible]
s	...	...	[illegible]
			1.0000

Table VI. The Rh Blood Group Frequencies of the Kikuyu

Phenotype	Gene complex	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
cDe	R1r	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
CDe	R2r	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
cDE	R1R2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
CDE	R2R2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
cde	rr	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cde	R1r'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
CDe	R2r'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
cDE	R1R2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
CDE	R2R2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
cde	rr	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		134	1.0000	1.0000	134.00

[p.574]

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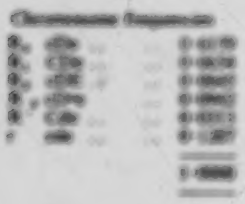

K
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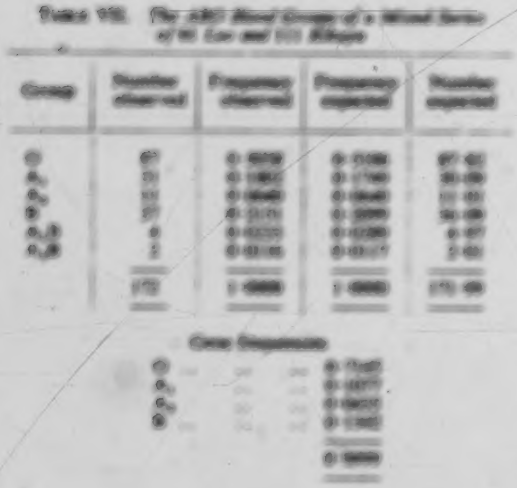
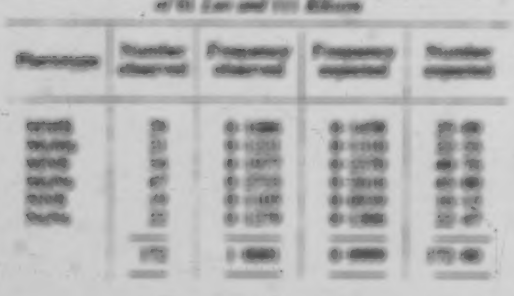
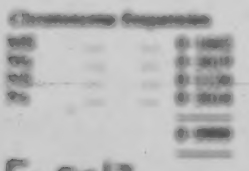
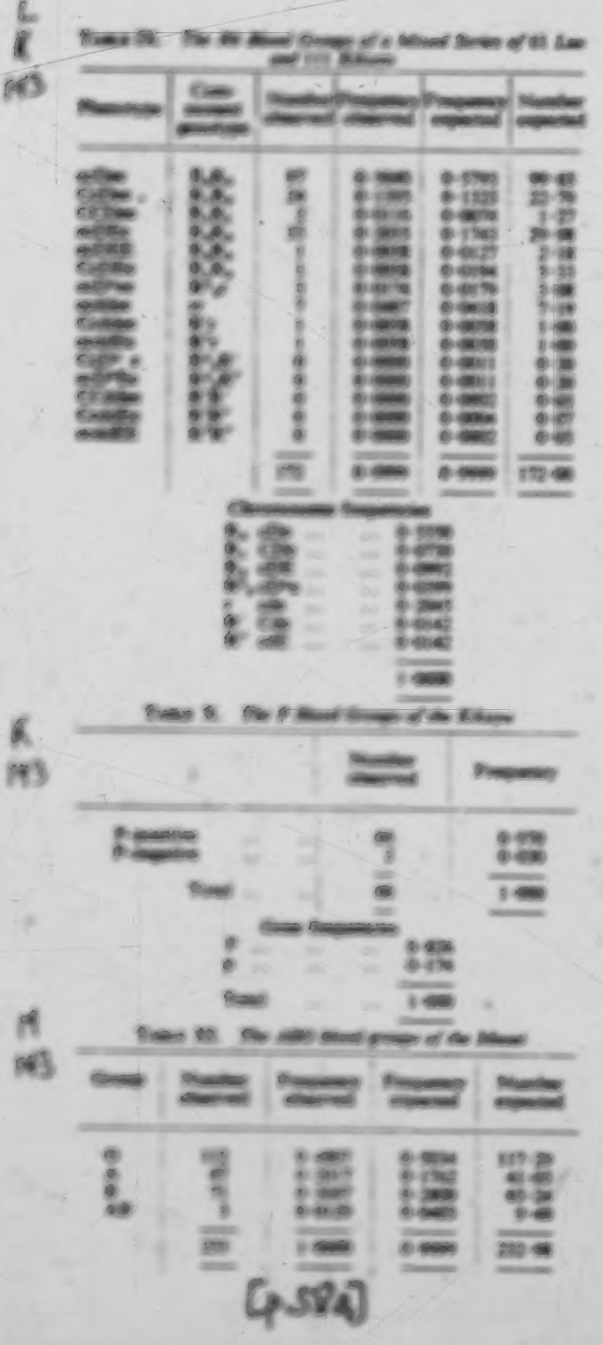






[p.57b]



18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

M
143

Gene frequencies

O	...	...	...	0·7[illegible]
A	...	...	...	0·1148
B	...	...	...	0·1736
				0·[illegible]

M
L
K
143

Table XII. *Collected Gene Frequencies; Kenya*

	Kikuyu	Luo	Mixed Series: Luo and Kikuyu	Masai
O	0·6[illegible]	0·6[illegible]	0·7[illegible]	0·7[illegible]
A_1	0·1113	0·1127	0·1077	} 0·1148
A_2	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	
B	0·1[illegible]	0·1[illegible]	0·1[illegible]	0·1736
MS	0·2[illegible]	0·1[illegible]	0·1[illegible]	
Ms	0·1[illegible]	0·4[illegible]	0·3[illegible]	
NS	0·0[illegible]	0·1[illegible]	0·1[illegible]	
Ns	0·3272	0·3[illegible]	0·3[illegible]	
R_1 CDe	0·0[illegible]	—	0·0[illegible]	
R cDE	0·0[illegible]	—	0·0[illegible]	
R_2 cDe	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	
R^2_0 cDe	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	
r cde	0·1[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	0·2[illegible]	
R' Cde	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	
R'' cdE	—	0·0[illegible]	0·0[illegible]	

Discussion

The ABO blood group frequencies of a large number of East African tribes have already been studied by Elston-Dew (1939). Readers who wish to obtain a general view of the distribution of the ABO groups in the region as a whole should consult that paper and especially charts 4 and 5. If the gene frequencies given in tables IV and XI of the present paper are interpolated in chart 4 their relationship to the rest of the region will be clearly seen as well as whether the differences from earlier data are statistically significant (on a basis of $P = 0{\cdot}05$). It should be noted, however, that we find a B frequency among the Luo significantly higher than that determined by Elston-Dew. His figures for ABO frequencies, based on the examination of 440 persons, are, of course, to be preferred to ours—or rather, the total observations should so be accepted as giving the best frequency estimate. For the Kikuyu, on the other hand, we find a significantly higher A frequency than Elston-Dew. Here, again, the combined results should give the best estimate. The Masai with their high B frequency appear unique in this part of Africa. Of Africans generally their ABO frequencies must

[p.58b]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Lan FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12.

H
L
K
103

resemble those of the Ankonde of Nyasaland who possibly contain an Asiatic strain. The high B frequency of the Masai cannot be explained in a simple manner as being derived from Egypt, since the Egyptians have a very high frequency of A as well as of B.

No previous determinations have been published of A_2 frequencies in East Africa, and indeed very few from Africa at all, but it is known, mainly from observations on American Negroes, that A_2 is about as common in Africans as in Europeans. Our observations confirm this.

The MNS results support the slowly growing mass of data showing that pure Africans generally have about equal M and N frequencies, and that the gene S is much rarer than in Europe and about equally divided between the M and N genes. The scattered data will shortly be collated and discussed by Mourant (1952).

The high P frequency found among the Kikuyu is similar to that found in all African populations that have been tested. The strength of P reactions varies widely from one individual to another in all populations, but in the Kikuyu as in other African populations the average strength of the P reactions is much greater than among non-Africans.

Twenty Luo were also tested for the Kidd or Jk^a antigen. All but one were found to be positive. Thus in this population as among West Africans the frequency of this antigen is much higher than among Europeans.

The Rh results are the most difficult to interpret, and especially those of the Luo. It is quite clear that the latter have a very high frequency of the rhesus-like cDe and a very low one (for Africa) of cde. However, though observed and calculated phenotype

L
K
103

[Bibliography - see also p. 594]

[illegible] 1950

[illegible] 1950
[illegible] 1950
[illegible] 1952
[illegible] 1950

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL1[2]

M
L
R
113

frequencies agree well, it cannot be said with certainty that all the C and E genes are, as assumed, in the respective combinations Cde and cdE; it is possible that the chromosomes CDe and cDE are present in the phenotypes CcDee and ccDEe. The Kikuyu Rh groups are easier to interpret. The chromosome cDe is still very abundant though less so than in the Luo, while cde remains rare.

The mixed series of specimens shows less extreme values for both cDe and cde than either of the pure series, suggesting that the extreme character of both of the latter series is in part an accident of sampling. Moreover, individual batches of specimens from different areas seemed to have characters of their own and, though these variations were scarcely significant statistically, it is possible that there is some heterogeneity of Rh constitution even within racial groups. Much more numerous tests must be done on both tribes before their Rh constitution can be clearly interpreted.

Taking all blood group systems into consideration, it is surprising to see how slight are the differences between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. From the present study and the results of Bladon-Dew (1970) the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the East African native population (apart from the Masai and other Hamitic tribes) is, on the whole, fairly uniform.

Acknowledgments

CTD

Our thanks are due to colleagues in East Africa who facilitated the collection of the blood, and to Captain T. H. C. Allison who arranged the dispatch of several batches of specimens. We also wish to thank Miss P. J. Brooks and Miss R. E. Garner for skilled technical assistance in the numerous tests involved. The investigation was made possible by generous financial grants from the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Viking Fund, Inc., New York.

L
R
M
[10.2]

L
R
113

[B. Mayesky – see also p. 59a]

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19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

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AFRICAN HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE

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[p. iii]

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19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

7

HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 The Luo ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 178 [717] The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

614 very large degree. Their family system remains strong and
176 largely unimpaired by the impact of Western civilization. The patriarch of the extended family unit, the *jokakwaro*, remains the local authority. Because a series of family groups together form a territorial unit, the sub-clan, the strength and solidity of the Luo family and lineage structure remain supreme. Obviously there have been changes. Basically, however, the changes are superficial.

562 The role of women in Luo society is a subordinate one. Indigenously they play no part in the major ceremonies or rituals and have never had political authority. They do not organize in age groups or societies as in other cultures, and remain primarily the property of their father and his lineage or, on marriage, the property of their husband and his clan.

515 Polygyny is still the ideal and goal of the majority of Luo men. A recent village survey showed that taking a sample of 744 homesteads, which varied between a simple monogamous family and the very large unit of the extended polygamous family, 55 per cent were monogamous units, of which 9 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives, thus making them socially polygamous units; 45 per cent were polygamous homesteads, of which 11 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives. Only 27 per cent of the total sample were found to be simple monogamous households, that is one in four of the family type associated with Western culture: a man, his wife and children. The remainder were either polygamous or had leviratic wives or were of the extended family type. Of this 27 per cent, moreover, it was the ideal of the vast majority to become polygamous later.

871 Education among the Joluo has increased rapidly in recent years, and it was found in our sample that 63 per cent of the boys of school age were either at school or had been to school for more than one year. The figure was 30 per cent for the girls. Of the adult males, however, only 28 per cent had been to school, and of the married females, only 7 per cent. The standard attained, moreover, was not high. More than half the male

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. xx, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum xxvi, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Lun FL11

183 goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Jukun believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

783 Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleans-
683 ing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chiru*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted
[771] to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other
[599] factors were involved to escape detection for an act which
[524] in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Law as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kwor*, and not *chiru*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar dis-
683, tinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be
673 found therefore that the majority of cases involving Jukun which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Jukun do not, however, understand why many of these convicted un-

19:Wilson K-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

Homicide and Suicide among the Jaluo of Kenya

der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponyms of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be offices of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogwang*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuaro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then set exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Loo FL11

avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Isoso and the people of his tribe, Ugwuyo. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the house of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Loo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Jukun attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Jukun had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokuwing*)

Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The deflocation, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children. 768 839 [609]

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *pero bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment. 766 769 [761]

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased. 768 765 583

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances. 754 683 [763] [583]

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of 761 [769] [783]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Law FL11

which is the infidelity of the spouse of the deceased, in the case of a child, by the adultery of its mother. Ritual cleansing of the members of the minor lineage is therefore necessary, as for know.

I mentioned above a classical case of homicide which illustrates what the Jukun regard as a calculated risk of the consequences. It deserves fuller analysis.

Case No. 1.

This case involved a group of nine related men. Only one of them was convicted, and he eventually was acquitted on appeal through lack of corroborative evidence.

A quarrel began between members of two major clans of the same tribe over the appointment of an assistant chief. The clan from which the assistant chief was appointed—we shall call it Jokoth—is alleged to have taken advantage of the clan—which we shall call Jokoch—which was unsuccessful. The clans feuded in every way, over land, cattle grazing and so on, until the elders of Jokoch decided, as a warning in the ancestral way, that they should burn the hut of a leading elder of Jokoth. This was done. The assistant chief arrested a member of clan Jokoch, a person with whom he is alleged to have had a personal grievance, and this man was convicted of the burning and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His sons fought hard and long to have him released on grounds of ill health and, when finally successful, took him home only to have him die shortly after. On his death bed, he made his sons swear to avenge his death.

Diviners and medicine men were consulted, and many methods were tried unsuccessfully for several years to bring clan Jokoth to its knees and to bring about the death of the assistant chief who had by now retired.

All was not well with the affairs of Jokoch clan. Each new catastrophe was taken as evidence of the malevolence of the ghost of the deceased because his death remained unavenged.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *jokakwaro* consulted the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *bucendwe* vine. The minimal lineage, *jokakwaro*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Loo FL11

159 the murdered man, to secure his death, to placate his spirit,
748 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
744 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, pen, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most folks will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
759 incident. This is not difficult in Loo society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

157 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
662 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out. 159 642

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had prison and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 40 cases between 1940 and 1954, 10 were of this type. 593 641 682

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 40 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter. 682 273

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows. 159 628 684

Case No. 3.

In 1948, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Law FL11

159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

[682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1960, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to
583 get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however, had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a panga and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, whom the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a panga in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

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583 injured and not infrequently death results. Indigenously the
682 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue those arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Whenever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

682 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
[262] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Luo women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

516 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

SUICIDE AMONG JOLUO

We have discussed the Luo attitude toward death at some length in our description of homicide. These attitudes apply equally to suicide, except that they are extended to an examination of the idea of death and its concomitant link with the supernatural to self-destruction, as an assurance or determination on the part of the individual to hasten the day when supernatural forces can be made to bear on the frustrations which led up to the act of suicide. The motives for suicide are thought to be to avenge the dead by the malevolent supernatural forces which at death become allied to the dead, who are able to use them against those on earth to solve problems which they found beyond human solution.

Throughout childhood there is constant reference to suicide, and in adolescence, early marriage, and old age the threat of suicide is an effective technique used by the Joluo to achieve goals or to avoid distasteful consequences. Threats are not often put into practice because they are used only when their effectiveness is relatively assured.

Unfortunately for the student, suicides are not usually reported to the authorities, although legally they should be. Therefore, few cases are recorded as in advanced countries in the coroner's court. The Joluo believe that suicide brings chiro to a large segment of the clan of the suicide, and it is therefore kept as quiet as possible and dealt with immediately by the clan elders and clan medicine men, jobilo. The family of the suicide are forced to perform cleansing rituals and ceremonies before they may again participate in the social life of the clan. Data are for these reasons hard to collect. The few cases which were brought to the attention of the authorities were only those suspected of having been cases of murder which were made to look like suicide.

During a two-year tour among the Joluo tribes of Central Nyanza, I was able to collect 220 cases from informants. Of

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762 this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among 123 the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with 762 the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

776 Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of 558 the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

762 The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended 159 family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son [585] of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more [584] junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would [884] eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he

WAS Regarded As A juvenile

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was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful.

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the *thim*, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree.

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the *jabilo* and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white cockerel and a black sheep.

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the *jabilo*. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide

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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

[178]

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally [661] charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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in cattle, and had a permanent modern house at his homestead where four of his wives cultivated large gardens. His fifth wife lived with him at his place of employment. At the time of his suicide he was in the process of marrying a sixth wife when, during one of the marriage ceremonies at her village, a brother of the bride objected to her becoming his wife. He charged that the man had already too many wives and could not look after them. As proof, he offered the evidence that his most recent wife, the fifth one, was no more than a prostitute and that he, himself, had used her on several occasions. This caused a fight in the village and quarrels which led to the exchange of many curses between the two groups, and therefore the wedding could never take place. The driver returned to his homestead to confront the wife named in the incident with the accusation and, in typical Luo fashion, she calmly admitted her guilt, chiding him to do something about it. He beat her severely and she ran from her house and spent the night in the bush. He brooded all night on what had happened and on the shame his wife had brought him. Moreover, he knew that he was shortly to be accused of fraudulent conversion of funds by the Government and would lose his job, if he did not end up in prison: neither of which were considered really serious. However, in his emotional state, these must be considered as contributory causes. He could see his whole world collapsing around him.

The next morning he sent his servant, a young lad, to the butcher's shop for meat in order to get him out of the way. He then hanged himself from the ceiling of his hut.

My Luo informants state with confidence that the prime cause of this suicide was the behavior of his wife, which had brought shame to a proud and successful man, so that he could no longer face his friends. The fact that the Government was interested in recovering a large sum of money which he was alleged to have used for his own purposes is, in my opinion however, a contributory factor.

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Suicide Case No. 4.

762 159 584 A young lad aged about 23 years was being married to a girl from a neighboring location. He had paid a portion of bride-wealth and many of the early ceremonies had been performed. His bride had returned to her home as is the custom until he had paid the remainder of the bride-wealth. He went to his father-in-law to discuss the last and final payment, with his *jagam* as witness, and the father-in-law agreed that a milch cow would complete the payment. He returned in high spirits to the home of his father and asked for the cow, stating that this was all the father-in-law demanded. His father told him that if he had not paid enough, then the father-in-law must be a bad man and the girl was not worth having. The father and the son quarreled, and during the quarrel the son threatened suicide if he did not get the animal. The next day the son took a cow by force, while his father was absent, and sent it off to his father-in-law by a group of herd boys. When the father returned, he was furious at what his son had done and went after the cow himself. He caught up with the boys and brought the cow back to the village.

159 762 The son had warned his father that, if he should take this course, he would hang himself, and, as he saw the father returning in the distance, he hanged himself from a tree which stood just outside his father's village. This tree, as is the custom, was completely uprooted and destroyed.

762 159 684 The next cases are two which were due to modern circumstances but which in a sense involve the loss of status and therefore brought shame to the individual.

Suicide Case No. 5.

A young man eloped with the wife of a Kikuyu in Nairobi, far from his homeland. Whereas in Luo customary law to run off with the wife of another man is not considered to be particularly serious, in Kikuyu customary law it is regarded as

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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

[888]
[626]

An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

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159 762 propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

762 159 556 754 The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

152 ## Suicide Case No. 9.

[587] The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *libamba*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

762 159 828 The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

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9. This example is used time and time again by the Luo to prove the point that the tendency to commit suicide is inherited or caused by ancestors. 159 762 828

I was able to follow one particular series of events in connection with Luo marriage laws and customs over three years, which began with the elopement of a girl and her lover, and ended in suicide only a month before this chapter was written.

Marriage in Luo is traditionally arranged by the family of the boy and the family of the girl. Not infrequently, because of debt or close friendship, a father may promise his daughter in marriage to a friend or creditor while the girl is still very young. He obtains the animals to which he is entitled (*dho i keny'*) approximately one half of the final bride-wealth, at that time and the girl is known as *nyar kiseke*, "the wife of the beer reed," as this arrangement is usually contracted and finalized at a beer party. So it was in the case we are about to describe. 584 159 762

Suicide Case No. 10.

The girl in this case had been promised by her father when she was but three years of age to a friend of his own age group. The father, Opio[2], was a well educated Jaluo, and by the time his daughter, Akech, was ready to be taken in marriage, at the age of 18, he was employed as the headmaster of an intermediate school administered by a local mission. He had insisted that his daughter be educated to enhance the final payment (*dho miluhini*) of her bride-wealth. She was, for an African woman, a well educated girl. She had received a secondary school education where, in this particular segment of the Joluo tribe, fewer than 1 per cent of the girls have had as much education. [871]

Akech had been prepared for this event all her life. She knew her future husband and from a child, each time he visited

[2] All names are fictitious, but common Joluo names.

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762 the village, she would be teased and chided pleasantly about
159 the fact that he was her future husband. Perhaps she would
584 have been married sooner, had her future husband, Opala, not been employed in a city many hundreds of miles away. He returned on his long leave to consummate the marriage at the time when the girl had just finished her secondary education and was about 18 years of age.

While at school, however, Akech had fallen in love with a teacher, Okare, in a neighboring technical school and he was determined to marry her. He went to her father and pleaded to be allowed to repay the bride-wealth animals her father had received years before and to complete the bride-wealth payments to marry the girl by Luo law and custom. Opio adamantly refused, and her brothers threatened Okare with physical violence if he should try to see the girl again. Okare was heartbroken and returned to his place of employment. Akech, however, had other ideas. When she was told that the date of her wedding had been fixed, she pleaded and tried every traditional way of breaking the marriage, but was unsuccessful. Her father and her prospective husband remained adamant.[3]

159 The night before the wedding, she ran away from home to
762 join Okare at his place of employment. Both knew that they
584 would be pursued by the girl's brothers and by her father, so
684 they hired a car and fled to the boy's village in a distant Luo tribe, some 200 miles away. Her father, brothers and future husband pursued the lovers to Okare's village where the father had him arrested for taking Akech from his custody. Okare's brothers, however, took the girl to Nairobi to hide her pending the result of the case. One of the brothers was then arrested for aiding and abetting the elopement.

Now the essence of this case goes to show that the father

[842] [3] By tradition, a girl may run off to the home of a "bride," thus to marry will produce sterility. She may climb a tree *bondo*, an *euphorbia*, which is believed to be closely associated with the ancestors. There are several other ways, all of which would cancel an ordinary wedding, but none is effective in the case of *nyar kiseke*.

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wanted the best of two worlds. Traditionally, elopement (*por*) is justified and is legal, albeit more difficult in cases of *nyar kiseke*, providing that the young man has stated his willingness to pay bride-wealth and has been refused. Moreover, it is the last remaining traditional way by which a young woman, forced to marry against her will, is able to break the arrangement. Today, however, because there are so many illegal unions, the African courts take a serious view of young men and women running off to the towns without the slightest intention of paying bride-wealth.

While Okare and his brother were retained in gaol, pending the case, the girl's father and her brothers went to Nairobi, where they found the girl after some difficulty and took her back to her village by force. There they married her to Opala and he, with two of her brothers, took her by force to the place of his employment which was in another territory nearly 700 miles away.

Opio, who was an influential man in his district, then proceeded with the case against Okare and his brother. The Court decided in favor of Opio, ordered compensation for the expenses he had incurred securing the return of his daughter. Okare and his brother were heavily fined for having taken the girl from the protection of her father. The compensation and the fine amounted to a very large sum of money and the boy appealed to the District Officer's Court. Pending the Appeal, he went to search for new employment at Nairobi. Akech, in the meantime, had arrived at the home of her husband in the far away city, only to find that he was already married and that his first wife, as a Christian, refused to have her in her home. Quarrels and arguments began in earnest, with the result that Opala had no alternative but to send the girl back to her father and to demand a divorce. Akech, however, did not go home but returned to Nairobi to Okare.

The father heard what had happened and, in the shame and humiliation, hanged himself in a classroom at the school

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159 where he was headmaster. His final act was to write to all those
762 involved in this series of incidents, which had taken nearly three years, to the effect that his daughter had killed him, that shame was brought to his clan and lineage, and that the liaison she had formed with Okare would end in disaster. He swore he would return in spirit to ensure that the marriage would end in failure.

159 It can be seen from this case that the difficult transition
762 faced by even the most educated Christian Jaluo is compli-
558 cated by the intense residual customary law and the attitudes
797 of the people regarding the authority of a father and the duty of his daughter to this authority. The father in his case was a well educated, highly respected, important person in his district. The daughter, by her behavior, had humiliated him and he took recourse in indigenous rules and beliefs to solve his problems. They were initially successful. In the end, however, the threat to his status as a Christian of the fact that he had married his daughter by force to a Christian who was already married and therefore a bigamist in the eyes of the Church, brought shame and disaster to his social position as a Christian headmaster. His final act, however, was typically an indigenous one. He would not face the shame and humiliation brought to him by the course of events, so he took refuge in traditional recourse to suicide as a curse to the future happiness of those whom he thought had caused his grievance. To the end, therefore, he struggled to obtain the best of two worlds.

FEMALE SUICIDES

762 The most common cause of suicide among females is domestic quarrels and, coupled with that, the fear of physical violence from their husbands. Secondly, jealousy between co-wives; thirdly, the result of extreme grief, and finally, illness.

In the first category, out of the thirteen cases recorded from our sample, seven were of the domestic quarrel type. Of these, one was complicated by a curse from the husband, another

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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide. 762

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing." 762 159 684 783

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof. 762 151 578

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife. 762 159

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents. 762 159 584

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

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762 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 159 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Joluo.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

[583] It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 159 595 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

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As in the previous case, the woman's family believed that she was murdered and the man's family believed that she committed suicide. It is difficult to say which version is true. It is extremely unusual, however, for a woman to kill herself with a knife, and I have not recorded another case. There was one case among the men, Number 6, but this was a modern "intellectual," who lived in a Council house with a plastered ceiling, which was hardly suitable for hanging in the traditional way.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier involving a woman's fear of the consequences of her son's behavior.

Suicide Case No. 16.

The woman in this case was the wife of a squatter who was a servant to an important Chief. The Chief helped him to get married to this woman, a local girl who was in fact related in some way to the Chief. After his establishment as an affine of the Chief, the *jadak* became very wealthy and built his own village on a place allocated by the Chief. He married a second wife after the building of his village and, just before the case we are discussing, married a third wife. The first wife had many children, most of whom were daughters. At the time of her suicide, all but one had married and her house was very wealthy. The houses of the other two wives were therefore extremely jealous.

One day during the short rainy season, the owner of the village, the husband, wished to make a present of *sim-sim* to his Chief and benefactor in order that he might pay the tax which at that time was calculated on the number of wives and also to pay the traditional tribute to the Chief. The woman's son at about that time invited a large number of guests to his village and demanded that his mother give him *sim-sim* with which to entertain them. She refused because she knew her husband intended to use the entire crop. The son disobeyed

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762 his mother and took the *sim-sim* by stealth. When the husband came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large portion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel between him and the boy's mother.

In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for milking, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body caned it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked to bring hoes, axes, and *pangas* to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Luo believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

159 The husband of this suicide had been having considerable trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The 762 beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her 578 daughter with a young man who had neither paid bride-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

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the local prophet (*jabilo*). When he returned to the village from his visit to the *jabilo*, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okech, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apolo, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nursemaid for their first child.[4]

[4] This is common practice among the Joluo and often the "nurse" (*japidi*) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters cooperate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the *japidi* will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a *japidi*, she becomes known as *nyar siweho*, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same hut and trace descent through the elder sister. The term *siweho* is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son; it therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

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159 762 595 Okech decided to marry the nursemaid but his wife adamantly refused to agree. Okech beat her severely and she ran home to her parents where she remained for several weeks. Her sister, Apolo, continued to live in the village and by now cohabited openly with the husband as if they were man and wife. The wife eventually returned and made an effort to accept the situation as it existed. The husband built Apolo her own house as the second wife (*nyachira*) in the customary place in the homestead, but had not paid bride-wealth. In fact, he had not completed (*riso*) bride-wealth of the first wife, which added tension to the situation.

All appeared to go well until one night Okech returned from a beer party and abused his wife. What was more serious, he went to the hut of Apolo to sleep although it was the customary period of the month when he should have gone to the house of his first wife.

Early the next morning, the wife visited the mother of my informant and insisted that she accept as a gift her cooking pot and other household utensils. Her excuse was that she had bought new ones. She returned to her house where she packed the utensils and sent Apolo to carry them to my friend's mother. Meanwhile, Okech was sleeping.

She then hanged herself from a rafter in her hut. The noise of her strangulation awakened Okech, who cut the rope and made frantic efforts to revive her with water and to cane the body in the customary Luo manner. His wailing brought his brothers and relatives from their homesteads nearby.

When Apolo returned she was confronted by the irate brothers of Okech who accused her of being a witch who had [627] brought *chira* to the village and to the lineage. They beat both Okech and Apolo and drove them from the homestead. The hut in which the woman had hanged herself was then immediately destroyed.

Apolo was not allowed to enter the homestead of her father who, with his sons, drove her from the clan area by thrashing

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her with canes. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two leviratic wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

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This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

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This woman was the second wife (*nyachira*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to cane him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a goat was buried in front of her house to represent her body, for they were certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

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762 159 The elders claim that her life was a tragic one, and that her sister had hanged herself a few years before and had returned for her.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier in connection with case number 13 involving the mother of a girl who had committed suicide after her mother had forced her to marry against her wishes.

Suicide Case No. 21.

This mother realized that her daughter's death was due to her action. She therefore tried to commit suicide by hanging shortly after she heard the news, but was prevented from doing so by her husband and his children. A week later, she tried to hang herself on a tree by the river but she had been followed by her co-wives, who cut her down in time. Finally, a month later she hanged herself from the roof of her hut and, although she was cut down while still alive by her watchful co-wives, she died shortly afterwards from a broken neck.

Profound grief lay behind the next case. It was related to me by an informant who was present at the time.

Suicide Case No. 22.

A man in the prime of life died suddenly. His death came as a shock to all his friends and relatives, among whom he was regarded very highly. This man had two wives and a mistress (*nyas gogo*). The latter was away at the time of his death visiting her family, and she had been cursed there by her father because she refused to return to the family into which she had been legally married. Her father refused to return the bride-wealth, or to accept bride-wealth from her lover, with whom she was living. When she returned to the village of her lover, she heard the wailing of the women and knew that her lover [764] was dead. On such occasions it is customary to run into the

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village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

Suicide Case No. 23.

An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to teach and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE CASE CHARTS

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Acc	Accused
Access	Accessory
Acq	Acquitted
Ad	Adult
Aff	Affine
Ag	Agnate
Appr	Approved
B	Brother
BinL	Brother-in-law
Bond	Bonded over
"C"	"Cousin"
Ch	Child
Chg wtd	Charge withdrawn
cl	Classifactory
Comm	Commuted
D	Daughter
D	Death (when used in Judgment column)
d	Day
Dec	Deceased
F	Father
f	Female
FinL	Father-in-law
G	Guilty
GmuD	Guilty murder, death
Hgd	Hanged
HL	Hard labor
Hosp	Hospital

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ABBREVIATIONS, continued

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Imp	Imprisonment
Ins	Insane
Ki	Kinsman
m	Male
M	Mother
MinL	Mother-in-law
Mist	Mistress
mo	Month
msl	Manslaughter
mu	Murder
N	None
N.G.	Not guilty
No rec	No record
N.P.	Nolle Prosequi
Prob	Probation
Rel	Released
S	Son
U	Unknown
W	Wife
Wid	Widow
y	Year
yB	Younger brother
Yg	Young
Z	Sister

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LUO HOMICIDE

No.	Accused Sex	Accused Age	Victim Sex	Victim Age	Kin Rel	Weapon	Judgment Sentence	Remarks
1.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	Dis	Quarrel over woman at dance and beer drink. Lack of evidence.
2.	m	U	f	U	W	Beating	Dis	Quarrel during preparation of beer.
3.	f	U	f	U	CoW	Panga	Gmsl 4yHL	Jealousy (NYIEKO) between wives over custody of orphaned child.
4.	m	U	f	U	CoWD	Poison	Dis	Inadequate cooking of raw cassava.
5.	2m	U	f	U	Z	Stick	6moHL	Bridewealth dispute. Dec tried to leave husband for lover. Her brothers killed her.
6.	m	U	m	U	Ag	Panga	3yHL	Quarrel when drinking.
7.	m	U	m	U	U	Spear	Gmsl	Dec took acc's wife.
8.	m	U	f	U	W	U	Dis	Medical report could not determine cause of death.
9.	2m	U	m	U	Ki	Stick	Dis	Both drunk. Quarrel at dance and beer drink over girl.
10.	m	U	m	U	Ki	Fight	Not proven	Dec had reported a theft committed by acc.
11.	m	Yg	m	U	Ki	Stick	3yHL	Drink and "Bhang".
12.	2m	U	m	U	Ag	Fight	Rel	Dec refused to return plow chains. Fight ensued.
13.	m	U	f	U	W	Club	3yHL	Discipline. Woman was lazy.
14.	m	U	m	U	U	Stick	Dis	Cattle were allowed to stray. Death after beating.
15.	m	U	f m	U U	W Ki	Spear	Gmsl	Quarrel over wife. Acc bound over for sh. 100.
16.	m	U	f	U	W	Kick	Dis	Acc claimed he kicked at dog and hit wife by accident.
17.	m	15	m	U	F	Knife	Prob 3y	Killed father after having been out all night.
18.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Dis	Argument over property. No evidence.
19.	m	Yg	m	U	U	Spear	Dis	Acc a juvenile, confused. Killed playmate.
20.	3m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Acq	All drunk. Dec stabbed a man. Others beat him.
21.	f	U	f	U	U	Axe	Ins	Quarrelled about food.
22.	9m	U	m	U	U	Spear	1Gd 2.9dis	Avenging father's death. Father wrongfully imprisoned by dec and died as result. Acc I released on appeal.
23.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	6yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
24.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	6yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
25.	m	U	m	U	U	Spear	Rel bond	Dec stealing cattle.
26.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	8yHL	Quarrel over debt at drinking party.
27.	m	U	m	U	Ki	Knife	1yHL	Beer. Quarrel among kinsmen.
28.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Gmu	With 4 friends tried to "pull" girl. Dec killed in trying to stop them.
29.	m	U	f	U	W	Stick	Chg wtd	Discipline.
30.	f	U	m	U	U	Stone	3mo prisn	Quarrel about making a fire.
31.	m	U	m	U	B	Knife	Dis	Quarrel in bed between brothers. Drunk.
32.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	Chg wtd	Drunk.

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LUO HOMICIDE

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No.	Accused Sex	Accused Age	Victim Sex	Victim Age	Kin Rel	Weapon	Judgment Sentence	Remarks
33.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	8yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
34.	m	U	m	U	U	Kick	Prob3y	Quarrel about a bicycle pump at beer party.
35.	m	U	m	U	U	U	Dis	Quarrel over land. No evidence.
36.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	U	Quarrel over women. Drunk.
37.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	3yHL	Acc set dog on dec. Fight set in.
38.	m	U	m	U	U	Stick	Dis	Fight over girl. Guilt not proven.
39.	m	U	m	U	U	Stab	Dis	Longstanding quarrel involving women and pride. Self-defense.
40.	m	U	f	U	U	Knife	Dis	Quarrel about sheep theft. Lack of evidence. Collected blood and tongue to use in cleansing ceremony.
41.	m	U	f	U	L/BW	Stick	4yHL	Dec interfered in quarrel between acc and dec's wife.
42.	m	32	f	U	U	Kick	3yHL	Beer.
43.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Acq	Fight at wedding. Beer.
44.	m	15	m	U	U	Hoe?	Cmsl	Killed in blind anger over insults. Sent to approved school until 18.

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Custom and Tradition
in East Africa

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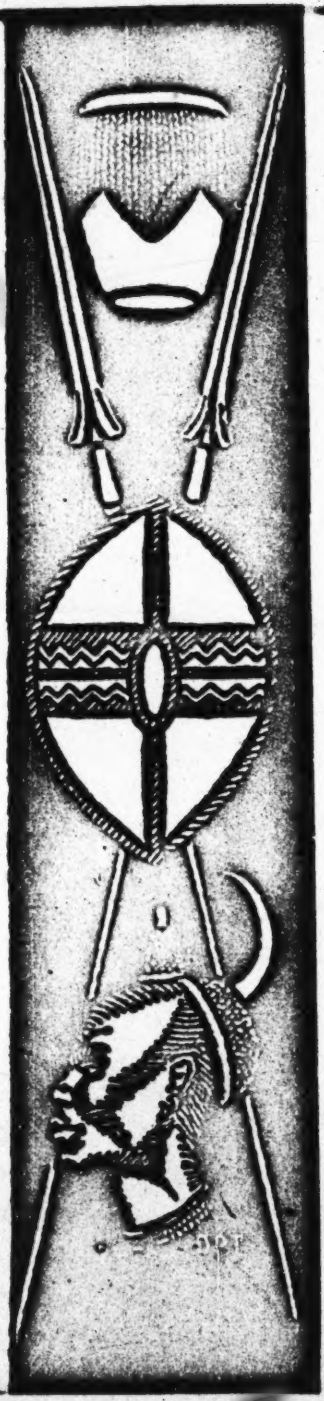
THE
LUO GIRL

From
Infancy to Marriage



By
S. H. Ominde

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THE LUO GIRL

FROM INFANCY TO MARRIAGE

BY
SIMEON H. OMINDE

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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1952

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FOREWORD

THIS work was done during the period in which Mr. Ominde was a student at Makerere College. The practical investigations were made in successive vacations, and Mr. Ominde had what advice I could give him in connection with these. He was able to approach his field of studies with the great advantage of experience derived from his own childhood upbringing coupled with the maturity and detachment required as a student, and this has enabled him to produce a work of real value despite the fact that he had little chance for a full study of scientific techniques before he began his work, and that he could not spend nearly as long in the field as he would have liked or the subject merited. By his clear statement of the conditions, methods and limitations under which his research was carried out he has ensured its value as a reliable contribution to knowledge in a field where it is badly needed. 114

It is to be hoped that he will himself be able to continue the work that he has begun in this promising way, and that his example will encourage others to do likewise in this and similar fields.

A. W. SOUTHALL

MAKERERE COLLEGE

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INTRODUCTION

THIS piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits —are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved; to provide a structure on which

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121 later studies can be based. I have also worked on the assumption that a study of one's immediate background is an essential preliminary to wider investigation.

124 In conducting these studies of social life I have followed the questioning method, and having obtained information from individuals I later discussed that information with a number of other people. I was therefore able to check mistakes arising from purely individual opinion. Altogether nineteen women and eight men were interviewed with regard to family conditions and problems of inter-family relations. I also supplemented by personal observation the information given me on the treatment and feeding of babies. When watching children at play I was sometimes obliged to keep out of view, as children normally feel shy when under the direct observation of an adult. The only group whose play I observed closely was composed of a child-nurse of about ten, my brother's son of eight months (born on August 26th, 1946), my sister's daughter of six, a son of four, and another elder son of about nine. At times I actually watched them playing, but on other occasions I had to visit their play-haunts and examine the articles they had left behind. I noticed that the locations varied very little. This small group gave me a good opportunity to study the play preferences of the two sexes.

123 123 With the more mature girls I was able to engage in 124 free discussion, making use of the traditional opportunities for conversation at marriage ceremonies. In short, my field observations were distributed throughout a range of life from infancy to maturity.

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MAKERERE COLLEGE
September 1949

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I

INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Feeding

Under one year. For the first month of a baby's life its chief food is its mother's milk. But when the mother's milk is insufficient, gruel may be given as early as at two to three weeks old. Although cow's milk is now sometimes used instead of gruel, it is still chiefly regarded as a modern introduction by the missionaries in an effort to promote infant health.

Between the ages of one and three months, gruel and breast-feeding play about equal parts. When the mothers go out to work, suckling tends to be limited to mornings and evenings. The average age at which babies are given gruel is one month. From the third to the sixth month milk from the breast and gruel continue to form the child's main diet, but after this, gruel begins to prevail over breast-feeding. Although maize flour is occasionally used in the preparation of gruel, the usual flour for this purpose is obtained from sorghum and eleusine, a species of millet. Whenever possible a little sour milk is added to the mixture. Between five and six months certain children have frequent tastes of adult food given to them by their nurses.

Although nurses are allowed to give gruel to the children, difficulties in handling a baby sometimes result in under-feeding, which is often made worse by the low food-content of the gruel itself. Through training by nurses, babies are accustomed to adult food before their mothers actually give it to them, so it can happen that

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853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out [854] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

Restrictions on the suckling of babies. It is considered a [784] breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her [761] neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a [177] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been aban- [603] doned. One exception to the restriction, however, is that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

853 595 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 [177] The social restriction with regard to the suckling of infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

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lips. The mouth is gently raised while a small amount of the gruel is let in. Forcible feeding takes place when children begin to push the container from their lips, preferring their mothers' milk. 853

In forcible feeding, the child's head is rested against the mother's breast while the feet are firmly held in position between her thighs. If the child is difficult to manage, an assistant may be called to hold its hands. The mother rests the edge of the left hand below the child's lips and pours gruel in the hollow thus formed by the hand. While the child is crying, she closes the nostrils by pressing its upper lip against the openings. Thus in attempting to draw air through the mouth the child takes in a mouthful of gruel. The mother or the nurse may then dip her hand in cold water and wipe the child's abdomen in an attempt to cool the rapidly-swallowed food. After it has drunk a considerable quantity the child is set free. If the mother is present, it may finally be pacified by a short period of suckling.

Although women insist on this form of feeding because of its traditional value, it is also a method they use when they are in a great hurry. To have time to do their other work they must feed their children as quickly as possible. A child which has been given gruel does not cry for food for a long time.

The feeding of younger children is generally left to nurses, though often they are very young and lack experience by European standards. Sometimes a child may be found unconscious through over-feeding or prolonged choking. When this occurs, a responsible person holds the child by the legs, head downward, and then runs with it, shaking out the contents of its stomach; after which the child is laid down in a cool place to regain its strength. In extreme cases the child may die. Some children are quite unable to take gruel, and in [854] [757]

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253 such circumstances they have to depend on their mothers' milk.

Although the time and nature of her work may force a woman to feed her child at certain hours, there is otherwise no fixed time for feeding babies. If the mother is present, the child is suckled whenever it wants to. Thus babies having such treatment grow up with a particularly strong liking for their mothers' breasts. As soon as a baby is big enough, the mother begins to limit her suckling and to increase the frequency of gruel-taking. The frequency of suckling is greater for babies between one and three months, the intervals increasing with the age of the child. Daily absence of the mother when she is working at a distance may also impose longer intervals between the successive sucklings than would be the case if the mother were nearby, or within the village. Chil-
[177] dren in more enlightened families are started on cow's milk after one or two months, and are given gruel after six months.

There is a widespread belief that gruel strengthens the bones, and therefore should be a very important article of diet just before the child begins to walk.

Cleanliness

254 There is a general slackness in the washing of children by Luo mothers, which increases as the children grow older, but sometimes, especially among the more ad-
[178] vanced people, they are kept tidy regularly. It may be of interest to know that, in the past, they were washed early every morning in cold water in the belief that this would make them strong. Whenever the children empty their bowels they are cleaned with old rags or soft leaves. The limited supply of old rags makes the use of leaves more common.

Bedding and clothes. No clothes are especially made for the babies.

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the babies. With the exception of a few children in progressive households, both pagan and Christian children go without clothes; and even when they have them their provision is meagre. There is, however, a tendency for Christian children to be better clothed than those in pagan families, and the latter continue to walk naked for a much longer time.

Bedding is scanty. Dried hides, mats, and old clothes are used, the child's bedding and the mother's being usually the same. Very rarely does the mother sleep apart from her child, and only a few modern parents form an exception in constructing small beds for their children. In the daytime, when asleep, they are generally laid in some shady place beside the house, or on hides, old rags, or mats. Those who have beds may use them, but the majority of children are placed in the open where dust not infrequently blows into their mouths.

Mental and Physical Development

According to the mothers interviewed, the earliest signs of mental and physical development in babies are smiling and lifting of the arms, actions which take place after the second month. This early smile may not be an expression of pleasure but merely an imitation of the mother, who begins to tickle her baby while smiling herself in order to induce it to smile. This induced smile is more noticeable after the third month.

During the fourth month, the child generally plays alone wherever it is put down, provided that it has no serious illness. By the fifth month the senses of hearing and seeing have so far developed that when it hears a noise, the child listens and looks in the right direction.

The period of sitting the child up begins during the sixth month, although trials are made early in the fifth month, while in the course of the seventh month, with

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856 constant help from the mother, the nurse, and other members of the family, the child is able to sit up without support.

[854] The practice of straddling the child on the hip begins during the sixth month. From this period there is a rapid development of its manipulative skill. Between the seventh and eighth months the child begins to crawl about on the floor, and will crawl away from wherever it is seated. As the child's manipulative skill develops he begins to pick up things that attract the eyes, often knocking them down repeatedly. The mouth is also used in testing the properties of articles. There is thus some difficulty in preventing the child from putting dirty things into its mouth.

If a child is not watched it may eat a large quantity of soil, a practice facilitated by its surroundings, the floor and ground in front of the house being bare earth. It is [164] therefore not surprising that children of this age frequently suffer from serious stomach trouble. Even before [854] the children begin to sit up, the nurses, who themselves [857] are only between six and eleven years old, do not effectively prevent them from touching dirty things, because they are sometimes tempted to run away to play, leaving the babies to look after themselves.

856 A child is persuaded to walk by holding its hands and 868 helping it along. In this process the older person repeats the words 'Taa, taa,' in a monotone. The practice is continued daily until the child is able to walk; but as soon as it can support itself on its feet the mother or nurse may move away a short distance and try to induce it to come nearer. Every member of the family takes a great interest in all this and loses no opportunity to help the child.

According to my observations, cooing and the earliest symptoms of speech begin to come into evidence in the

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eighth month. When Ageng'o was eight months old he repeated the same performance every time he saw me come in. First he clapped his hands, uttering a sound like 'Aaa, Aaa'; then he clasped them together, pressing them repeatedly against his lips while he made the sound 'Aa baa ba'. This pleased his mother, who was so excited that she spoke to the child in adult language. In addition, Ageng'o could seize two maize cobs, bring them together in front of him, lie on his stomach and push them round in a circle.

There was also a conspicuous development of pleasure when he began playing. There can be no doubt that he derived great enjoyment from pushing the maize cobs along, because that kind of play was usually accompanied by a great deal of noise not intended to attract the attention of anyone. Having scooped the ground with a stick, he would throw it away and, with his fingers spread out, sweep the ground before him. All this indicated the multiple experiences of a developing mind which aimed at satisfying its own curiosity by exploring into the nature of things. A child of this age has no fear of fire until it is scorched by a glowing ember.

At the time when the child begins to say '*Baa, baa, baa*', the mother trains it to imitate sounds of names like '*ba-ba* (*babu, mama, mamu*)'. But the use of adult language in talking to the baby begins as early as the first month. Thus when taking up a baby of one or two months, a mother may say, '*Bi mama*' (come my mother) or '*Bi wuora*' (come my father), according to whom the child was named after. This of course means nothing to the child at such an early stage. Following '*ba-ba*' and '*ma-ma*', it is taught the names of things and people in the family. Gradually a child gets to know these, as well as the words for a few things including food. Next it is taught how to ask for things. On the whole, children do

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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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mother against the child, the child's emotions of anger or suffering have the effect of reminding the mother of their physiological connection. When a mother is unable to pacify her crying child she generally feels a quite personal sense of depression.

On the other hand, signs of pleasure in a child give its mother the greatest satisfaction. If a child has a happy nature, even the most critical of neighbouring relatives are pleased, and frequently comment or compliment the mother upon it. The desire to share the emotions of her children leads a mother to begin laughing with them and tickling them while they are very young.

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II

CHILDHOOD

Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

[855 857] The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 868 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name. 867

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot. 264 855

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life. [857]

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together. 857 572

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857 As the child grows older it begins to play by itself.
593 Parents also amuse their children, but because they are generally away from the village, the children must either play with the nurses or by themselves. Before the child has learnt to talk, the play between it and the nurse is that of inducement to laughter or fright. Older children between two and five merely copy what the nurses do. These nurses, who are sometimes the children's own sisters, act as their instructors and demonstrators in the different play activities.

857 *Play activities.* Dolls like those existing in European
524 society are unknown among Luo children. The children play with things they pick up, like stones, leaves—dry or green—and many other natural articles. In short, they adapt their environment to their own needs. They mostly prefer bright objects, and after the end of the day's play they return home with a load of playthings. These they keep in some corner, ready for the next day. Thus the younger children go on day after day bringing in new toys and throwing away the old. As we shall see later, the older children, or nurses, make their own dolls.

857 Once the children can walk and understand other
526 children's language, the older ones may hide, calling for the younger ones to try to find them—a game resembling 'hide and seek'. Some parents maintain that a child
867 of five is able to tell lies merely becuase he or she has had contact with older children already able to tell lies. But the habit of giving wrong interpretations to what they perceive is very common. Thus Otieno, having once suffered from a thorn-prick, mistook any hard object underfoot for a thorn. He was also fond of giving false alarms. I was frequently interrupted by the announcement of his father's return, and these announcements were often untrue.

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There is no rigid separation of the sexes in these play groups, although there is a clear distinction between the tendencies of the two sexes in any single gathering. The activities are largely imitative of real activities in adult life, falling into definite types, which develop progressively. 857

Female children imitate the activities of the women. They also imitate funeral ceremonies in which both men and women take part. A child isolated from its own sex may be found doing things customary to the other sex, with whom it spends its play hours. Male children build houses; dig gardens; mould bulls, motor cars, trains and carts. Female children concentrate on those activities leading to the preparation of food and care of babies. 857 868

Though there is no strictly-defined list into which all these activities may be fitted, it remains for future investigators in the field of psychology to discover the degree of invention and diffusion of children's play activities. At the moment we must be content with mentioning their main features.

In every instance the activities pass from simpler to more complex forms as the mind behind them develops. Certain of these games in their more advanced forms are carried out in hidden places because the children begin to take actual things, like food, for playthings, some being taken during the mother's absence. Hence, we find that the older children are afraid of playing where they would be observed by their parents.

On being introduced to the play activities, a girl-child might begin with the grinding of the soil, which is done over a small area of cleared ground. Later, the grinding is done on a flattish stone, a leaf being placed below to receive the supposed flour. This is an imitation of the mothers or sisters when they are grinding corn,

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857 and is an imitation taking place even among children
868 who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have
[861 been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If
858] this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief.

[524] Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

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independent progress of the youngsters towards the activities of adult life. At times they are so proud of their successes that they even show their prepared food to their parents; and parents are generally pleased to taste what their children have prepared, even though the articles may not be well cooked. 857 868.

Female children may also imitate activities involving the care of babies. They make a mould of a baby and a nurse-child, using leaves and some rags for bedding and clothes. The mould-child may be given to one of the younger children, who carries it and so learns how to look after babies. Sometimes maize cobs are used instead of the moulded clay. Children may also imitate the death of a child, and all the children in the group join in the mourning. [524]

Female children are very fond of singing the songs they hear older children sing at festivals. At this age they have a greater inclination to sing than male children, and their songs sometimes help them to quiet crying babies. [533]

As a pastime the nurses engage in 'Kora', a game played with small smooth bits of stone or rounded pieces of broken pottery. This game has a series of rules which every player must observe. Younger children imitate the older ones but are not very successful because their minds and muscles are as yet immature, and they lack the steadiness and precision required for the game. It is interesting to watch, and girls as old as even twelve years take an active part in it. The stones are collected in the palm, then thrown into the air while the back of the hand is turned to receive them, the object of the game being that more than one of the stones thrown into the air must come to rest on the back of the hand. Then by a series of trials one stone is thrown into the air while another on the ground is picked up in time to receive also the stone which has been thrown up. This is 857 524

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857 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected,
524 when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

857 During the period between two and six years, the
865 children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the
[864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped.
[868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

855 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years up-
863 wards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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this place they make regular visits to it. Thus the place used by the children for this purpose appears very insanitary. Furthermore, children are in this way exposed to the danger of attack from worms of various kinds. 863

Weaning

There are very few cases where children are not weaned against their will. The maximum period of suckling is determined by the date of the following pregnancy. Thus if the mother is not again pregnant a child is suckled for as long as it wishes. It is considered that once a mother is expecting another child the milk in her breasts naturally belongs to the coming baby and would be poisonous to the older child. It is also believed that children who are suckled when their mothers are pregnant waste away and eventually die if the feeding is not stopped. 862

Methods of weaning. Methods of weaning do not vary much between different mothers. First, the child may be persuaded that the milk is 'pus', and as such should not be taken. Certain children are deliberately disgusted and are weaned immediately in this way.

The second method involves smearing with the bitter aloe sap, or a substance which irritates the mouth, like pepper. Much pain is inflicted on children weaned in this manner, and no doubt psychological studies of these children would bring to light the tremendous effects created by different methods of weaning. [824]

Another method used is that of discouragement through fright. A mother may play on the sensory nerves of the child's face at night by touching it with grass, telling the nursing child that the grass is a caterpillar. As children are afraid of caterpillars this greatly upsets them, and the mother succeeds in severing the last physiological connection between herself and her [825]

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862 child. Having in the beginning created the child's liking for her breasts she must resort to crude methods to shift the child's interest to other sources. Hence weaning is not only a break in the time-honoured connection between mother and child, but also a significant psychological factor in the child's development. A closer analytical study of children would help to show how far the fears established during infancy influence their later emotional life.

Parent-child Relationship

855 593 The relationship between parents and children from the age of two to six is principally determined by two factors: discipline and the provision of food. Parents feel that children of both sexes tend to prefer their mother partly because of her frequent contact with them, and even more because their food in its ready form is under her control.

In feeding children a mother's sympathies often prevent her from restricting their food, but the reverse situation may exist and sometimes we find a father who loves his child so much that he will give it all the food it desires. If the father is more severe than the mother in this respect the child naturally prefers the mother, and, similarly, a child will prefer a father who feeds it to a mother who restricts its food.

855 593 603 A further complication arises when the grandparents come into the matter. So delicately balanced is this relationship depending on food and discipline that the slightest difference is sufficient to draw the child towards those who favour it. This means that if the grandparents offer it better conditions, the child will stay with them most of the time. Hence, when I was once talking to a couple I know, I was informed that their daughter would not remain with them but preferred her grand-

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parents—a fact which had already struck me during my visits to the family. Although I have frequently visited them, I have seldom found the children there, and even more rarely at meal times. This situation would have become more pronounced when the children were weaned.

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III

THE SCHOOL AGE

From Six to Eleven Years

857 The school-going age for the Luo girl is characterised
868 by its transitional nature. It is chiefly a time of useful activity, for it is this age to which society has assigned the duty of nursing, and young girls begin and end their nursing service during this period. The mother now transforms the free day of play activity into real work and mobilizes the potential abilities of the young girl for her traditional education. The benefit reaped by the family is a secondary result, because the training given at this stage is part of a long process of education for married life. So far as the girl is concerned, the interest shown in nursing is more intense in the earlier phase of this age—at about eight to nine years.

With the increasing maturity of her mental life, the young girl begins to take an interest in the household duties of older girls, and thus associates nursing with girls of a younger age. We therefore find among the older girls of the age-group a section which despises nursing. The general domestic work of the age includes collecting firewood, fetching water in small containers, and keeping the fire burning while food cooks during the absence of the mother. Firewood is collected from
[313] round the village or sometimes further afield in company with older girls. In the groups the older girls may direct the younger ones where to find good firewood, but most of the collecting is done individually by the
[312] girl herself. The quantity carried increases as the child grows older, and the container in which water is carried also varies similarly. When her mother is away, the

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to herself as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-
[594] going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing*. Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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NURSE: AYOMA

857 consider nursing beneath their dignity, and their revolt
856 is encouraged by increasing association with members of the opposite sex who would disdain talking to a child-nurse.

855 *Feeding.* The girls of this age group eat normal adult
264 food, at the same time as adults, but the younger members of the group occasionally have a little food kept for them by their mothers. The consideration shown them as children depends on whether there are others younger

1 [i.e. From six to eleven years old – Analyst.]

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855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this [252] time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

Relationship with older children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

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going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

The play groups. The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[1 i.e. From six to eleven years old.—ANALYST]

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A Selection of Patterns Woven

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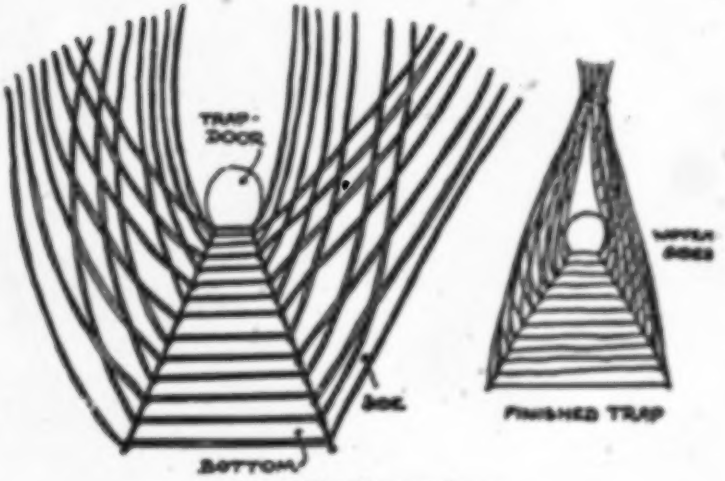
[222]



(a) A Grasshopper trap

[301]

(b) A Wrist Band

(c) Pattern for the bottom of a basket

857 both at and after birth, the younger being instructed and guided by the older ones. Boys of about five are usually found in the play groups of the school-going age, but as they grow older they are drawn away to male play groups.

The groups themselves vary in size from two members upwards, though occasionally a girl of this age may

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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

*Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

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857 sometimes break up at the slightest provocation or mis-
572 understanding. The lineal character of the friendship is
[613] facilitated by the social groupings of the people into lineages living side by side. This character is also assumed by the play groups which begin from the immediate family circle and widen to include other members of the lineage to which the children belong. Although there also exists a considerable degree of friendship among male children it does not seem to be organized as closely as that among the girls. Though I saw frequent examples of individual boyhood friendship I did not come across such a highly-developed arrangement.

The Cultural Pattern

857 Girls are born to a ready-made pattern of life and
858 they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. The school-age period is the one in which girls are especially trained to fit into the culture to which
[177] they have been born. A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even where civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. This conservatism is maintained through all the early training of the children and domestic activities are still carried on in almost the same traditional way.

In contrast, we find that male children between these ages have a greater degree of freedom. I noticed a larger variety of playthings among boys than among girls of the same school-going age. Day after day the girls repeated imitations of the maternal activities. It was also much more difficult to discover where a group of boys had been playing than to find the favourite playgrounds of the female children. This was perhaps due to the difference in their freedom of movement. The occupations of the girls keep them largely at home while the boys range over a much greater area.

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The sexual life of girls at school-going age. While the sexual interest shown by girls of school-going age is not as pronounced as in the succeeding age group, there is a period of transition among the older members who sometimes begin to take great interest in romantic aspirations. The older girls when talking to their men friends often tolerate the presence of younger girls, and although they are not always accompanied by them their attitude towards younger girls is not hostile as in the case of older boys and their juniors. Hence it is common to find among adolescent girls a number of the school-going age. Girls nearing adolescence usually have a great desire to see the breasts come. These are therefore constantly touched and stimulated.

The horizon of sexual relationship — six to eleven. Although this age group marks the period of separation for the sexes so far as play goes, it is also a time when the older members of the groups of both sexes begin to take a specific interest in one another. The interest probably begins when the children in their imaginative play imitate the marital relationship which exists between adults. This starts with the imitation of a married couple, then proceeds to the imitation of the act of bearing a child. Both sexes take part in this.

But apart from these imitative games, a great curiosity is displayed in the examination of external reproductive organs. Among certain children we find that something approaching a crude sexual intercourse takes place when older members of the family are absent. During the period when the crops are ripening these older children, sometimes accompanied by younger ones who act as sentries, disappear into the cornfields to carry out this practice.

When this stage of development is made known by the younger children, who perhaps from sheer interest

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864 report to the parents what they have seen, the reaction of the grown-ups is to reproach the children and restrict them from playing with members of the opposite sex. But it is only occasionally that such cases are reported. As a rule, children have such experiences when they are well out of reach. On the whole, the practice is not taken very seriously.

864 867 The child first experiences the restrictions of exogamy when she is stopped from having sexual interest in any other child in her family. For instance, she is reproached when found playing with her cousins. Her growing interest in sex then extends itself to others outside the family. Through the orders of her adult relatives the child is forced to agree to have no sexual relationship with those related to her. These restrictions imposed on the younger generation follow the lineal structure, and it is the duty of the adult members of the community to tell the child the social code regarding sexual relationships. Up to the age of eleven the child accepts restrictions as a matter of course, her ideas of kinship being immature.

867 The child's knowledge of the boundaries of exogamy is uncertain till adolescence, when it takes its final form. Before that, its knowledge is arrived at by two processes: first, the child hears of some boys from a particular lineage and gets in touch with them; next the adult members of the community become aware of the existing relationship and set about to discourage it. The process is repeated elsewhere with the same result, a full knowledge of the boundaries of exogamy coming only with maturity. That it happens by this method of trial and error is clear from instances of marriage proposals being turned down between men and women who are related.

864 A great deal of knowledge about sex is acquired from

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the older girls among whom the younger girls sleep. Male visitors from the homes of women in adjoining homesteads also provide an opportunity for learning the coquetry and customs of the more mature girls. Although girls of school-going age are inexperienced, they are not despised on these occasions, though the necessity of keeping order in the room forces the older girls to keep an eye on the younger girls to discourage unnecessary laughter.

The family and the school. Modern school education acts as a break in the continuity of education for domestic purposes. The school demands regular attendance, whereas the mother requires the labour of her daughter. For the young girl, the school provides a relief from hard and tedious work for the family, and from her mother's supervision. It also provides an unrestricted field of association with other girls, whereas at home she would rarely have time to see her girl friends. Thus the school gives a very different environment. There is a general tendency to become lazy among schoolgirls passing into adolescence.

The school forces parents to sacrifice themselves; hence there is no great keenness among mothers with regard to their daughters' education. The majority of them ignore it or are actively against it. In most quarters the desired knowledge for girls is limited to reading and writing. Beyond this, women have not been able to appreciate education for girls, and they often delay their daughters' entrance into schools. Thus in the lower Primary stages most of the girls are slightly older than the boys.

Education for girls is also distrusted because at present mothers feel that after it their daughters would not fit into the pattern of life into which they were born. There is also a feeling that the traditional education at home would suffer.

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IV

ADOLESCENCE

857 593 In the interim period between childhood and adolescence there comes a time when a girl's ability to deal with domestic work is more advanced than her physical and mental development. It is during this period that the mother, still occupying a central position as adviser and supervisor of the girl's work, finds difficulty in the management of her daughter. Since the domestic work of her household is heavy, the mother uses all kinds of pressure to induce her daughter to do as much as she can.

856 [572] The girl's life at this time is characterized by her increased interest in boys and desire to come into contact with them. The friendships established during childhood with other young girls are weakened by the development of a new object of friendship in the opposite sex. During this time the breasts of most girls develop noticeably. The girls show great interest in this development and employ various means to stimulate it. An instance of this interest can sometimes be seen among those who stuff clothes in their bosoms to exaggerate the size.

On the whole, the period differs only in the fact that the girls definitely aspire to be grown-ups and are also more interested in friendship with boys.

Characteristics of Adolescence

883 This new period is the time when the mother leaves her daughter to bring her knowledge of domestic work to perfection by her own efforts. As compared with the school-going age, there is little or no interference from

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the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

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882 593 There is therefore frequent friction between some mothers and daughters.

The father, while maintaining an interest of his own, does not exhibit his liking for his daughter so openly. The economic value of a girl to society is gauged by the extent to which a man may be excused his debts on the ground that after his daughter's marriage he will be able to pay them.

Allowances given to girls are not very generous despite the fact that daughters have a higher economic value than sons. There is a feeling that not much money should be lavished on someone who will not remain in the family to help the father in his old age. The main desire is to see the girl married, and it is a source of worry if she does not associate with men. The girl is also expected to be sociable towards neighbouring women, because if she is unpopular with them they might speak against her in the presence of her suitor or his relatives.

At this time disciplinary control by the parents slackens, since in order to contact men the girl requires a certain amount of freedom. Disciplinary measures may be exercised only in the event of misconduct, such as running away with a young man without notice to parents or having relations which are morally prejudicial to the community life. The mother, however, loses her dominating influence during the school age and the task of disciplining the older girl becomes the duty of the father or her older brothers.

The Sexual Life and Attitude of Adolescents

836 883 The sexual life of the adolescent is conditioned by the prevailing social conventions on the nature of sexual relationship between males and females. Thus, though it may appear on the surface that Luo society makes no allowance for unrestricted sexual contact, in fact a

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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

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883 On the whole, girls dislike those men whose chief object
864 is sexual satisfaction. Their caution is often the result of
881 talks on the nature of sexual relationship which girls hold in their communal sleeping places, and with older women.

When newly-married women return to their maternal homes, they freely discuss among themselves—especially during sleeping hours—their experiences with their husbands. This affords an opportunity for the unmarried adolescent girl to obtain first-hand information on the nature of relationships in married life.

883 *Opportunities for contact.* The normal first meeting between girls and those with whom they may have sexual relations, takes place by conscious or deliberate arrangements made by the parties concerned, at marriage ceremonies or in public places like market centres or towns. They first make each other's acquaintance somewhere between the girl's and the man's house, particularly when the two live in close proximity. These are distinguished from any other meetings in that they are arranged between the male friends and the older adolescent girls or those on the threshold of adolescence.

The meetings which take place during marriage ceremonies are observed with great interest by girls of the nursing age, who watch the older girls' behaviour towards their men friends with keen curiosity. In many instances introductions are managed through the
584 brothers of the girls. Introductions resulting in marriage
883 may also come about through a girl first acquainting herself with sisters who introduce their brother to her. Brothers of adolescent girls would, like all members of the family, disapprove of a prolonged friendship without any sign of betrothal and would do all they could to persuade the girl to look for another friend.

881 ***Sex education of adolescent girls.*** Girls in the old tradi-
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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

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raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

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848 source of much social rejoicing to discover that a [836] married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a [585] bride was given a high prestige among the other women. [554] In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man [595] with a number of wives. There was no possibility of [583] occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

848 Examples of such pregnancies are very common at 17.8 present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable 684 to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

871 Progress in the education of adolescent girls is ham- 883 pered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suit- 562 ability to the environment of their women. To the 178 majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

[582] The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

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V

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Preliminary Considerations

One difference between the older traditional kind of marriage and marriage as it is conducted nowadays lies in the part played by relatives to make the venture a success. Individual initiative was formerly negligible, the greater part of the marriage negotiations being undertaken by the relatives of both parties. This had the effect of reducing the importance of the bridegroom whose initiative gave way to a dependence upon the good will of his relations to whom the task of negotiation was left.

At present the tendency in marriage is towards individualism, although it is still a matter where society plays a considerable part. But since the individual man and woman are taking a greater part in deciding whom they shall marry, there is now a greater opportunity to develop an attachment genuinely based upon love. Steps are still usually taken, however, to ensure that the man's family has sufficient wealth to pay a satisfactory dowry, and the co-operation of the society in which the girl lives is needed if the relationship is to be successfully established. Great care is also taken to see that the marriage of the couple would not go against the normal stratification of relationships already in existence.

The marriage of a member of A-B family to C-D family* excludes the children of G and H from intermarrying with any member of the lineage of the maternal grandparents. So long as connection with the

*See diagram on p. 44.

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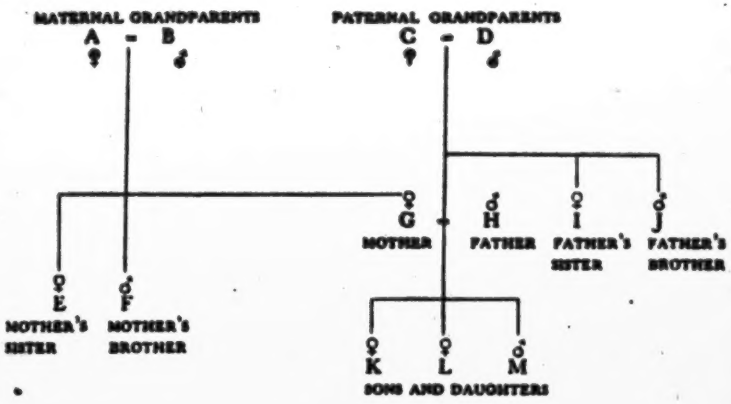

maternal grandparents can be traced, descendants of G-H family will not marry the person concerned.

But E may be married to H's brother and *I* too may marry E's brother. Should F's son wish to marry from the community in which G has been married it would be G who would take the responsibility of looking for a young woman from among the daughters of her brothers-in-law and not from among her sisters-in-law. In the same way, the sons of G's brothers-in-law cannot marry any of G's sisters or sisters by relation (daughters of her uncles). The method of acting through a relative in establishing a marriage connection is still in use, although personal initiative is increasingly taking its place.

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The Position of a Betrothed Woman

The life of a betrothed woman presents a busy time of conflicting and disturbing news. Information of much discomfort to both parties comes and goes and is forgotten. To the girl such information is of great importance, and her attitude is often affected by it. Each time a

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group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

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584 881 on their own initiative, the object being to familiarise them with the relationship between husband and wife and with the prospective husband's moods and to establish a good understanding. At this time there is no instruction on the care of babies, such knowledge being acquired after the woman has given birth.

871 178 [881] The difference between the traditional training of brides and their modern education, even in its elementary stages, is tremendous. While traditional education is constantly weakening, modern education tends to develop along its own independent lines, omitting rather than assisting those elements it is intended to improve. It is likely that a stronger foundation could be built through modern education if the latter paid more heed to those features of community life which most urgently require improvement, but which in themselves provide a groundwork of practical knowledge.

The pace of progress in Luo society is bound to be slow while the sphere of women's life remains still radically conservative. It is arguable that modern education emphasizes literary theory too much, yet the traditional education which stresses practical work from early childhood, gives only a limited time for theory, even in maturity. However this may be, there is no doubt that [881] there now exists too much ignorance of the requisite knowledge about sex, for girls and young women can be met who plainly profess ignorance on certain fundamental features of the traditional training.

It therefore seems necessary that if education is to be of real use and interest to girls, some features of practical value to society should be included. This presupposes a thorough study of the subject concerned and a wise selection of those elements which would inspire the pupils to improve themselves and the society in which they move.

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Aspects of Marriage

Dowry. The payment of a dowry takes place when the suitor of a young woman has formally presented himself to her parents and obtained their consent. Having agreed to marry him, the woman arranges the interview with the parents. The news of his coming is generally communicated to the father through the mother. In certain matters relating to her sexual life, the girl might confide in her mother, with whom she naturally feels very much at home.

The traditional marriage. The traditional marriage, which has undergone considerable modification in many respects, is characterized by a number of ceremonies. The ceremonies which follow take place after the 'meko' or 'catching', a term applied to the act of seizing a girl and dragging her to her husband's home. This 'catching' is arranged by the husband and his relatives. Normally the girl is aware of it long before it takes place. The time when it will occur can be estimated by considering the number of cattle paid in—between seven and eight according to my own experience. After this time arrives the girl must restrict her movements lest she tempt her suitor to 'catch' her.

Having decided to 'catch' her, he tries by several methods to get her out of the reach of her brothers, who would normally put up a strong fight before allowing their sister to go. If the bridegroom's friends fail to lure her away from her home, they attempt to 'catch' her in it. But this can be done only where there is no strong force of young men to match the raiders. In such an event, arrangements would be secretly made with the woman in whose hut the girl sleeps; and a small payment having been made to her, the bride is seized in the dark.

Sometimes the father gives permission for his daughter

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to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let
583 his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

585 Among the majority of young women an unwilling-
152 ness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violet outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

585 *The traditional ceremonies.* The news that a particular girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a
[836] group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the

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meat to be shared among the different families within the larger lineage to which the husband belongs. This is followed by a big feast at the girl's home where people spend a whole night outside, drinking, eating, and singing. When the girl returns to his home it is time for the husband to continue paying dowry as demanded by her parents.

The final ceremony marking the completion of the dowry and indicating the husband's satisfaction with his wife is called 'riso'. At this the husband slaughters an animal and gives a great feast to his relatives.

Variants of traditional marriage customs. With the introduction of modern ideas and the widening of the people's physical environment, a large number of special marriages now occur which omit various features of the traditional ceremony. This is especially true of marriages where there is a strong basis of love. In such instances a young woman may go to her suitor without ceremony after making some private arrangement.

Christian influence has greatly modified marriage. Like the traditional marriage the Christian version is characterized by many ceremonies, some new and some old. Thus in the traditional marriage the husband is required at each stage to make several payments in live animals to cover certain procedures, and in Christian marriage he can cover all of them at once by paying a live animal or some money.

The violence which characterized former marriages is absent from the Christian ceremony. In reality, what happens inside the church is purely western, but what occurs outside is a blend of modified traditional practices and certain features of western life. Christian marriage is distinguished from traditional marriage by the large expense involved. Thus, contrary to what might be expected, it is among the Christians that people exist who

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585 177 [583] [152] demand very high dowries for their daughters. Like the traditional marriage it[1] is also accompanied by considerable emotional strain, felt more by the mother and female children than by the male members of the family.

[1] [i.e. Christian marriage -- Analyst]

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VI

MARRIED LIFE

With the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

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Price Hill

THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF A MARKET

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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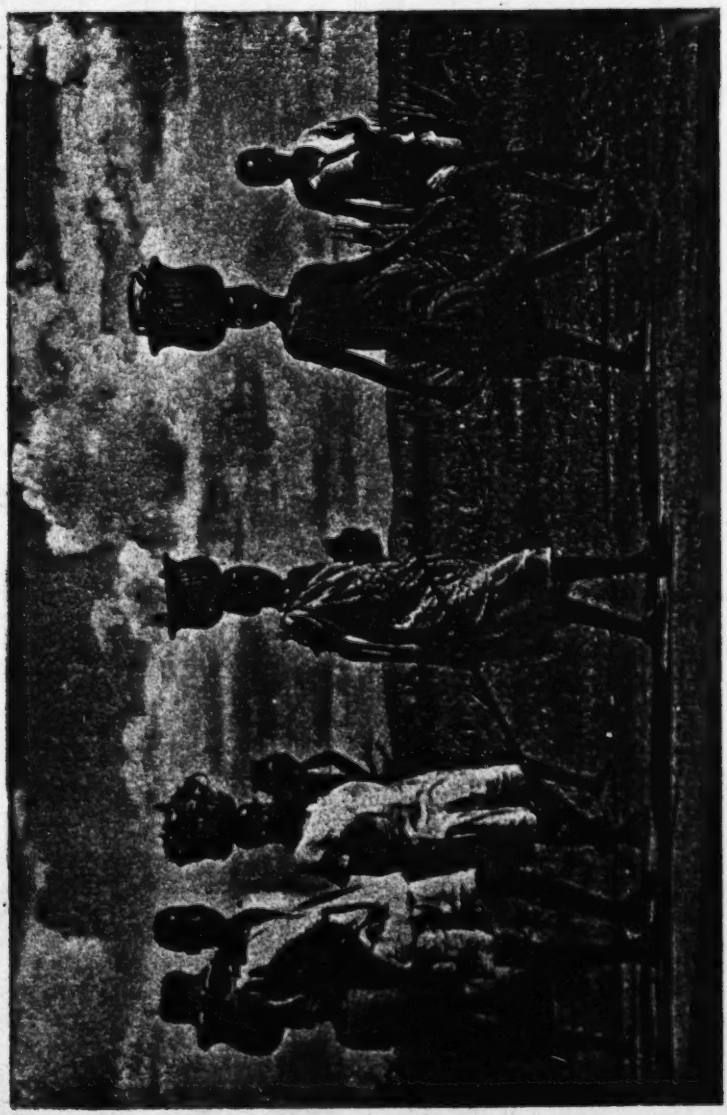

Peter Hill

THE END OF A MARKET DAY

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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn. 462 594

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way. 433 177

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries. 843 [845]

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard 843 834

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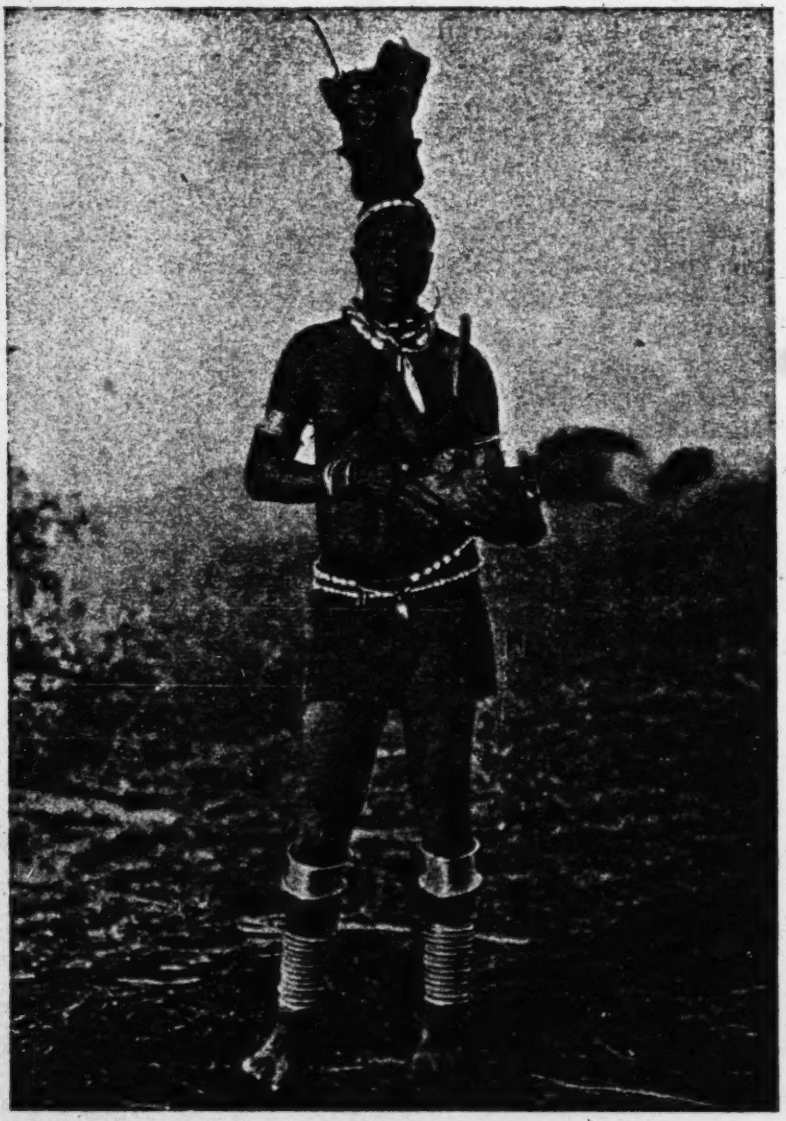

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AN ELDERLY WOMAN WITH SOME OF HER FOOD

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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of thus causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried mud and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

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843 262 [753] Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

[756] [784] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruction of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 278 177 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expectant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for killing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 [177] [516] *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations, such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

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deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road.

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive.

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda.

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognized to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of

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843 [846] the custom which confines a female child in the hut with its mother for only three days, whereas a male child would stay with its mother for four days, thus giving her a longer rest. In reality, only those women who have given birth to two or more children seem to be able to make any successful guess as to the sex of their expected child.

The Birth of a Child

844 177 *Preparations.* Among the Christian women, customs connected with the preparation for a birth have largely been dropped; but superstition is still a very real factor in the life of every Luo woman. Hence, for example, the preparation of bedding and clothes before a birth is usually neglected on purpose, the position being even worse in families of low income. When women give birth in the maternity wards, the husbands therefore have to make a hasty preparation during the seven days spent by their wives in hospital.

843 177 [302] Among the pagans, the pain or nausea experienced during the first few months of foetal growth is mitigated by the administration of a certain medicine. When this trouble has ceased the woman is expected to grow long hair which should not be shaved until the child is born. Those pagan women who associate much with Christians, however, have abolished this custom of growing hair, though some of them still take the medicine. Among the pagans, the expectant mother takes a light purgative during the sixth month which is believed to free her from any abdominal impurity. Strong purgatives are forbidden in case they may cause abortion or premature birth.

844 *Assistance during delivery.* The assistance a woman receives when giving birth depends on the circumstances in which she finds herself. There is no ruling laid down

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as to which particular people should help her; this obligation merely rests on whomsoever happens to be present. The assistance of a midwife is required more for a first child than for those following. Anyone in the family may help the woman in an emergency; but the presence of the husband is not considered necessary unless the case is a difficult one. In a difficult labour several strong men may be required to hold the woman, but many women give birth to their babies without any assistance. The usual positions adopted are: lying on the back with knees bent, or sitting with the back supported by a tree. Some leaves serve for the mat. Older women often have their child without assistance, but it is an obligation upon everyone who finds a woman in need of help to assist her, even if she is unknown to them.

On some occasions a woman about to give birth is made to run, eventually being seated to deliver her baby. A light pressure is exerted on the shoulders. The instructions are given by midwives, who sometimes slap the woman across her face if she does not obey their orders.

After a child is born, cold water is poured over it to make it cry. If it does not cry, iron hoes are brought and a series of loud tinkling noises made as a form of persuasion. Among the pagans, tobacco smoke is sometimes puffed into the child's nose. When it has been made to utter its first cry, its head is shaped to the normal form, and while the nurse waits for the placenta, she cleans the baby's forehead with a soft leaf. Before the cord is cut it is tied with strips of dried banana leaves at three equal intervals for a girl and at four equal intervals for a boy, to indicate the length of the period of rest. The midwives used to chant a prayer, but this is now no longer heard. It is possible that this chant was a thanksgiving and a request for the newborn baby to fare well in life.

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844 in life. The women themselves seem to share a belief that neither their own efforts nor the assistance of others have much effect upon the actual delivery of children. They prefer to believe that it is some mysterious power of God which helps them to give birth to their children.

845 *Difficult labour.* Although difficult labour cases are now largely dealt with in hospitals, the crude traditional methods are occasionally used in remote areas, and they indicate the extent to which people will go to save the lives of mothers. To the midwives a difficult labour was formerly a dreaded situation. The mothers could suffer for days, and many of them died before relief was given. If a woman died before the birth it was considered a very bad omen. A stranger had to be paid to cut her open and remove the dead child, but no relative of her own was allowed to touch her.

When there was any hope of saving the mother's life, a large number of people gathered about her, and many deaths may have occurred through over-manipulation. Sometimes as many as ten persons were engaged in operating, while others stood by giving confused advice. The group performing the operation included men as well as women. The men held the woman while the women pulled on the head of the child, which was hooked on an iron hoe.

When this was done, little attention was paid to the damage of the passage from the womb. If the woman suffered twice from such a difficult delivery, she and her husband were advised to cease having children. If the advice was not observed the midwives had a right to refuse their help.

[177] *Twins.* The birth of twins was an unwelcome experience in pre-Christianized society, but in these days it is rarely accompanied by its traditional ceremonies of lamentation. According to tradition, as soon as the loud

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cry of the midwives was heard announcing the birth of twins, the news had to be carried to the parents of the woman. This loud cry was intended to scare the evil spirits which had brought about the double birth. With it began a series of taboos on the couple as well as on the twins, the family being virtually isolated from society. For emptying their bowels a large pot was placed in a hidden corner at the back of the house. If either of the twins died during the early period it was thrown into this pot. In place of the usual clothing, the couple had creepers twined around them. The period of taboo closed with a large gathering at which a great deal of beer was drunk. At this final ceremony the dancing was rather obscene and was accompanied by foul language in reference to the couple. These proceedings lifted the taboo from the shoulders of the parents, but the twins continued to be affected until their deaths. Moreover, anything done to one of the twins had to be done to the other also, because they could not be treated as separate identities. Now the attitude has greatly changed and even among pagans these customs are no longer observed.

Similarly, a birth in which the baby's legs appeared first was dreaded. This was ascribed to the work of the evil spirit.

Renewal of marital relationship. Originally it was the custom for the renewal of a marital relationship to take place on the third day following the birth of a female child, and on the fourth day after a male child. No married relatives were allowed to enter the hut to see the baby before the parents of the child renewed their marital relationship.

Although none of my informants could testify that this practice still exists, it is possible that it persists in certain places. Some of the informants pointed out that

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modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

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Childless marriages. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children. 842 [586]

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up. [586]

Women's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby. 846 262 [272] [853]

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoot*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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595 initiative and freedom among women is greater in poly-
594 gamous families than in monogamous ones. In the latter there is a greater dependence on the father, whereas the father of a polygamous household is relatively free from the many responsibilities imposed upon the heads of monogamous families.

The wife of a monogamist usually has a greater share of her husband's wealth than the wife of a polygamist. In families where there are many wives, the relationship between a husband and any one of his wives depends on the personal attention that he receives. Often the provision of food is a very important factor, because there is a natural tendency to discriminate against those wives who do not give enough of their food to the husband. The polygamous father demands obedience from both his children and his wives but in the main he leaves the women to support themselves.

In this way a sort of individuality develops among the different houses of the one family. In the upbringing of her children each mother aims at instilling a competitive spirit between her children and those of the other houses. Hence contact between the father and his children is rather lessened, while his detached position increases the children's fear of him. The father's personal assistance goes largely to the youngest wife, from whom he gets most of his personal attention, but he normally continues to respect the position of his chief wife.

In the monogamous family the economic fluctuation in the fortune of the father has results which are felt throughout the family, and here, too, there are instances where the family is supported by the mother. In both types of family, however, the disciplinary action of the father is more authoritative than that of the mother, though the children may naturally prefer the parent who is more lenient and sympathetic.

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The strongest tie of relationship exists between the children of one mother. This close relationship extends to the maternal as well as the paternal grandparents. Children may be taken to the maternal relatives while they are still young, or they may sometimes go for visits when they are a little older. Although they share the same father, the relationship of the children with those of the other houses is much less close, because the mother in each house thinks first of the future of her own children. For this reason the undue wealth of any one particular house is viewed with alarm in the other houses and a mother will maintain a constant watch on the other sections of the family lest their successes should overshadow her own children. 595 603

When a child goes to stay with its maternal grandparents it is often spoilt by their too readily shown affection and their unwillingness to teach it discipline. Hence parents complain that children who spend most of their time with their maternal relatives are unruly and difficult to manage when they return to their homes. 603 855

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CONCLUSION

121 In order that educational plans may be effective, attention should be paid to those features of social life which most nearly affect education. 'The Luo Girl' is not an attempt to record facts of exclusive interest to the sociologist nor to the psychologist, but it aims to give a picture of the factors at work in the character-building of Luo girls and in the shaping of their attitude to the society in which they live. In short, this book has been written to place certain data at the disposal of those interested in suggesting ways in which the lives of the Luo people can be improved both spiritually and materially. Plans for increased education for Luo girls will no doubt be more effective if the factors which help to shape the character and the attitude of the girls are carefully examined. The customs which have been described are [184] not static and some of them have already ceased to retain their meaning in some districts. Thus there may be wide differences in customs among the Luo people, but it is the principles underlying these customs which should be of interest to us today.

Luo society, like many African societies, is undergoing change. The educator's task is a difficult one. It is only through a careful analysis of the factors which affect its social make-up that he can make an enlightened contribution to its improvement. I have therefore endeavoured in the foregoing chapters to put forward such material as might be of some help in making a balanced plan for the new developments which will affect Luo society.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:
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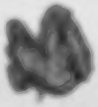

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A NEW EARTH

An Experiment in Colonialism

ELSPETH HUXLEY

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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

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resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

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towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing is *far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

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Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shamba* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on paper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

[illegible] whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

648 243 177 [433]

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

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telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest: land is life's blood to the [illegible] exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

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THE RELUCTANT LUO

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

'The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *mgaru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

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would write to the papers, or sign letters written for him, saying the people were against these schemes. And so some of us became confused. In this location we still wanted to exchange land, but some of our neighbours turned against it, and we had to stop.

'At the end of 1958 the opposition became very strong and the D.C. called a meeting to decide. The opposition staged another trick. They packed the meeting with supporters from other locations, even women who knew nothing about it at all. This was a noisy and a difficult *baraza*. Even with these methods, when it came to a vote the meeting was evenly divided. The casting vote was left to the D.C. He decided against it, and so the scheme was closed.

'We who had always been in favour were greatly harmed. We wanted the Government to bring water from the river, and surveying had already started for a piped scheme. Some of the elders went to the D.C. to ask him to change his mind, but he refused. In January, he agreed to send two people to Elgon Nyanza to see what was being done there. They saw it all, and when they returned we elected *liguru* after the pattern of the Elgon people. We called everyone together in groups, men, women and children, to plant hedges round the *shambas* that had been exchanged. I myself exchanged four pieces, and in some cases I paid money and cattle to get all my land in one piece. We managed to plant hedges round two or three *shambas* a day. Then we went to the D.C. and told him what we had done and asked him to send an officer to help us plan the use of our *shambas*. When he heard what we had done, he agreed.

'Now we have enclosed all the land of our clan and we want to have it registered. We asked the D.C., but there were still six men who refused, and the D.C. would not do it until everyone agreed. In the last few days two more have agreed, so now there are only four against it. When they agree we shall have titles to our land and then no one can upset the work we have done.'

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THE RELUCTANT LUO

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'There is another advantage of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big thing.'

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is a big thing. When we get some money, I shall ask my husband for a beter house. We are in the way of progress now, but there is another thing: the Government must help us with our water we need a scheme to bring it—that is the biggest thing.'

It is often said hat women are the most conservative, and in some ways perhaps this may be so—especially in regard to marriage customs but it struck me, almost everywhere I went, that it is the women who are most anxious to see these basic land reforms brought in, the men who oppose—not the old men so much a the younger, educated ones who have been to cities. Africa so often seems to reverse the expected order of things.

At any rate, there was no doubt of what these women thought about land reform. It is they, after all, the cultivators, the workers, who know where the shoe pinches, and no wonder they are out of patience with those young men of the towns who, while crying for political freedom, do their best to deny to their own women that measure of relief from hard, grinding toil which land consolidation and enclosure can afford.

Among the Luo, everything is done by clans—extended families would be a more correct term. This group is called the *jokakwaru* and consists of all the descendants of one grandfather. They hold their land in common and each individual, as he marries, is allocated a *shamba* by the *ligaru*, the land elders. In time he probably inherits cultivation rights over other pieces from various mothers, uncles and cousins, and that is how fragmentation arises. All grazing land is held in common, as among all other tribes.

The *jokakwaru* system is at once a strength and a weakness, from a scientific point of view. Livestock improvers regard it as an unmitigated curse.

'All the members of the group must agree to any sale of stock by any individual,' a vet told me. 'That makes destocking almost impossible, if only out of bloody-mindedness.' The livestock picture generally is a gloomy one. 'We are still trying to get across one or two of the most basic principles, such as dipping or spraying against ticks. Among the Kipsigis,

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over 5,000 people are spraying; here, with sixteen times the population, not 500 are. In the whole of Nyanza, with its 300,000 families, we have only sixty-seven Sahiwal bulls. 177 232

'On cattle, most of them won't budge. For instance, a man's prestige is somehow linked with that of his bulls, and they are most reluctant to castrate anything. Pioneers who try improved methods are unpopular and their neighbours are apt to gun for them; one man, for instance, had his pigs burnt alive. Still, we plug on. We have controlled rinderpest, if not East Coast fever—every year we give about 200,000 rinderpest inoculations. We export half a million hides and skins and are trying to improve their quality.'

It is perhaps worth noting that crops, whose improvement is considerable, are grown by women, but livestock is the exclusive concern of the men.

'In the years ahead,' this rather disillusioned vet concluded, 'we have only got to get across two basic principles: that a cow wants food all the year round, and that a calf needs milk. But it will take another twenty years before we make any real dent in Nyanza.'

On the other hand, some things unexpectedly catch on. A district officer who had seen fish-ponds in Malaya made half a dozen and stocked them with tilapia. Local people observed the ponds and, without any serious propaganda, dug others like them. Now there are over a thousand in Nyanza. They cost nothing, the Government provides free fingerlings and is full of plans for fish-ponds everywhere as the basis of a small industry. 177 228

V

Maseno is a dynamo of education. It was started by the Church Missionary Society. 'The general plan of campaign was based on the model of Iona,' wrote the Rev. John Willis, later Bishop of Uganda, who with Bishop Tucker chose the site in 1904. On 14th January, 1906, the first resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Savile, moved in—there was not much to move into, merely a grass hut under a tree that housed both the Saviles and a primitive dispensary. Nearly 199 871

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797 801 fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

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'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

[873] [874] So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included - although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

668 At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

[113] *From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press. 1956.

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firebrands. So in a small brick room put up by Bishop Tucker in 1911, and now the secondary school's common-room, I met a bunch of schoolmasters, all fluent in English, well-informed and politically-minded.

I put to them the question that most puzzled me; land reforms are unquestionably progressive and of benefit to Africans; by raising living standards they will advance the prospect of self-government; why, then, do so many educated Africans appear to oppose them?

The answer I got was unexpected. Mr. Samwell Ayan, a history teacher, a Makerere graduate, head of the Kenya Teachers' Union and an elected member of the District Council that was embroiled in trouble, spoke impressively—and with moderation and logic.

'People are not getting justice,' he said. 'Men are losing land they are entitled to because of bribery and corruption in the African Courts. Everyone is being bribed—land elders, chiefs, witnesses. Yes, from the African Courts a man can take his case before the D.C., but what can the D.C. do? He sees only the evidence in front of him; it is all rigged; the man loses his land. I know of many cases like that. The Courts are rotten—a washout.

'I know of a case where the president of the Court altered all the evidence after it had been given and sent it up to the superior Court. When the plaintiff heard the false evidence read out, he was hopelessly confused. Clerks take bribes to keep appeal cases beyond the date when the right to appeal lapses. This is being done even in Kisumu. All the land elders can be bribed. The hunger for land is so great.

'What should be done? First, hear land cases before everyone in the location who has, or is entitled to, land—a real people's court. Then, make tape-recordings of evidence in the lower courts; if the evidence is changed, everyone will know. And let the district officer take all land cases so that he hears everything.

'It is because of this corruption and unfairness that people oppose land consolidation. All the same, it has got to come. It is progressive. But do not let it be forced.'

Mr. Ayan spoke with sincerity and even passion. This

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question of bribery and corruption crops up everywhere and all concerned on the official side recognize it as their deepest enemy. But when I put Mr. Ayan's points to them they were a little sceptical. 'Of course there is bribery,' they said, 'but it is not as bad as that. And it is not the people who oppose land reforms, it is the politicians.' Mr. Ayan had just sent a telegram to the Governor asking for the removal of the 'reactionary D.C.' in Kisumu, so relations were naturally a bit strained.

VI

On the way to Maseno we had passed the ostensible *casus belli* between District Council and Government: the Kisiani hills, a barren, rocky bluff entirely denuded of vegetation and a scene of the most gruesome erosion, given over to goats browsing on boulders and any indomitable weed that had managed to germinate. This place had been leased by the District Council to the Government for the purpose of afforestation and about 800 acres of trees had been planted at a cost of £13,000.

Afforestation is unpopular. Goats were allowed to destroy the Kisiani seedlings and, when the forest department put up fences, people came and tore them down in the night. Others started to cultivate in defiance not only of the terms of the lease, but of regulations which forbid cultivation on steep hillsides. All this, in the official view, was part of a deliberate political campaign to stir up anti-Government feeling.

The Kisiani quarrel brought to a head bad feeling between the Central Nyanza District Council and the Government. All the Councillors are African save for the chairman, who is the D.C. Most of its senior technical staff are European and, in particular, it employs (as do all District Councils with large revenues) a fully qualified accountant to manage its finances.

These elected Councillors most anxious for unrestricted freedom objected strongly to this accountant. Africans, they said, should have the spending of African money without European interference. Officials retorted that in proper,

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honest accounting lies the only defence against wholesale bribery and corruption—against the sort of thing Mr. Ayan had complained about so powerfully. 311 648 668

In the midst of this controversy the Council, with its elected majority, repudiated the lease of the Kisiani afforestation area and refused to take steps to stop sabotage of the plantations. The Government retorted by demanding repayment of the £13,000 spent upon them. This would have meant raising the Council's annual rate from eighteen to twenty-one shillings on each adult male. 177

This demand to increase the rate was, of course, turned down flat by the elected Councillors, who in their anger sacked the accountant, appointed a totally unqualified African at £1,000 a year to succeed him, and threatened to dismiss other European staff on grounds of race. They also voted large increases in their own salaries and allowances. [186]

Naturally I asked Mr. Ayan's views. The Kisiani trouble, in his account, boiled down to a number of misunderstandings. The individuals who owned cultivation rights in the hills had not, he said, ever fully understood the matter, it had not been properly explained. They thought the trees would be theirs, not common property. They had never given their permission on paper, with marks or signatures. The matter was explained to them by an unpopular chief who did not wait to hear all their objections. When they grazed their goats in the plantations they thought they were on their own property and were much aggrieved when they were fined. They had no land elsewhere. Land hunger was so acute as to be a more important matter even than marriage. 'If a man should lose his wife he can buy another; but once the land is gone you cannot buy any more.' 311 177 648

It looked like one more failure in public relations. But the officials denied this. 'We explained over and over again,' they said. 'Barazas, news-sheets, radio . . . Everyone had a chance to put his case. No, behind it is the old story—politicians spreading rumours that it's all a trick to steal the land.' [668]

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15 The Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, a Masai parson, on his ranch; and some of the lions who share his country

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[facing P. 128]

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16 Where tsetse flies keep out Masai cattle, grass, trees, rivers and wild game still survive: and Sally the lioness enjoys a drink

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[facing p. 137]

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CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

1

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For

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MASAI HERDS AND MARA LIONS

Westerners the Masai have become the symbol of a vanished aristocracy, a lost cause they can afford to keep as a household pet who has the spunk to stand up to its master.

The Masai way of life is certainly doomed. For a while it may continue, but nothing in the end can resist the pressures of Western materialism. The British have protected it by freezing a tribal pattern of land ownership, enshrined in a treaty to which the Masai hold with all the desperation of a man clinging to a raft when the waters are rising. That treaty, which confirms them in possession of their grazing-grounds 'for ever', was made to keep out Europeans. Now it is no longer white settlers who threaten them, but black ones. Will a treaty made for the one purpose serve for the other? Only while the British enforce it; when politicians of the land-hungry Kikuyu and Luo peoples occupy the seats of power in Nairobi, the borders of Maasiland seem unlikely to remain intact.

For here lie the last reserves of fertile, well-watered and unused land in Kenya, hitherto protected by the strongest guardian of the land in Africa: the tsetse fly. In the last ten years, modern techniques of mastering tsetse-borne diseases, and the tsetse fly itself, have reached a point where all this land could be thrown open to settlement. The question now is partly one of expense, and partly of politics. The Masai themselves do not cultivate. So long as their treaty with the British Government holds good, they will resist to the last man the opening of their land to settlement by the cultivating tribes.

II

The Tanganyika-Kenya border cuts through the Masai's territory, most of which is open, semi-arid grassland useless for any purpose other than seasonal grazing by scrub cattle, even if water could be tapped by boreholes. But in the west, where Maasiland approaches Lake Victoria, and on the Mau escarpment's south-western slopes, soil and rainfall would support a sizeable population of cultivators.

The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one

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The Masai, numbering about 85,000, keep about one million head of scrub cattle, and 660,000 sheep and goats. They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realize several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an *impasse*. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kamaus in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilization runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

233 199 185

No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a rump of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable

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Masai FL12

imbecility—or perhaps not remarkable, since nothing has been more characteristic of the half-century of European intervention in Africa than the slap-happy introduction of bright, well-meaning ideas by enthusiasts of all kinds, without any regard for their long-term consequences.

Anyway, vets controlled diseases, livestock multiplied and their hoofs and mouths destroyed the precarious grass cover of the plains. The result is that, except where the tsetse fly remains in control, the Masai are living in country poised upon the edge of deserthood. Some of it has gone over the edge, some hovers on the borderline, some has not reached it yet. And so pressure mounts upon those regions that are still protected by the tsetse fly.

Overcrowded people outside want to get in, overstocked Masai themselves want to take their herds where grazing is still rich and deep. If either succeed, unless they adopt very different methods, they will destroy those regions as surely as they have damaged their present inheritance. Agricolas and vets do not want to see these last remaining areas opened up without strict control. But governments are terrified of controlling anyone by what may be represented as harsh measures, and administrators have inclined to caution since the Masai speared to death a D.C. who was persuading them to sell some steers. So the matter, like many others, rests in a state of suspended flux, and everyone hopes for good rains.

III

Down on the Kenya–Tanganyika border, not so very long ago, there lived an Englishman who kept in touch with the world by carrier-pigeon. For three or four months of the year no vehicle could reach him, and even in the dry weather it was a long, hard, bumpy seventy-mile journey from Narok, where the road ends. The aeroplane has changed all that. An hour's pleasant flight from Nairobi brought us comfortably to rest beside a tributary of the Mara river.

First we flew over the Mau, that range of mountains forming the south-western wall of the Rift Valley. Covered with forests of cedars and olives and, higher up, of bamboos, the

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133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birth-
place of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its
status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East
Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from
practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is
allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock.
In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and
saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole
ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were
as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by
gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these
devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into
like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for
cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the
Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their
herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take
cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping
upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape
the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down
trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see
blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into
the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire
will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men
of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by
family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants:
but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards
of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern
border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time
there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.

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Masai FL12
Kenya FL1

cattle. The Kikuyu and Kamba have brought in the habit of eating ground maize. And so when a man of some other tribe asks a Masai elder if he may cultivate a patch of land, and offers in return to supply maize, the elder will often agree. The cultivator will clear his patch and grow a crop; next season, he will ask permission to bring his wife and family; soon his cooking-stones, his household goods, his thatched hut are installed; he is there, probably for ever. His daughters may grow up to marry Masai men. That is the way the Masai doom will overtake them—as a people, as a warrior race.

Some of these accepteen, used to the cold, are creeping up into the Mau, burning the trees to make their *shambas* as they have done before in other places. Their actions are illegal, but there is no one to enforce the law and no one dares to do so. This country the Masai know to be theirs. If they agree to let people cultivate in the forest, who is the Government to gainsay them? Attempts to remove intruders might well be met by force, and that is a thing no Government dares to contemplate. It was an attempt to use force, after all, for the ultimate good of the people, that led to the Hola disaster. If the tenant were to be hurt, and the Masai to be angered, and a fracas to arise, denunciations of colonialist oppression and tyranny would thunder from the benches of the House of Commons and repercuss all through the Secretariat. So the Mau forests burn.

IV

From our camp on the Talek, a tributary of the Mara, Dr. Philip Glover showed us a little of a tsetse research project which combines the excitement of scientific discovery with that of tracking in the old-fashioned, footprint-in-the-sand way. A tough, enthusiastic and handsome young man called Jungle Smith, helped by several veterinary scouts, has cut traces in the bush to make a grid three miles square. Each trace has been cleared of vegetation so as to leave a path receptive to the footprints of animals.

Each morning, scouts patrol the grids with notebooks in which they enter every spoor they see. By about eleven o'clock

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the numbers and variety of every animal that had entered or left during the night had been recorded. From these notebooks Mr. Smith plots the movements of the game and eventually produces charts which show the numbers of each species that has visited the grid over the year, so that their seasonal behaviour can be observed. In the last six months about fifteen different species have been identified.

The next process is to capture flies in nets. Once you know the habits of your particular tsetse—there are eight species hereabouts and these were *Swynnertoni*—they are surprisingly easy to spot taking their ease in the bush; they cling underneath the branches of thorn-trees, and the trick is to peer against the light until you see their silhouettes. Each fly is then squashed on paper and dispatched to a laboratory in London where its blood is analysed with such accuracy that the kind of animal it has last fed on can be diagnosed. The object is to discover more about the relationship between game and insect, so as to arrive at ways of controlling tsetse flies which do not involve, as most current methods do, the wholesale destruction of animals and vegetation.

Before this work was done—and it is new in Kenya—people assumed that all forms of game acted as host to the tsetse and must therefore be wiped out if areas were to be cleared for cattle-ranching. This was the theory behind the appalling slaughter that has taken place in other parts of Africa in the interests of tsetse control. Kenya has never used this indiscriminate policy, but in Southern Rhodesia over 600,000 game animals have been shot by tsetse control officers working for the Government. These modern blood analyses have revealed some unexpected facts. Of all the flies squashed on the Taleh and subsequently analysed, nearly 49 per cent had fed on warthog. Next in order came giraffe—a long way behind with 14 per cent; then buffalo with under 10 per cent. And at the very bottom of the list were waterbuck, bushbuck and impala, each with one single squashed fly out of over four hundred specimens.

The conclusion to be drawn is that many of the species mowed down with the rest in hetfuls of indiscriminate slaughter need never have been shot at all. From a 'type'

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point of view they could have safely been ignored, at any rate until the researchers had discovered whether the fly, deprived of its normal food, would switch to other species. And tsetse flies are, in general, very conservative.

It seems to be a rule that people who enjoy their work grow fond of whatever creature, object or device they work with. One can understand shepherds becoming fond of sheep, or engine-drivers of locomotives, although it has always surprised me to find how attached sanitary engineers, for instance, appear to become to drains, or helminthologists to tapeworms. Following this rule, Jungle Smith had become devoted to tsetses; one of his amusements was to let a fly settle on his arm and bury its proboscis in his flesh, and to watch it gradually swell like an inflated balloon as it filled its belly with his blood. Then he gazed after it with affection as it lumbered off, replete, for a nice sleep, and no more blood-sucking for a couple of days. The gorging process took about two minutes.

Until the recent discovery of drugs which kill trypanosomes in the blood of infected animals, almost the only effective way of tackling tsetse-borne disease was to clear the bush so as to drive away the flies. The pioneer of this method—or rather methods; it became a complex science—was Mr. C. F. M. Swynnerton, for many years Game Warden and Director of Tsetse Research in Tanganyika and the father of the author of Kenya's present agrarian plan. For twenty years, bush-clearing held the field. Often it was found sufficient to cut down certain types of bush only, because of the fly's conservatism: each species likes so much shade, no more and no less, or certain kinds of tree.

All this time the fly was actually spreading. During a slow build-up of knowledge millions of flies were examined, weighed, fed on different foods; their wing-beats were counted, their rate of respiration graphed, the humidity of the soil in which they pupated was tested, their least preference or idiosyncrasy carefully recorded; thousands were

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Masai FL12

marked with luminous paint to trace their movements; all over East Africa, people bicycled about the bush with sacks on their backs to attract them and grew to pensionable age catching them in nets, digging their pupae out of the sand, keeping them in test-tubes and cages, even studying micro-organisms which appeared to be their enemies.

Seldom has so much careful, detailed, expert study been given to one kind of insect. Some of the many facts discovered have been used ingeniously. Tsetse flies, for instance, probably mate only once in their lives. A current experiment is to expose a number of pupae to controlled doses of radiation which sterilizes them, and then to release the males so that gradually the fly population will die out.

The expense of bush-clearing is its principal handicap, and the quick regeneration of the bush. By itself, it could never have conquered tsetse fly in Africa. In recent years, chemists have discovered how to synthesize drugs which kill the trypanosomes in the blood, and which will prevent infection. The main drug in use at present, Antrycide pro-salt, will protect cattle for about four months.

No one doubts that, in time, the chemists will improve on this, and cattle-owners like the Masai will be able to take their herds anywhere they please. The battle is not yet wholly won; trypanosomes have already shown a tendency to develop resistance to the drugs, and there will no doubt be disappointments and setbacks. But, by and large, it can only be a matter of time before areas like the Mara are opened to hungry herds from overstocked pastures elsewhere.

Several experiments are under way to discover how things could be managed so as to avoid disaster to the land, and at the same time make a profit for its custodians. One such is the Ol Choro Oirowa ranch which the vets are running on behalf of the District Council at Narok. On some 21,000 acres young beasts were to be fattened and sold at a profit, but profits have been shy because of various setbacks, such as an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia and an army worm invasion. Now it seems that the acreage is too small and the Masai have so far refused to enlarge it. So the vets have not yet succeeded in bringing home to the Masai cattle-owner the basic fact that

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Masai FL12

good management on modern ranching lines will bring him in hard cash.

I saw the ranch mainly from the air. Lines of bush, cleared by bulldozers dragging giant chains between them, lie neatly along the contour like windrows in a hayfield. Soon the six or seven thousand acres that have been cleared will be fenced, and so managed that star-gram will cover them and steers fatten twice as quickly as they normally do. The snag, of course, is the Masai indifference towards cash.

Yet even here the seeds of change begin to germinate. There are schools now in all Masai centres, Masai students at Makerere, the start of a trickle of Masai teachers, doctors, administrators, vets. One has a Cambridge degree in geography, one is a Legislative Councillor. The shell of Masai indifference has been pricked.

The puncture so far is tiny, but time will enlarge it and one day, not so far away either, the whole shell may crack. Already a Masai parson, the Rev. Daudi Mokinyo, has fenced off 2,000 acres of communal grazing where he fattens steers bred from improved bulls, has a simple milking bail and makes ghee. Elsewhere, half a dozen other Masai have fenced in grazing land. When the railway took a pipeline off Mt. Kilimanjaro, they set up watering points for Masai cattle along its course, and in return one section of the tribe, the Il Kisongo, agreed to operate a pasture-management plan, financed by a grazing fee, which is acting as an entry-point for new ideas.

When these movements spread, as they seem bound to do, the doom of the game will be accomplished. For game cannot co-exist with modern pasture management. Unless the Masai come to see game as an asset of high value, it will go here, as it has on European farms, and for the same reasons: it will go down before the fence, the improved pasture and the need to keep the land free of disease.

VI

To admire pictures in the National Gallery, cathedrals of the Middle Ages or the antiquities of Greece is considered

[pp. 162-230 not processed]

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KIKUYU FL10

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[Facing p.209]

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Kikuyu FL10

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[494] 27 Children of the new Kikuyuland: cabbage-picking for the co-operative, and first steps at school

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[facing p. 224]

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K.Kuyu FL10

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48 A pioneer of land reform: Chief Mahuya of Nyeri. Below, a Kikuyu farmer receives title-deeds to his land

[Facing p. 225]

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CHAPTER 13

The Enclosure of Nyeri

I

13 THE forest belt at first was dark as fur, turned light green when we flew above the bamboos, and then we were over brown, tufted pastures with steep black gorges, winding streams like veins and queer giant groundsels on the end of tall stalks. Next came grey-brown, inhospitable scree, bare of all vegetation and all life, even that of birds, like (one imagines) a part of the moon. Yet some life there must be in the water, for the lakes caught up in gorges are green, from algae presumably; there is nothing to reflect but black towering rock-faces and a hard blue sky. As we approached Mt. Kenya's peak the rocks grew more and more savage, like the spines of prehistoric armoured beasts, snow gleamed among the cliffs and we came to glaciers, and to lakes black as the pit.

If you fly over a mountain it is hard to know exactly which the peak is, the whole surface below is so jagged and fierce, streaked with snow looking rather dirty, from wind-blown dust perhaps. Superintendent Bearcroft, the pilot, pointed out the Lewis glacier which leads up towards the peak of Batian, called after a Masai *laibon*, and there was a little hut on the snow and the dark speck of a man beside it.

How absurdly and unfairly easy it seemed to float above him sitting back in an arm-chair! One thought of all the people who had toiled up the scree and towering rocks and treacherous glaciers, of all the mountain-sickness, frostbite, snow-blindness and dangers—even with modern climbing techniques, Kenya is exacting. And here was I, without the least effort looking down upon the topmost peak on which Sir Halford Mackinder was the first human being, so far as anyone knows, to set foot, in 1899. It was certainly a very

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Kikuyu FL10

much more enjoyable way than his to get to the top, indeed over the top, of Mt. Kenya.

Light green, dark green, appeared below us, then unclothed ridges with higgledy-piggledy little squares of *shamba* marked in green and chocolate brown: and then, before we landed, a detour to look down upon an amazing pale pink froth on the tops of the trees—Cape Chestnuts in full bloom along the Amboni river. Soon Nyeri hill came into sight, a curious lump of greenery, and we were down on the airstrip on the other side of the mountain.

It was in the three Kikuyu districts south and south-west of the mountain that the project of land consolidation started and has been carried through. In the districts of Nyeri, Fort Hall and Kiambu every square foot of land claimed by an owner has been brought together into compact holdings and each landowner has his valid title. Over a million acres have been dealt with and some 200,000 holdings registered.

II

The need for consolidation arose out of a custom far more developed here than anywhere else in the country—the fragmentation of land. A survey made in 1950 showed the *average* number of fragments into which each man's holding was split to be six to eight; some of the fragments might be seven or eight miles from his home. Individual cases were, of course, far worse than this. One man in the Nyeri district was found to have forty fragments, the smallest measuring 0·01 of an acre and some of them five miles from his homestead, adding up to just under twelve acres. Another had twenty-nine fragments amounting to three acres. The smallest fragment on record was a single banana plant. Yet a wife might have to walk five miles to tend this one small plot. In these three districts there was probably not a single holding all in one piece.

Before describing how this extraordinary situation has been dealt with, an outline of how it came about may be useful. It arose out of the system of inheritance of the Kikuyu people, which is typical of Bantu tribes. Two young officers, Mr. Tony

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THE ENCLOSURE OF NYERI

Two young officers, Mr. Tony Sutton and Mr. John Golds, carried out a detailed study of a single area in Kiambu to discover how the complex land pattern had originated, and what follows here is a summary of their findings. They took as their sample an area of 1,880 acres known to its inhabitants as the *mbari ya Igi*.

Whereas most Africans, as we have seen, were able to take uninhabited land from the bush when they needed it, the forest into which the Kikuyu spread was already occupied, if only very sparsely, by people called the Aathi, small and primitive hunters who lived on game and honey. When the Kikuyu moved in, which in the Kiambu district was probably about 1850, they treated with the Aathi elders and, by paying goats and honey, acquired rights over certain stretches of forest—perhaps a belt between two glades, or a ridge between two rivers—regarded as the hunting ground of a particular Aathi family. The Aathi, of course, did not realize that the Kikuyu would cut down the trees and squeeze them out; they thought that they would share the forest's bounty with the Kikuyu, who would grow crops here and there in patches, to everyone's benefit.

When a Kikuyu acquired rights over a stretch of land this became his *mbari*, or family estate. Several people sometimes joined together to acquire a large *mbari*. This was the case with the *mbari ya Igi*; thirteen families shared it.

The head of a Kikuyu family, and its land authority, is the *muramati*. This office is inherited by his eldest son. After moving in to an *mbari*, the *muramati* divided it first among his wives and any married sons; if there was more land than they needed, he might allow a number of *ahoi*, or tenants, to cultivate. Sometimes these *ahoi* helped with the purchase price—about one goat to five acres—by lending goats to the family. These goats had eventually to be repaid.

Now the first complications arises: often an *mbari* was bought in instalments. This was the original form of fragmentation: each member of the family cleared and cultivated a strip of land in each instalment. A good many *ahoi* moved in, and it was perhaps at this time that the principle of redemption became established. That is to say, if one of the *ahoi* lent goats to help pay an instalment, the clan elders

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K.Kenya FL10

could at any time return an equal number of goats to him and, when they did so, he had to pack up and go. It was bad manners, however, to give him notice openly; the custom was to surround his *shamba* with branches at dawn; when he saw them, he knew that he had received his notice.

In later years, this system of redemption blocked nearly all forms of progress. If a man could be evicted at any time by the return of some goats lent by his grandfather, it was obviously no good trying to plant a permanent crop like coffee or build a permanent house. If you did so, the clan elders would cock an eye at the improvements and, if they possibly could, dispossess you; endless cases of this nature came before the African courts. This system of redemption by simple repayment without compensation continued until it was stopped by a District Council by-law in 1952.

The *ndori ya Igi* was bought by thirteen families in seven instalments. In each of the instalments, all the wives of all the elders and their married sons were given plots to cultivate. Each senior wife chose her own, and the shapes were often peculiar. One was a strip three feet wide stretching nearly a mile from river to river. Another twisted about all over the countryside like a snake. An old man gave the explanation: when his mother was first married, her husband told her to mark out her *shamba* according to custom, and she was so happy that she ran joyfully about the countryside putting in pegs wherever she felt inclined.

Each time a man took a new wife, he gave her a piece of 'the man's plot' he had reserved for future use, and each of his senior wives gave her also a small piece of their own *shamba*. In return, she gave each senior wife a bit of the *shamba* she had just received from her husband. Since each senior wife would have a *shamba* in each of the *ndori*'s seven instalments, every new wife would start off with eight separate plots. When her sons grew up and married, every son would receive a share of each of her eight plots. Finally, when the *mzeemati* died, each of his sons would receive a bit of 'the man's plot', as well as his share of his mother's different *shambas*.

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When one considers the ramifications of this system, such as widows remarrying, and children women's plots being split among all the other wives' children, and many other contingencies, one is amazed that the Kikuyu elders could keep a grasp on the situation at all. All the records were in memories, nothing could be written down; but so retentive are Kikuyu minds that every elder could revise the history of every plot and fragment in his family's possessions, down to the number of she-kids dropped by each of the goats paid in his grandfather's time. 423 153

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Nevertheless, land ownership and inheritance was the most fruitful source imaginable of disputes, feuds and court cases. As time went on, the flow of cases thickened until it threatened to silt up the whole stream of Kikuyu life. To waste of time was added waste of money, as a class of professional lawyers arose to batten on the illiterate. By 1950, it was reckoned that the Kikuyu were frittering away at least £100,000 a year on land cases. 423 428 578 691

The thing had got out of hand and the Kikuyu were the first to recognize it. Whenever I asked what had persuaded the people to accept such fundamental changes, I got the answer: 'We were tired of land cases. They were wasting our wealth. They were like a heavy load on the back of every man.'

But although many people thought this, perhaps almost everyone, very few dared to say so publicly before the rise and fall of Mau Mau. The political leaders of the Kikuyu opposed land consolidation bitterly and without scruple, spreading every lie and rumour to turn people against it on the grounds that it was nothing but a trick to steal their land. Most of the Kikuyu leaders, at any rate those with the intelligence of Jomo Kenyatta who led the campaign, knew all this to be entirely untrue. Yet at every point, and by means of every deceit and subtlety, they urged their people to reject every advance that would ease their lives and improve their condition. 177 423 668

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Kikuyu FL10

668 The object of such Kikuyu leaders, understandably enough no doubt, was to shake off European rule and achieve unrestricted self-government. But obviously, self-government based upon a prosperous peasantry and a productive agriculture would have better prospects than self-government based upon a degenerate tribalism in whose ambit no one could plant so much as a banana tree without fearing that someone else would dig it up or bring an action about it. The origins of Mau Mau, however, were not logical, they were rooted in a deep, emotional hatred not merely of Europeans but of all they represented, of the whole Western world, the whole twentieth century. They belonged to a perverted romanticism blindly hoping to restore a lost tribal simplicity, and to do so by means of murder, torture and obscenity, the Black Mass up to date.

127 623 668 Until the defeat of Mau Mau, every attempt to tackle at its source the worsening land position of the Kikuyu met with a stubborn, sullen resistance due mainly to fear of being at the least branded as a traitor, at the worst having one's hut burnt down and one's cattle hamstrung. The bulk of the people simply held back and kept mum. Bolder spirits who defied the prevailing wind of politics suffered for their nonconformism. In the years just before Mau Mau a great many cattle-dips were sabotaged, terraces broken, stores burnt and crops destroyed. As matters worked towards a climax, the attacks advanced from property to people, and men who had listened to the Europeans were strangled in the darkness and burnt alive in their huts. It needed a very bold man, in those days, to walk into the mounting gale and openly collaborate with officers of the Government.

IV

159 622 668 Such a man was Chief Muhoya, certainly one of the bravest living Kikuyu, a dauntless loyalist all through the Emergency and so contemptuous of Mau Mau terrorists that he refused to live—as most chiefs did, on official orders—in a garrisoned post behind a moat full of stakes, and refused to take even reasonable precautions, dashing off to the scene of many

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K.Kenya FLID

'incidents', revolver in hand, to engage gangs in battle with his enthusiastic Home Guard.

He does not look a fire-eater, but seems a quiet, reserved, courteous, modest man of middle age and plain intelligence. It was in his location of North Tetu that the land consolidation movement started, before Mau Mau, and on the initiative of the people, not the Government. This was in 1948.

Indirectly, the movement arose partly because many of the Kikuyu from Tetu, a region that had always taken great pride in its cattle, had worked on nearby European stock farms, and subsequently bought exotic cattle which gave much higher yields than their own. This led to a demand for dips, and then to the spontaneous paddocking of grazing land so as to keep Better Cows free from ticks. So popular did paddocking become that the Veterinary department established nurseries from which those who dipped their cattle could take lei-apple seedlings free of charge—the lei-apple is a prickly, straggling plant that will make a good stock-proof hedge.

So enclosure started in the Nyeri district, and brought with it a whole crop of new troubles. The boundaries of grazing land had never been clearly defined. The clan elders settled boundary disputes as best they could, but it soon became clear to everyone that some more permanent arrangement would have to be made. The whole idea of individual tenure on the European pattern, of one family owning one piece of land, had taken root.

It was here, in North Tetu, that land exchanges between heads of families began to take place, encouraged by Chief Mukeyu. Under his resolute leadership, North Tetu is still in the van: nearly half the landowners work to farm plans, the highest proportion anywhere in the country. Then came Mau Mau, and all progress stopped for three years.

A state of emergency was declared on 20th October, 1952. By this time gangs of oath-takers were abroad, killing anyone who refused to join Mau Mau. Huts and schools went up in flames, no one's life was safe, crops went unplanted or were smuggled out to feed the gangs, cattle were mutilated, killed or impounded as fines, and every available European

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was drafted in to the administration or police, or to help form a Home Guard of Kikuyu loyalists. These men lived in mosted forts under tall watch-towers in constant danger of attack, and were called out at frequent intervals to protect threatened points or chase terrorist gangs.

The turning-point was possibly the decision, taken in 1954, to put the whole scattered population into villages. Since time immemorial, families had lived in homesteads apart from each other, each little cluster of huts screened by a thorn or split-log fence and approached by a winding path through bush or forest. From each homestead, women would emerge every morning to plod off to their various fragments of *shamba*, babies on back and *panga* in hand. Privacy was the normal condition for Kikuyu families.

Now every family had to leave its private homestead for a barrack-like assemblage of huts set out in rows on a hill-top. Although in his heart everyone must have hated it, for the moment many were thankful because, for the first time since Mau Mau had started, they were able to sleep safely in their beds. By October, 1955, nearly a million men, women and children had moved from their homesteads into a total of 845 new villages.

This broke the back of the Emergency. The matter then became one of hunting down terrorist gangs who, while they still emerged to murder and pillage, had retreated to the forest and were gradually eroded away by fighting, desertion and surrender. With the capture of the leading forest gangster, Dedan Kimathi, in October, 1956, the fighting was virtually over and normal life in the main restored. Some changes were irreversible: the villages, for instance, remained.

V

Land consolidation was resumed in 1954 on a new basis: the Government stepped in directly and made it an official concern. The agricolas had worked out in detail a system which they hoped could be applied throughout Kikuyuland, and the administration tried it out in several pilot schemes.

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It worked so well that in 1955 they took on a small army of surveyors, measurers and clerks and launched major schemes in each of the three Kikuyu districts.

The enclosure and consolidation movement swept the country almost with the momentum and fervour of a religious revival. In each sub-location it started with a public meeting: until the people themselves decided that they wanted to consolidate, nothing was done. When everyone had agreed, the D.C. accepted their decision in open *baraza*. 'Once an area is declared,' reads a directive, 'consolidation takes priority over all other work. It is most important that this point is fully understood as it has been found that some officers will try to maintain their pet schemes.'

Pet schemes abandoned, the next stage was to form a large committee representing all the elders of the *mbari* concerned and to acknowledge it in open *baraza*. This committee proceeded to hear all disputes and to settle all the boundaries, both of the *mbari* land and of every right-holder. A good many individuals were in detention, but their wives or relatives looked after their interests. The committee also listed all the landless *athi*.

The Recording Officer then stepped in. He and his teams went forth with pegs and chains to measure every individual fragment and to compile a 'register of existing rights', which became the ground-plan of future developments. 'Fragment-gathering' went on at the same time. Measurers noted in an exercise book, against every right-holder's name, each of his fragments, their acreage, and a sketch of their shapes. In the Fort Hall district one man actually had 108 fragments which added up to 14 acres—a record: the average in the Nyeri district was about eight fragments to a man. The measurers' sketch-books impressed me greatly with their neatness and, one assumed, accuracy.

The committee of elders, at least thirty strong, accompanied the measurers and agreed on the ground the assessment of every man's fragment. All disputes went to an arbitration board, but disputes were rare. The only Kikuyu to suffer loss of land through Mau Mau were a few of the worst terrorists, whose holdings were forfeited: these amounted

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Kikuyu FL10

to 0.02 per cent of the whole. Their land was paid for, and devoted to public purposes, such as schools.

After fragment-gathering, each owner saw the exercise book and registered agreement with his thumb-print or signature; if he was dissatisfied, he took the matter to an arbitration board.

Then came the percentage cut, to ensure that all sacrifices of land needed for public purposes were shared equally by everyone. This system is plainly much fairer than our own. If some public authority wishes to build a nuclear power station on Mr. Smith's land, or run an arterial road through Mr. Brown's garden, it does so, and Smith and Brown are out of luck. But among the Kikuyu, all losses are equally shared.

After the percentage cut—generally about five per cent—a demarcation team took over. Their job was like fitting together a jigsaw puzzle whose pieces were the acreages of each landowner, and the completed puzzle a map of the sub-location. They had to mark out all the *shambas* on the ground. At the end, if demarcation teams had done their work successfully, each individual was left with his original acreage less the percentage cut, and a lot of pegs in the ground agreed with maps in the office. Probably none of this could have been done had the Kikuyu not moved into villages: no one would have agreed to leave his homestead. As it was, all the homesteads had been shifted, and it was a matter of dividing so many acres among so many people, according to the amounts they had before.

After demarcation came the planting of hedges, and then the holdings were registered. The final stage will be an aerial survey of the whole countryside and registration of title-deeds—an individual freehold title to land. The first issue of these permanent titles began in Kiambu on 15th October, 1959.

VI

Administrators dread a landless population, and consider a smallholder with an acre or two to be a more stable citizen

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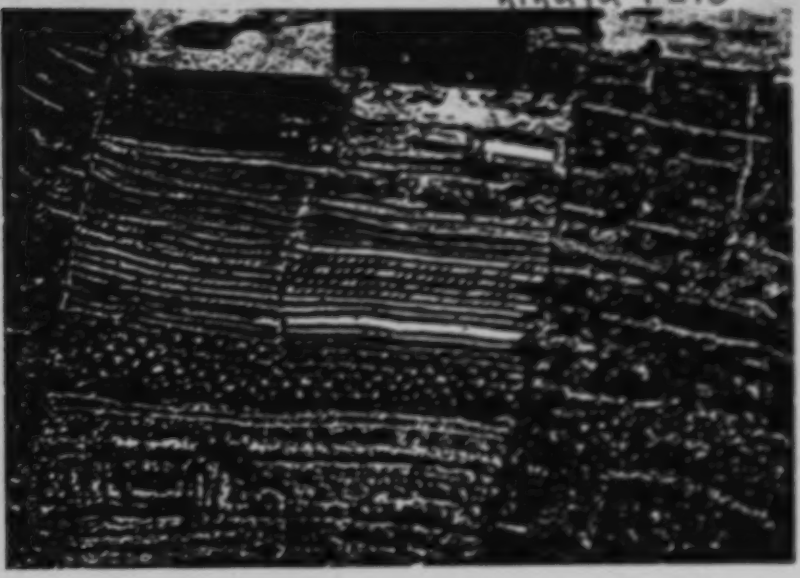
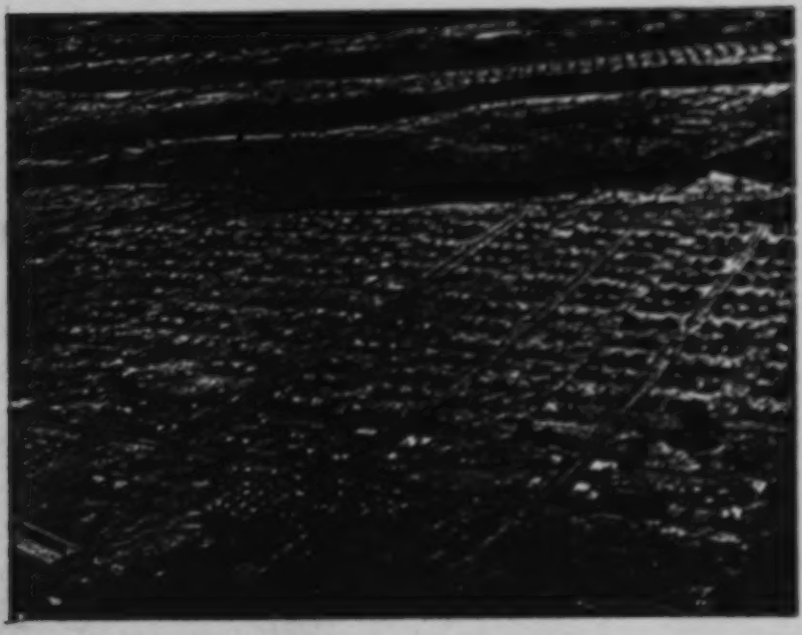


29 A landscape transformed: terraced and consolidated farms in the Fort Hall district, and a new village on a ridge



[facing p. 240]

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Kikuyu FL10

423 than a man with no land at all. Moreover he will have somewhere to go when he is old, and so will not become a charge on the community.

311 Agricolas, on the other hand, calculate that a given
424 district will support more people, not less, if it is farmed
433 properly, because, in order to achieve his larger output, the
461 farmer will employ men. Mr. Roger Swynnerton has given this example to illustrate the point.

'If half the Nyeri district had twelve-acre holdings, the farmers would need to employ something of the order of 51,000 labourers. That is based on our experience of planned farms. If half the Nyeri district were developed to this extent, it would produce an income of about £64 per acre net—that includes coffee and cash crops—and the total net income of this district would be about £6 million, or thirty times as much as it is at present.

'If the other half of Nyeri were to be in six-acre holdings, it could be expected to produce an income of the order of £1.25 million, but it would not employ much labour. This is based on an output of £18 an acre. If the Nyeri district were divided into four-acre holdings, about £6 per acre would be about the best one could expect, without employing any labour at all. The total income would then be about £1.25 million at best. To summarise: with half the district in large holdings and half in economic holdings, the total income would be approximately £8 million; whereas if it was split into four-acre holdings, it would be about £1.25 million.

[131] 'Nyeri district is about 322 square miles. Were half of this to be in twelve-acre holdings and half in six-acre holdings, together with employment for about 50,000 families, this district could carry something of the order of 460,000 people. If the district were to be in four-acre holdings, each supporting a family of eight, the population would be about 412,000—that is, about 50,000 less.

311 'One of the objects of our exercise at the present time is to
433 provide means by which the population can live and produce economically. We cannot take the population too rapidly into industry and commerce, or into rural trades, because

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Kikuyu FL10

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30 Kikuyu women still carry wood for the homestead on their backs; but in a canning factory (above) at Thika they are taking to a new way of life

[facing p.241]

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K:Kenya FL10

we have to wait for that development to take place, and it will be slow. We have no minerals behind us. So in the first instance we must aim at supporting the people on the land economically, while at the same time they contribute the most they can to the wealth of the country."*

I visited one of the twelve-acre farms working to a plan in the Nyeri district, on which such calculations are based. The owner employed five regular workers and nine casuals, and sold off his holding quantities of coffee, bananas, potatoes, milk, pork and beans. Using the ratio of three casual workers to one regular, these twelve acres provided a livelihood for eight families, and yielded, as well, £550 worth of produce to feed others, and to swell the country's wealth.

Had these twelve acres been split into two-acre plots, said the agriculist, they would have supported six instead of eight families, and produced very little surplus as a contribution to the general economy. Were all the land in the Kikuyu districts to be fully developed, labour (they calculate) would actually be drawn into the area and the unemployment problem vanish—that is, if all the unemployed would agree to work on the land.

VII

Were economic facts the only ones, the authorities would have refused to register any fragment below four acres, or whatever was thought to be the minimum, in each ecological zone, on which a family could make a decent living.† But the Government, as we have seen before, takes the view that, in the last resort, it cannot go against the people's wishes in

*Kenya Legislative Council proceedings, 23rd April, 1959.

†Agriculist have divided Kikuyu country into four ecological zones, depending on altitude, viz.: (1) High bracken zone, with acid soil, suitable for sheep, dairying, pyrethrum and tea; (2) Kikuyu grass zone, suitable for dairying, pigs, potatoes and coffee; (3) Star-grass zone, suitable for a wide range of crops, the main coffee belt; (4) Grass woodland zone, suitable for ranching, pineapples and tobacco. The size of the minimum economic unit varies in each zone. In (1) it is generally 10 acres, in (2) six acres, in (3) four acres and in (4) 15–20 acres. In all zones, half the acreage should generally be under grass at any given time. Over-cultivation leads (among other things) to serious losses due to eelworm.

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Kikuyu FL10

regard to their own land. The Kikuyu have wished for land consolidation, and the Government has provided a system by which it has been brought about; they have wished for individual tenure, and the Government has registered their holdings. But at present they do not wish either to abolish small, uneconomic holdings, or to prevent the breaking up of larger ones on the owner's death.

On this last point, the Kikuyu are somewhat uncertain. Many realize that to allow fragmentation to arise again, as it certainly will if they do not themselves change drastically their whole system of inheritance, would undo all the good that has been done in the last five years. They are against this: but not yet, with individual exceptions, quite prepared to prevent it where their own children are concerned. They are rather like British Socialists who send their own sons to public schools. They are against the system, but so long as it is there want their own children to enjoy its benefits.

On their decision in the next few years, the ultimate outcome of this revolution will depend. Unless they bring their system of inheritance into line, the great potential of their country will never be realized. Agriculus hope that enough of their number have grasped the magnitude of the opportunity to swing the balance against the break-up of the new registered holdings into fragments through inheritance. They hope, but they cannot be sure.

If all the Kikuyu districts were properly developed and farmed, agriculus reckon, their output could be increased twentyfold. This seems a fantastic figure, but I was assured it was a sober estimate. Twenty times as much wealth coming from a smiling and a stabilized land, employment for everyone and to spare, a secondary population living off and serving the farmers. . . . The agriculus have all the best arguments, but whether they will be able to put them across remains to be seen. A directive issued from headquarters at Nyeri reads: 'No success can be expected if the farmer is made to do something against his will. Often it is necessary for a field or a house to be put in the wrong place owing to a whim of the African farmer—i.e. "grandfather died here", or "the spirits

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

of my ancestors say that no food must be planted in this area". This we come across all the time. If we act against these customs we may be sure of failure. Farm plans and farm layouts are essentially voluntary and at all costs must remain that way.'

VIII

Most agricolas have grappled their missionary spirit to some pet project in which they see salvation. With Mr. Storrar in the Rift Valley it is sheep; with Mr. Graham Gamble at Nyeri it is tea. Not until thousands of acres of this table-topped, glossy-leaved little shrub cover the fertile ridges of Kikuyu-land, not until factories rise in dozens along the forest's edge, not until a network of roads humming with leaf-transporting lorries rings the mountain, will he be satisfied. And the generating power of his single-minded energy has already made the wheels begin to turn.

Nyeri is the first district to have a factory, built at a cost of £85,000 from Swynnerton plan funds, entirely for African-grown leaf. You still need a Land-Rover to reach it up the slippery steep hills of the high bracken zone with its cold air, clear streams and big mauve clumps of *senecio*, and it was just as well we had one with us, for when we reached the large impressive factory, standing all by itself under the forest, the machinery had been silenced by a power cut. An agricola removed our Land-Rover's battery and connected it to a dynamo, and in a few minutes everything was revolving again.

A tea factory smells clean and bitter and it is here that, given good leaf, the mysteries of quality are wrought. The Indian manager brewed for us specimen cups of his own product and of various other teas, and challenged us to select the one with the best flavour. Anxious as I was to be tactful, I plumped for quite the wrong one: but the London market knows better and just before my visit had paid six shillings a pound for this Ragati tea, the top price for East Africa. Only fifty acres are as yet in bearing out of 700 planted, but the programme calls for annual plantings that will first supply

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Leo
K:Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

this factory, and then others due to be erected if the money can be found.*

Will it catch on? 'It's an exacting crop,' Mr. Gamble admitted. 'You must pay a lot of money for your stumps, wait four years, and when it's in bearing you can never leave it. Plucking goes on most of the year round and even when it lets up, there's the pruning. So tea will mean a lot more work, more *regular* work, than peasant farmers normally reckon on. But it pays. If they look after it properly they should get 1,000 pounds to the acre and this brings in about the same as coffee. One man has grown 1,400 pounds of made leaf an acre, higher than the European average at Kericho. The question is, whether they can keep it up.'

At present, leaf comes to this Ragati factory from as far as fifty miles away. There had just arrived a lorry designed to meet this unusual situation, fitted with a fan to start the withering process before the leaf reached the machines.

Quality is all: Mr. Gamble preaches this with a prophet's fervour. Quality starts on the third-of-an-acre plots where the Kikuyu must at present take everything on trust from instructors. The plucking of the leaf is all-important. Mr. Gamble dins in the maxim 'two-leaves-and-a-bud' at every *baraza*, and his instructors are trained to say to every plucker: 'The tips only—two leaves and a bud . . .'

IX

A tough, stern old chief called Murigo used to rule over this moist, green country where the Ragati tea factory now stands. He had led his fellow-warriors against the Masai, kept a retinue of wives, owned large herds of cattle, lived largely off beer and stood no nonsense. I met two of his many sons. One, also a chief, inhabits with three wives a white-washed house surrounded by oranges, limes and two acres of tea, planted as long ago as 1950 and protected from Mau

*Annual plantings should bring the area under African-grown tea to 12,000 acres by 1969. This will call for six to eight new factories. Up to 70,000 acres have been licensed on European estates, of which about half has been planted. Tea is now Kenya's second most valuable export, worth about £3 million a year. Coffee is worth over £10 million.

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K.Kuyu FL10

Man by a guard post nearby. The other is an up-and-coming instructor with an eight-acre Better Farm planned according to the book.

Although, from his holding, a superb view of the mountain could be seen, Mr. Gari Murigo's tidy white house, set among salvias and cabbages, faced in the other direction—a break with tradition, for it used to be a custom universally observed to build your homestead with its door towards Mt. Kenya, the seat of God.

'There is too much wind in that direction,' Mr. Gari Murigo explained, but one might suspect a deeper significance. Jomo Kenyatta gave the title 'Facing Mount Kenya' to his eulogy of the old Kikuyu ways he sought to revive in a perverted fashion. Many battles were fought out on these ridges and many loyalists killed, including some of the Murigo family. In the siting of his house this loyalist son demonstrated his break with a tradition that had brought so much grief to his people. Sixteen of old Murigo's sons are now farming round about their father's resting-place.

One can understand a little of the Kikuyu feeling towards their mountain: it dominates every ridge and valley, wherever you look it is there, mighty and magnificent. You can easily imagine gods and heroes dwelling in its secret caves, and even conducted donkey-trips to the snow-line have not quite destroyed its mystery. Above a gathering of Better Farmers and their wives on the greensward in mild sunshine, beside a neat row of model pigsties thatched with banana leaves, it indifferently presided over our mundane talk of loans, prices and markets.

All these progressive farmers worried about markets; they had worked up their pigs and then prices had collapsed, as pig prices appear to do all over the world, and they did not understand it. No farmer, of course, ever does, but they felt they had been let down by the Government. And here is the big danger in positive official action to enrich the citizens: if things go wrong, latent suspicions come flooding back, bearing on their crest rumours of deliberate tricks to hold back the people. A collapse in coffee prices would lead inevitably to political unrest.

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K:Kenya FL10

THE ENCLOSURE OF NYERI

A young man in a green shirt who acted as spokesman for this group was an ex-Mau Mau detainee, of whom over 70,000 have been rehabilitated and reabsorbed in orderly fashion in the last two years—one of those achievements that no one applauded when it went smoothly, but everyone condemned when, at the very end, a blunder was made among the scrapings of the human barrel at Hola.

It is remarkable how quietly so many oath-takers and gangsters have settled back into normal life, and how little open friction there has been between them and the loyalists. But many bitter feuds lie only just beneath the surface and could erupt if the control of chiefs and District Councils were relaxed. It was a piece of good timing that, as the flow of detainees from the camps gathered momentum, so did the tempo of land consolidation and planning. The man from the camp returned to find a new spirit of hope abroad and new opportunities of employment—if he returned to the land. Those who drifted back to the overcrowded cities found few such opportunities, and it is from them that the restlessness has spread.

2

More girls of the Kikuyu people than of any other pass through the secondary schools, some to continue to Makerere college, some to British and American universities; there is a Kikuyu woman Legislative Councillor; in general the women, when they overcome their diffidence, seem at least as alert and intelligent as the men. Yet nowhere in modern Africa, except among still-primitive tribes who have so far kept out of the way of Progress, do you see women used as beasts of burden quite as Kikuyu women are.

To carry things upon one's head is a custom universal in Africa, but Kikuyu women toil along like snails bent double under heavy loads of firewood, water, grain and potatoes borne on their backs, climbing hills most Europeans could barely get themselves up, let alone a hundredweight of maize or a forty-gallon drum of water. I saw a furniture removal headed by an old grandmother carrying an enormous table

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K. Kuyu, FL10

on her back—a light load, probably, in her estimation. Little girls of six or seven practise with a gourd of water or a bundle of sweet potato tops to feed the goats.

You never see a woman on a bicycle. Their working dress is generally a length of cotton cloth dyed earth-colour with ochre, like an old sack, caught in round the waist by a belt. Their heads are clean-shaven and rings of beads hang from their ears. The very steepness of their ridges holds them back, for tractors are ruled out, everything must still be done with hoe and *panga*, and that is the woman's task. Not that they need driving: they take a peasant's pride in their strength and capacity for toil and would not have it otherwise.

Most of the wives of Better Farmers, on the other hand, wear shapeless but often bright cotton dresses made by tailors who sit behind their treadle sewing-machines on the verandas of their shops in every trading centre. Many of these women belong to Maendeleo clubs, and quite a number have taken courses at one of the Farm Institutes.

'I did not want my husband to get rid of the old cows,' the wife of a Better Farmer said to me as we admired four Guernseys her husband had bought. 'Then I went to Wambugu, and that persuaded me.' Wambugu is one of the outstanding Farm Institutes, thanks largely to its former principal, Mr. Paul Thiongo, whom I met at Embu. Here men and women take their courses separately, a hundred at a time. And here there is a pool of Guernseys issued at cost price to Better Farmers when they first arrive, so that man and cow spend three weeks together under supervision, and then go off together to their farm. Wambugu has the only African-owned herd to be a member of the breed society, and last year the herd average was over 700 gallons. So the best Guernsey blood that can be had is being spread about the Nyeri district and a main preoccupation of vets and agricolas is to see that the resulting progeny is properly reared.

I remember especially a very old, toothless individual, his chin fringed with grey bristles, leading a calf on a string and stroking it possessively—his first by A.I., which he thought a splendid invention, but too expensive; and an

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
K. Kikuyu FL10

elderly, polite, this man who had worked for fifteen years in Nairobi as a driver, saved money and bought his holding bit by bit, who showed me with tremendous pride three contented high-grade heifers, hand-fed with Napier grass and lucerne, who were giving between them seven gallons a day which he sold for £3 a week to a local tea-shop. About 300,000 cattle are dipped or sprayed every week—a contrast from the Mau Mau times, when all dipping ceased.

Unless there is a set-back, the old humped Zebu will eventually vanish from the Nyeri district to be replaced by Guernseys. The success of this bold experiment depends entirely on the people's ability to keep up a high standard of management. If they grow slack about spraying, about careful calf-rearing, about bull-calf castration, these fine-looking animals will deteriorate into weedy, degenerate beasts without either the hardiness of the Zebu or the high yields of the exotic. It is a gamble on Kikuyu common sense and energy, and on political stability.

In the last three years, this countryside has been transformed. Every hillside is terraced; almost every field lies on the contour; gullies are sealed; coffee trees stand like soldiers on parade, pruned and mulched. Butter-yellow cattle graze on emerald pastures; blue-shirted children swarm in the innumerable schools. Gone are the mushroom huts lurking behind groves of bananas, the higgledy-piggledy shambas, the goat-browsed aromatic bush.

Gone too are the manned guard-posts, the high watch-towers, the armed patrols, the barbed-wire barricades of only five years ago. What had become, I asked, of those deep moats bristling with pointed stakes, like a mouthful of wicked fangs? Stripped of the stakes, many of them had been used to grow bananas. Swords into ploughshares, knives into pruning-hooks, moats into banana-trenches.

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Kikuyu FL10

CHAPTER 16

Towards Subtopia

1

115 622 THE oldest living chief in Kenya is Njiri, who was appointed to his office in 1912. Such men, who grew to manhood in a world unchanged for centuries, are almost legendary; soon the last will be gone, and it is a tragedy that no one has taken down from their own mouths recollections which are a part of history.

It was evening when I called on Senior Chief Njiri at his home just below the forest, nearly 8,000 feet up and very cold; he had not been well, but came out to see me on his veranda, muffled in an army greatcoat, and while we talked one of his wives stood motionless behind his chair, a silent sentinel. The old man's bronze, leathery face was lined like the map of a watershed, and there was no mistaking the rock-like character, the habit of command, the force of personality. His eyes were sharp, there was nothing doddery about his quiet and cogent answers to the few questions I put. All through the Mau Mau revolt he kept his district loyal and, although it borders on the forest, the gangs failed to draw from it their expected quota of recruitment, food and support.

128 824 969 661 578 425 668 I asked his views on the great changes that had come to his country. 'They are good,' he said, 'except for two things: they oblige people to move away from their fathers' homesteads, leaving the inheritance of their ancestors; and there is too much bribery among the staff, among recorders and measurers. And this bribery goes against the loyalists; they resisted Mau Mau and now, in many cases, the Mau Mau have taken some of their land.'

668 668 How much truth is there in this? Administrators are inclined to discount it; many loyalists, they say, expected to be rewarded for their staunchness to the Government by

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K. Kuyu FL10

receiving forfeited land. But it has not been the Government's policy to confiscate land, except from a very few of the gang leaders, and detainees have been treated in exactly the same way as loyal Home Guards.

This is a policy that men of the older generation, like Njiri, cannot understand. Their code holds that loyalty should be rewarded and rebellion punished. So they feel aggrieved when loyalists are not rewarded in this obvious way—or indeed in any other way, except for a few medals: and even medals do not seem to mean much, for a man from this district who received one for gallantry, and risked his life many times in defiance of Mau Mau, was subsequently imprisoned for two years because he assaulted a detainee who had defied him in a camp in which he exercised some authority. British justice, as so often happens, did not in this instance accord with Kikuyu ideas. Here is an example of a fundamental cleavage in outlook between the races that goes much deeper than questions of constitutions, electoral rolls and social benefits: it strikes at the very roots of trust and respect.

As to bribery, most administrators admit that it goes on in spite of every precaution they can think of to prevent it, but on a scale which does not materially affect the final distribution of land.

Customs must change, Chief Njiri agreed; old ways were dying; did he think that, on balance, the new ways were better for his people?

'Old customs were good,' he said, looking back to days of order, simplicity and adventure, 'but education is good also, because it will teach a man how to speak alike to Europeans and to Kikuyu; it is a bridge between the two. There was no bridge in the old days. We must understand each other.' Although he was born into a world in which no woman could address a man as an equal, he has given some of his own land and money to start a girls' school nearby. One of his many sons returned the other day from America with a university degree and a wife.

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Lee
K.Kenya FL10

II

Njiri spoke in Kikuyu, and the Kikuyu agricola who interpreted had not long returned from eleven years' study at the University of Allahabad. Here were old and new personified: the quiet elder with his enormous dignity, a tree rooted in the deep, stable soil of tribalism, and the well-educated, intelligent young graduate with his air of puzzled diffidence, his roots groping through the shallow soil of transition. Perhaps, when he is old, he will regain that calm certainty of which he has been robbed by the onset of a thousand possibilities and doubts swarming round him and his fellows like angry bees.

'The poverty of India!' he exclaimed, and shook his head despairingly. 'We have nothing like that here. But we must be careful—it is something that could happen, if we fail to take care of our land.'

Now a confirmed agricola, he had been at school with some of the Kikuyu political leaders and one, he said, had come to visit him the other day. 'I tried to tell him what we are doing here, but he wouldn't listen. He stood in the middle of one of the villages and said: "Are there any complaints against the Government? Is anyone not satisfied?" There are always people who are not satisfied. A fortnight after he left, the D.C. had to close the coffee factory in that area because the people were refusing to obey the rules. How can this help the Kikuyu people? All this man was doing was to try to make a position for himself. We used to be friends, but now we have agreed to go in different ways.'

He spoke sadly, for no Kikuyu of his generation could repudiate the aims of nationalism. It is the methods that divide men of the cities from men of the land, who need security. As yet there is no leader able to combine the two.

III

About half the adult males of the Fort Hall district are away at any given time either at work, or seeking it. On

[pp. 253–288 not Processed]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

I. THE SETTING

The Luo people constitute the third largest tribal unit in eastern Africa, and are by far the largest of the Nilotic-speaking peoples, numbering, by 1947 estimates, some 800,000 individuals. They are entirely contained within the three Kavirondo Districts of the Nyanza Province of Kenya except for some thousands who have now crossed its southern border into the Musoma District of the Lake Province of Tanganyika.

In terms of racial distribution the Luo are the spearhead of the great southward thrust of the Nilotic peoples from the Sudan, and of this spearhead the Luo of South Kavirondo and Tanganyika are the tip. The nearest Nilotic neighbours of the Luo are the Padhola of the Eastern Province of Uganda, whose territory comes within a few miles of the northern Luo boundary; but linguistically their nearest relatives are the Alur who now live 500 miles away, partly in the south-western corner of the West Nile District of Uganda and partly over the border in the Belgian Congo. In geographical terms the Luo occupy the coastal plains which border Kavirondo Gulf and the open expanse of Lake Victoria for fifty miles or so on either side of the entrance to the gulf, and also the foothills and uplands to which these plains give way a few miles inland. Although their territory forms a continuous block all round the gulf, it bears no correspondence to the boundaries of the North, Central, and South Kavirondo Districts, but within each of these consists respectively of 1 out of 19, 14 out of 15, and 19 out of 30 locations.[1] These locations form the territory of lineages or groups of lineages.[2]

II. PRELIMINARY ARGUMENT

The purpose of this article is to document certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.[3]

If formally questioned on the point, Luo would admit that the members of a lineage are all the agnatic descendants of its founding ancestor, both male and female, living and dead. However, as Mayer remarks (see *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, I.A.I. Memorandum XXIV, p. 7), 'it is no straightforward matter to define the lineage allegiance of women', and the operative members of a lineage in its observable activities are not those who would have to be included in it according to a strict

[1] The word 'location' is in Kenya applied to the territorial subdivisions of administrative districts and has a quite different connotation from that with which it is used in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere.

[2] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, where these groups are described.

[3] For note, see next page.

[p. 5]

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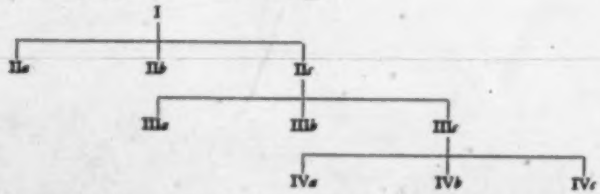
theory of agnatic descent. Most prominent in lineage activities are the group of living male agnates. Dead females, though technically lineage members by descent from the founder in the male line, are of no importance since no segments in their own lineage of origin can ever spring from them. Their only significance was during their lifetime, when they returned from the lineages into which they had married to participate in the rituals of the lineage of their birth. On the other hand, dead females who married into the lineage from outside it, and became eponyms of new lineage segments, are of lasting importance to the lineage as the genealogical points by reference to which parts of the internal articulation of the lineage are defined in theory, and upon whom the grouping of its living members is consequently based in practice. Living females who have married into the lineage are important to it, not only because after death they may become lineage eponyms, but because while alive they are already the heads of groups which Luo regard in theory as the prototypes of lineage segments and, in practice, they are the actual organizers of activities which are both the result and the demonstration of the segmentary principle (see below, p. 37).

The importance of the family to the lineage is shown by the fact that Luo regard every segmentary relationship as having its symbolic prototype within the compound polygynous family. The essential principle of lineage activity is the opposition of co-ordinate segments to one another, coupled with their unity within the same superordinate, itself in similar opposition to other co-ordinates and bound with them in the unity of a still higher superordinate. To the Luo the prototype of this process of segmentation is that aspect of the family cycle (see below, p. 17) in which elementary families are opposed major segments within their superordinate polygynous family, and superordinate segments in relation to the sons who compose them, which sons are themselves the starting-points of major segments in relation to these elementary families. Wives may consequently be considered as the heads of superordinate segments to their sons and of subordinate segments to their husbands. It is important to note that either prototype is equally valid for the Luo; sons in relation to their mother, or co-wives in relation to their husband. Therefore daughters are seen to be of no structural significance though members of the lineage

[1] I have used the following conventions of terminology:



The points numbered in the accompanying diagram represent the eponymous ancestors of a hypothetical series of lineage segments arranged in their genealogical order.

All the segments of series II are *co-ordinate*, and similarly with series III and series IV.

The segments of series III are all *subordinate* of segment IIc, and similarly segment IIIc is the *superordinate* of all the segments in series IV.

The relationship between co-ordinate segments of the same superordinate is expressed in the Luo concept of *libambu*, and I refer to it as their *theory of co-ordination*.

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according to a strict theory of descent, while wives are fundamental to the structure from the start. From the point of view of lineage activity it is indeed true that recruitment to the lineage is of men by descent and of women by marriage.[1] It is the final rite in the sequence of marriage ceremonies which definitively transfers a woman's reproductive powers to her husband's lineage (see below, p. 35, *Riso*). For the Luo, we cannot abstract a man and his sons from the family as the microcosm of lineage,[2] for this is found conceptually—as Luo terminology shows (see below, p. 27)—either in the sons of one mother or the co-wives of one husband. Only when the ideal of family composition is not achieved, because a man fails to beget male issue by more than one wife, or because wives fail to bear more than one son each, can the actual prototype of lineage segmentation be simply a man and his sons. The ideal of family composition, displaying both the segmentary prototypes conceptualized by the Luo, must therefore be regarded as a man with more than one wife, each of whom has more than one son.

What has been said about lineage and family largely explains the other purposes of this article. That the Luo conceptualization of lineage structure in family idiom is something more than a trick of projection is shown by a study of property ownership, marriage, and inheritance in relation to the family. A sufficient account is therefore given of the family system (pp. 16–25) to show the direct influence which these matters can have on the formation of new lineages. The jural arrangements of the family are further correlated with the actual pattern of residence, with the functional alinements of family members to one another, the primary attitudes acquired in early infancy, and the subsequent moulding of these, during the whole period of maturation, into a motivational system which is at once consistent with, and productive of, a segmentary social structure.

In any society structure is an abstraction from observed behaviour, including verbal behaviour, which has a certain degree of continuity over space and time. This behaviour is, obviously, the net result of motivations in the individuals living together in that society. If the society is not changing there will be consistency between the structural behaviour of one generation and the next. A family is, in particular, a direct result of the structural behaviour of a few individuals. But it is also, in general, the result of motivations imposed on the individuals who create it, by a system of upbringing which is itself part of the structured behaviour transmitted from the past. In Luo terms, then, a lineage is the net resultant of a certain type of structural behaviour on the part of all its members from the time of the birth of its founder down to that of its living members. But the activities of its founder were partly determined by the particular characteristics of the family into which he was born, and by the general structural characteristics which determined the form of family composition and child-rearing in it, back from the present to the time of the lineage founder, and long before that.

The reason why I stress certain aspects of the family as the point of departure for describing the lineage system is that such an approach seems to be called for by the material itself, yet it has received less emphasis than the other, in which lineages are treated mainly as groupings inherited from the past, and the structural aspects

[1] See Mayer, op. cit., p. 4.
[2] Cf. Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 52.

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of the family and the dynamic features which link it to the lineage system are only treated afterwards. It is a question of methodology in relation to the distinction between the clan principle and the lineage principle in social organization. It may be possible to analyse a clan system in terms of clan and family as two distinct principles operating from opposite poles of the social structure. But this is not the most illuminating way of analysing a segmentary lineage system in which the connexion between lineage and family is of the most intrinsic kind. In a lineage system such as that of the Luo you have a graded series of segments from the level of the living sons of one mother or the living co-wives of one husband up to the maximal lineage. There is a continuous increase in numerical size, territorial size, and distance of origin in time, but common principles operate throughout. There is a gradual change in functional emphasis from one end of the series to the other, but no discontinuity. On the other hand, in a clan system there may be no descent groups at all intervening between the clan and the compound family, the discontinuity is more striking than the similarity of principle, and though there are a few common functions there are many more which are quite distinct. While, therefore, both clans and lineages are behavioural systems transmitted from one generation to another, in the case of clans it is only the extant groupings and the behaviour appropriate to them which is transmitted; whereas, in a lineage system, the inculcation of the approved structural behaviour not only ensures that a new generation will fit into a framework of groupings already extant, but that it will also add its own contribution of new groupings on the pattern of the old. In the one case there is only replacement of old members by new within the old framework; in the other, new members indeed replace the old, but the framework itself is also partially renewed, though the principles underlying the renewal are constant.[1] This renewal springs directly from the segmentary structure of the family and gives to the latter an importance for the lineage which it does not have for the clan.

I prefer, therefore, not to use the term 'clan' in the analysis of the lineage system which forms the subject of this article. In my view an extreme segmentary lineage system is based on an implicit principle fundamentally different from that of clan organization, and to apply the word 'clan' simply because a lineage is exogamous, or because it is the widest grouping based on putatively continuous agnatic descent, only obscures an important distinction. There are other societies (e.g. Tallensi) where clan and lineage principles contribute jointly to the social structure and both terms are properly used, but this is not so in the present case. Whereas in a clan system the operation of exogamous rules may be quite precise, in the Luo groups here studied there is a vagueness of definition as between two consecutive levels of segmentation. This is because the higher level is the one which is claimed as exogamous by the most authoritative elders, who still remember its entire genealogical structure, while the younger members tend to remember it only as far as a lower level of segmentation and, if they had their way, would restrict exogamy to this.

In a series of social groups graded according to their age, the aspect of permanence which pertains to any one of them is correlated with its age in relation to the others involved in the same context. But no lineages are regarded by the Luo as really

[1] Cf. Mayer, op. cit., p. 21: 'the idea of *opuolo* (lineage) is essentially one of growth leading to fission'.

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permanent; it is only in relation to a particular transitory situation that they may for convenience be taken as given; as when two segments are in dispute, larger segments of which they are parts may appear to have a relative permanence.[1] Lineages which are exogamous are the largest and oldest of a series the other end of which is found in the segmentary structure of the compound family. The whole series is relative and impermanent because, as it moves forward in time, it is always tending to add new units to itself at one end as old ones drop off at the other. Exogamous lineages are maximal lineages, which are vaguely recognized to be the successors of older groups now forgotten, just as they themselves are destined in turn to be replaced at some future time by newer segments which are at present still regarded as their constituent parts.[2] A clan is expected by its members to be everlasting, and its origin may antedate the earliest events remembered by the tribe as of an historical kind; while lineages of the Luo segmentary type tend to depend on historical processes of settlement which have not yet been obscured by subsequent changes. It is because this is normally so that deviant cases can be accounted for by fictions. Lineages whose genealogies have been fabricated to account for and conform to changes in their structural relations are none the less based on the pattern provided by lineages whose genealogies are not fictional. Clans can be dispersed into far removed sections, yet still forced to recognize common membership through the possession of a common clan name, totem, praise name, or other fixed identifications; but the continued existence of a lineage often depends upon the maintenance of consistency between the recognized genealogical presentation of the relations of its component segments and the pattern of their territorial settlement. Many Luo maximal lineages and their component segments can be represented as both a spatial and a temporal series, either being a consistent projection of the other (e.g. see Figs. 1 and 2 for the temporal, and Figs. 3, 4, 5 for the spatial aspect). A maximal lineage, possibly including a few small groups assimilated to it by group-kinship fictions, may coincide with a tribe[3] where it has maintained this consistent space-time projection, or it may be one of several maximal lineages of roughly equal status, bound by political ties within the same tribe. In Luo lineage theory, then, and also most often in practice, the relationship of siblings at some epoch in the past determines the seniority of their descendants in the present. Hence the genealogies are remembered as an historical validation of the present system of seniority among lineage segments. There may be an opposite process in the case of certain segments, where, as a result of changes in the relations between them, these validations come in time to be based on genealogical fictions, when the original genealogical relations are no longer consistent with the contemporary state of affairs.

On purely linguistic grounds it is difficult to describe Luo lineage organization except on the basis of family organization as the point of departure. For the number of levels of segmentation intervening between maximal lineage and family varies from one lineage to another, and, of course, the number of generations which separate different living members of the same maximal lineage from its founding ancestor varies even more widely. It is impossible to describe such a system adequately by

[1] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 262.
[2] Cf. Mayer, op. cit., p. 54.
[3] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, p. 4, where 'tribe' is used in this sense and examples are given of different types of tribal composition.

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any series of terms tied to specific levels or even denoting functions characterizing different levels. Any terminology of this type assumes that there is a single system of segmentary articulation for all purposes in every maximal lineage, whereas, among the Luo, certainly two different types of segmentation must be distinguished. For convenience we shall call these two different types class A and class B. The chief characteristic of class A is that all segments in it are corporate landholding units (see below, p. 25), arising from the establishment of lineage settlements and their progressive subdivision. Class B segmentation comprises all those lineages which only emerge into actuality on the specific occasions which demand it. At all other times this class of segments remains a latent basis of grouping. It is especially in answer to ritual needs that they emerge, but it is important to note that the organizational aspect of a ritual occasion (e.g. provision of the necessary food) calls into being a far more extensive segmentary organization than is required for the performance of the ritual itself. This will be fully described later (see below, p. 36). All class A lineages act on occasion as class B lineages too, but the total number of potential class B lineages is far greater than the number of class A lineages extant at any one time. There is some justification for regarding the lineage process as the formation of class B lineages within the compound polygynous family, followed by the establishment, according to certain determinants (see below, pp. 38–43), of some of these class B lineages as class A. It is possible that, in certain circumstances, a class A lineage may relapse again into class B (see below, p. 34). Class B segmentation is genealogical segmentation at its purest, while class A segmentation may be distorted from its genealogical basis by the addition of continuously exercisable functions such as landholding and political order.

Each stage of class A segmentation therefore represents a selection from a large number of possible points of fission derived from both male and female ancestors.[1] When asked about divisions between segments the Luo account for them by reference to the kinship relations of their respective ancestors as represented in the recognized genealogy. These kinship relations are described as if they were those of living persons in an actual homestead. Luo genealogies, then, record far more instances of relations of this type than have ever, apparently, given rise to the segmentation of class A, and the causes which precipitate the latter will be discussed.

In describing both types of lineage noted above, I restrict myself to an *ad hoc* numerical and descriptive nomenclature, by which it is intended to avoid giving any impression of rigidity to what is an exceptionally flexible system. As far as the class A lineages are concerned, segmentation between the level of the maximal lineage and the smallest landholding lineage (primary settlement) may be from twofold to sevenfold; but if as much as sevenfold, the genealogical basis would probably be ignored to the extent of approximating it to a fivefold segmentation, which is common in a large lineage like Karachuonyo (see Fig. 1). Class B segmentation can proceed as far as the genealogy permits, and so may be anything from ten- to twenty-fold in a large lineage, but, of course, it is never more than a small range of the complete system which is brought into operation on any one occasion.

When recent cases of lineage formation are studied, it appears indubitable that the occurrence, at all levels of segmentation, of lineages with female eponyms must be

[1] See Fig. 1 (class A) and Figs. 2 and 6 (class B), also diagram on p. 40.

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interpreted in the light of the relation between husband and wives, between co-wives themselves, and between groups of half-brothers in the compound polygynous family. Every group of uterine brothers with their mother forms a very distinct unit over against all other such units in the same compound family. These matrifocal cells of the compound family are all separate stock-owning and land-holding units, and their semi-autonomy is emphasized in the pattern of residence (see below, p. 17) and in the arrangements for cooking, eating, and other domestic activities. It is strikingly exhibited on ritual occasions (see below, pp. 35–7). Another indication is the fact that the Luo clearly remember the names of their ancestors' wives, whereas other peoples in the Luo-speaking group, such as the Alur, do not.

There is here no question of matrilineal principle intruding on an otherwise patrilineal system. The point is that uterine brothers have strong incentives for rivalry with and distinctness from half-brothers, and the pattern of social grouping thus engendered is passed on to their agnatic descendants, so that lineages with female eponyms may appear at any level of segmentation. They are groups of agnates defined by reference to their progenetrix because she alone can distinguish them from other groups of agnates descended from the same male ancestor. Since only a proportion of class B lineages ever become class A, the selection of class A lineages which have male and which have female eponyms follows no invariable principle, but depends on the particular context in which each one became a class A lineage (see below, pp. 38–43). Since co-wives represent subordinate segments in relation to their husbands but superordinate segments in relation to their sons, there is nothing to indicate that female eponyms are correlated with subordination and male eponyms with superordination in lineage activities.[1]

In most contexts of lineage activity it is possible to find on different occasions lineages with male eponyms acting as major segments of a superordinate with a female eponym, or vice versa, or major segments and superordinate both with female eponyms, or both with male, or even major segments some of whom have male and others female eponyms. However, most lineages which act politically as tribes (see Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', p. 4) have male eponyms. Some exogamous lineages have female eponyms—as being groups of agnates who no longer maintain the ban on marriage with the descendants of co-wives of their progenetrix, because their distance in space and time permits forgetfulness of the bond between them. That on balance male eponyms occur more frequently than female may be due to the fact that while the structure of the family sometimes necessitates the use of female eponyms, there is sometimes a possibility of choice, and in a patrilineal society the choice would fall more readily on a male. Moreover, when spatial contiguity, and the social relations consequent upon it, no longer necessitates their recollection, and names have actually become very remote in time, there is rather more likelihood of forgetfulness of the names of ancestresses who are drawn from a multiplicity of different exogamous lineages than of the names of male ancestors who follow one another in an unbroken male line.

There are further reasons for describing lineage structure first at the level of the domestic and residential units and the smallest territorial settlements, rather than

[1] Cf. Fortes, op. cit., p. 32.

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by starting with the maximal lineages descended from the first-remembered ancestors. The position of these smaller groups on the lineage genealogy is not far removed from that of the present families, so that their interpretation by analogy with family composition is strengthened by the shortness of the time which has elapsed since the actual existence of the compound and elementary families from which they grew. This especially aids the interpretation of female lineage eponyms in relation to the structural position of co-wives in the family. Another advantage is that the segments of a lineage tend to engage the activity of their members in inverse frequency to their size; thus the business of the maximal lineage, though of great importance as being the largest scale of corporate action ever undertaken by lineages, is least frequent, while that of the minimal lineages absorbs the greatest proportion of their members' time. Consequently there will always be a greater quantity of observable behaviour relating to the minimal segments of a lineage than to any of the rest. Among a numerous people such as the Luo, without centralized political institutions, it may well be that the principles of small group organization are relatively uniform throughout, while description of the larger groups is complicated by their great variety of size and the differential effects of population growth, length of settlement, inter-lineage warfare, and the like. The smallest groups are, on the average, the most recent groups, and can therefore be dealt with in terms of observable activity or relatively well-remembered past events, whereas the history of the larger groups is less likely to be authentic and is more strongly moulded by myth. However, though genealogies and lineage traditions may be more properly regarded as expressions of social values than as historical records, they can hardly be irrelevant for the understanding of how lineages develop through time. Other things being equal, there must be a tendency for the maximal lineages of the present to be derived from the minimal lineages of the past, and for some among the minimal lineages of the present to form the source of the maximal lineages of the future.[1]

It is to be noted that not even genealogical segmentation can ever follow a regular pattern, since the number of wives a man marries, and the number of children of each sex whom he begets upon them, do not do so. When the increasing irregularities of growth between one line of descent and another over a long period are taken into account, it will easily be understood that lineage principles, which are necessarily stated in terms of regularities, suffer profound modifications in practice. As will be seen, the genealogical segmentation may be adhered to fairly strictly in ritual contexts and in their organizational background. In economic and political relations, however, the operative segmentation frequently diverges from the genealogical, but

[1] See Forde, *J.R.A.I.*, vol. lxxviii, p. 8: 'particular ecological conditions appear to be prerequisite for extensive proliferation of unilineal kin and the formation of large and successively segmented clans. These appear to be the maintenance of social continuity over a widening series of territorial entities, a condition which requires both considerable physical mobility and facilities for continued territorial expansion.' Judging from the Luo, the maintenance of this social continuity is fundamental, and facilities for continued territorial expansion are more vital to it than physical mobility. The requisite mobility is ensured by the lineage ideology itself, which permits free visiting among kinsmen as long as they occupy a continuous territory. When the conditions for fairly rapid numerical and territorial expansion are not fulfilled, we should expect to find an increase of the fictional element in clanship and lineage organization, a synthesizing of discrete groups, and fictional genealogical unification. Probably Luo conditions until recently permitted an unusual congruity between actual and putative genealogies as a basis of social organization.

[text continues on p. 15]

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the divergences are glossed over and the relations of segments treated in the same kinship idiom as if the implied regularities had been maintained.

I now proceed to the more detailed description of those features of the Luo family which aid in the interpretation of the lineage system. The lineage concepts of the

FIG. 3

Luo are then discussed, and six cardinal principles abstracted from them. Some statistics are given to show the divergence of lineage activities from the norms implied in the concepts and from the genealogical structure itself. More details are given of the nature of segmentary activity within the extended family, between the extended families of whose members the smaller lineage segments are composed, and between the larger lineages. Lastly, an interpretation is given of the transformation of class B into class A segments as small landholding lineages, from which

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INTRODUCTION

THIS piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits —are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved; to provide a structure on which

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121 later studies can be based. I have also worked on the assumption that a study of one's immediate background is an essential preliminary to wider investigation.

124 In conducting these studies of social life I have followed the questioning method, and having obtained information from individuals I later discussed that information with a number of other people. I was therefore able to check mistakes arising from purely individual opinion. Altogether nineteen women and eight men were interviewed with regard to family conditions and problems of inter-family relations. I also supplemented by personal observation the information given me on the treatment and feeding of babies. When watching children at play I was sometimes obliged to keep out of view, as children normally feel shy when under the direct observation of an adult. The only group whose play I observed closely was composed of a child-nurse of about ten, my brother's son of eight months (born on August 26th, 1946), my sister's daughter of six, a son of four, and another elder son of about nine. At times I actually watched them playing, but on other occasions I had to visit their play-haunts and examine the articles they had left behind. I noticed that the locations varied very little. This small group gave me a good opportunity to study the play preferences of the two sexes.

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123 With the more mature girls I was able to engage in free discussion, making use of the traditional opportunities for conversation at marriage ceremonies. In short, my field observations were distributed throughout a range of life from infancy to maturity.

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CONCLUSION

121 In order that educational plans may be effective, attention should be paid to those features of social life which most nearly affect education. 'The Luo Girl' is not an attempt to record facts of exclusive interest to the sociologist nor to the psychologist, but it aims to give a picture of the factors at work in the character-building of Luo girls and in the shaping of their attitude to the society in which they live. In short, this book has been written to place certain data at the disposal of those interested in suggesting ways in which the lives of the Luo people can be improved both spiritually and materially. Plans for increased education for Luo girls will no doubt be more effective if the factors which help to shape the character and the attitude of the girls are carefully examined. The customs which have been described are [184] not static and some of them have already ceased to retain their meaning in some districts. Thus there may be wide differences in customs among the Luo people, but it is the principles underlying these customs which should be of interest to us today.

Luo society, like many African societies, is undergoing change. The educator's task is a difficult one. It is only through a careful analysis of the factors which affect its social make-up that he can make an enlightened contribution to its improvement. I have therefore endeavoured in the foregoing chapters to put forward such material as might be of some help in making a balanced plan for the new developments which will affect Luo society.

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frequencies agree well, it cannot be said with certainty that all the C and E genes are, as assumed, in the respective combinations Cde and cdE; it is possible that the chromosomes CDe and cDE are present in the phenotypes CcDee and ccDEe. The Kikuyu Rh groups are easier to interpret. The chromosome cDe is still very abundant though less so than in the Luo, while cde remains rare.

The mixed series of specimens shows less extreme values for both cDe and cde than either of the pure series, suggesting that the extreme character of both of the latter series is in part an accident of sampling. Moreover, individual batches of specimens from different areas seemed to have characters of their own and, though these variations were scarcely significant statistically, it is possible that there is some heterogeneity of Rh constitution even within racial groups. Much more numerous tests must be done on both tribes before their Rh constitution can be clearly interpreted.

Taking all blood group systems into consideration, it is surprising to see how slight are the differences between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. From the present study and the results of Elsdon-Dew (1939) the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the East African native population (apart from the Masai and other Hamitic tribes) is, on the whole, fairly uniform.

Acknowledgements

OOD

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19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

121 later studies can be based. I have also worked on the assumption that a study of one's immediate background is an essential preliminary to wider investigation.

124 In conducting these studies of social life I have followed the questioning method, and having obtained information from individuals I later discussed that information with a number of other people. I was therefore able to check mistakes arising from purely individual opinion. Altogether nineteen women and eight men were interviewed with regard to family conditions and problems of inter-family relations. I also supplemented by personal observation the information given me on the treatment and feeding of babies. When watching children at play I was sometimes obliged to keep out of view, as children normally feel shy when under the direct observation of an adult. The only group whose play I observed closely was composed of a child-nurse of about ten, my brother's son of eight months (born on August 26th, 1946), my sister's daughter of six, a son of four, and another elder son of about nine. At times I actually watched them playing, but on other occasions I had to visit their play-haunts and examine the articles they had left behind. I noticed that the locations varied very little. This small group gave me a good opportunity to study the play preferences of the two sexes.

123 857

123 With the more mature girls I was able to engage in 124 free discussion, making use of the traditional opportunities for conversation at marriage ceremonies. In short, my field observations were distributed throughout a range of life from infancy to maturity.

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September 1949

7: Nyangweso U-4 (no date)1930 FL11 Luo FL11

THE CULT OF MUMBO IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH KAVIRONDO.

By "Nyangweso."

124 Owing to the African's habit of giving the answer he imagines to be the one required instead of the real answer to a question, it has been a little difficult to sift fact from fiction as regards the Mumbo cult. A further complication is that in this religion, as in others, there are different sects who hold their own views as to the interpretation of the teachings of the founder. I have however endeavoured, after several interviews with members of the cult, and with others in a position to give reliable information, to eliminate minor local divergencies of belief, and to give a broad outline of the main beliefs and practices of the Mumboites.

795 In 1913, there lived in the Central Kavirondo location of Alego, a man named Onyango Dunde, of the Aseje clan. One evening as he sat in his hut, a gigantic snake appeared and swallowed him up. It was so big that as it stood on end in the lake (Lake Victoria) its head reached up into the clouds. Almost immediately afterwards it vomited Onyango back again into his hut, unscathed but rather shaken. Indeed it appears that this was just the snake's method of drawing Onyango's attention to the fact that it wished to speak with him, which it proceeded at once to do. It spoke more or less as follows:—

"I am the God Mumbo whose two homes are in the Sun and in the Lake. I have chosen you to be my mouth-piece. Go out and tell all Africans—and more especially the people of Alego—that from henceforth I am their God. Those whom I chose personally, and also those who acknowledge me, will live for ever in plenty. Their crops will grow of themselves and there will be no more need to work. I will cause cattle, sheep, and goats to come up out of the lake in great numbers to those who believe in me, but all unbelievers and their families and cattle will die out.

[186] "The Christian religion is rotten (mbovu) and so is its practice of making its believers wear clothes. My followers must let their hair grow—never cutting it. Their clothes shall be the skins of goats and cattle and they must never wash. All Europeans are your enemies, but the time is shortly coming when they will all disappear from our country.

"Daily sacrifice—preferably the males—of cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls shall be made to me. More especially do I prefer black bulls. Have no fear of sacrificing these as I will cause unlimited black cattle to come to you from the Lango (Masai, Nandi, and Lumbwa).

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 5) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awuondo, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

The most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *nam dala* or *nam pacho*; *jadong* (elder) may be substituted for *nam*. Correspondingly, each wife is *nam ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *nam* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Luo family has a 'house-property complex' of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often striking in ritual. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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124

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gene (which is the sum of the frequencies of the chromosomes carrying C) is obtained by gene adding methods:

$$\bar{C} = \overline{CC} + \tfrac{1}{2}\overline{Cc}$$

$\bar{E}$ is obtained similarly.

If, as in all these samples, recognizable genotypes containing CDE and CdE are absent, then:

$$\overline{cde} + \overline{cD^{e}e} + \overline{cDe} = 1 - (\bar{C} + \bar{E})$$

Provisional separate values for these three chromosome frequencies are obtained by square root formulae involving the frequencies of the phenotypes ccddee, $ccD^{e}ee$ and ccDee, and the resultant values are adjusted proportionally so that their sum is that already obtained. The frequencies of the rarer chromosomes are then obtained from these basic values by further equations based on the simple genetical rules, e.g.

$$Cde = \frac{\overline{Ccddee}}{2\ \overline{cde}}$$

In certain cases, such as that of the Luo, it has been necessary to devise further equations, based on the same principles, to meet special eventualities.

The good agreement between the observed phenotype frequencies and the expected frequencies calculated from those of the genes are evidence of the general accuracy of the serological tests and the homogeneity of the populations tested. The deficiency of AB among the Masai, as compared with the expected number, is probably due to a small number of A_2B bloods having been taken for B, an error difficult to avoid under field conditions. Since both on internal and on external evidence the mixed series of Luo and Kikuyu specimens was probably not highly heterogeneous from a blood group standpoint, and since gene frequencies are of great help in comparing one population with another, this series has been treated as though homogeneous, and gene frequencies calculated as for the others

TABLE I. *The ABO Blood Groups of the Luo*

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	58	0·4531	0·4735	60·59
A_1	24	0·1875	0·1760	22·52
A_2	8	0·0625	0·0512	6·55
B	35	0·2734	0·2507	32·09
A_1B	3	0·0234	0·0367	4·70
A_2B	0	0·0000	0·0118	1·51
	128	0·9999	0·9999	127·96

[p.56a]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10

I.—Blood Groups in some Kenya Tribes

By A. C. Allison, *Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford*, Elizabeth W. Ikin *and* A. E. Mourant, *both of the Blood Group Reference Laboratory (Medical Research Council), Lister Institute, London.*

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This communication embodies the results of A,A,BO, MNS, and Rh tests on the Luo and Kikuyu tribes of Kenya, together with P tests on the Kikuyu and ABO tests on the Masai. The specimens were collected as part of the anthropological investigation carried out while one author (A.C.A.) was a member of the Oxford University Mount Kenya Expedition, 1949.

The only previous anthropological blood group study carried out in this area is the work of Eladon-Dew (1939) on the ABO groups of some East African native populations.

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The Luo and Kikuyu are two of the largest tribes in the country and although neither is "racially pure" they differ in language and custom and are generally believed to differ in origin. The Luo may be taken as representative of the Nilotic group and the Kikuyu of the Eastern Bantu.

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The subjects were hospital patients and groups of labourers, the Luo from Nairobi and Nakuru districts, the Kikuyu from Nairobi, Kiamba and Embu districts. Individuals who were tested were unrelated to one another and were not aware of having any forebears from other tribes. Specimens were taken in the form of clotted blood by means of "Venules" and sent by air to London. Specimens were taken without mishap or complication from 128 Luo and 124 Kikuyu. Specimens were also taken from a further 61 Luo and 111 Kikuyu, but owing to an unsatisfactory system of labelling became mixed in transit. As will be shown below, the Luo and the Kikuyu differ little in their blood group frequencies and the mixed specimens differ little from either of the pure batches. Moreover, the total number of

[p. 55 b]

MNS and Rh tests recorded for Africans is very small. It has therefore been thought desirable to place on record the results of our tests on these mixed specimens as representing a general and not highly heterogeneous sample of the East African native population.

The specimens arrived in London in good condition in about three days. Tests for the ABO system were done with anti-A, anti-A_1 and anti-B. Rh tests were done with anti-C, anti-D, anti-E and anti-c. All E positive bloods were tested with anti-e, and all bloods negative with saline anti-D were tested for the D^u antigen by means of an indirect Coombs test with "incomplete" or albumin-agglutinating anti-D. Dr. K. Henningsen, of Copenhagen, was visiting the Laboratory and tested 66 Kikuyu bloods for P by the elaborate and highly accurate method which he has devised for detecting this difficult antigen, with results which he has recently published (Henningsen, 1950). In addition, ABO grouping was carried out in the field near Magadi on 233 Masai tribesmen.

The methods used in the gene frequency calculations are based on the accepted theories of the genetics of the respective blood group systems, which are conveniently set out in the chapters on the various systems by Race and Sanger (1950). The details of the methods are too complicated to set out within the limits of a paper such as this, but will shortly be published in full by Mourant (1953).

For the ABO system the methods are based on the corrected method of Bernstein (1930). For the MNS system the total frequencies of the M and N genes are calculated by the gene adding method (e.g. $\overline{M} = \overline{MM} + \frac{1}{2}\overline{MN}$) and the total S frequency thus:

$$\overline{S} = 1 - \sqrt{\overline{MsMs} + \overline{MsNs} + \overline{NsNs}}$$

This value for $\overline{S}$ is then divided up between $\overline{MS}$ and $\overline{NS}$ in proportion to values for $\overline{MS}$ and $\overline{NS}$ derived separately from the values of $\overline{MMS}$ and $\overline{MsMs}$; and of $\overline{NNS}$ and $\overline{NsNs}$.

For the Rh system the total frequency of the C

[p. 55C]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

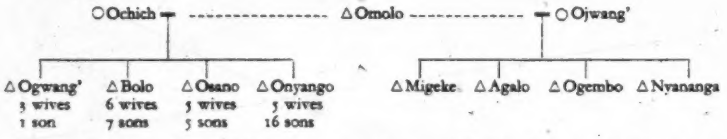
stages of class A segmentation in very quick succession: first, the separation of the descendants of Ogweno's second wife Gaya from those of his first wife Nyariro; second, the separation of the descendants of Awuor—the wife of Ogembo inherited after his death by his younger brother Onyango Adhanja—from the descendants of Onyango Adhanja's own wives; third, the separation of the descendants of Omolo from those of his brother Mboya; finally, the separation of the descendants of Omolo's two wives Ochich and Ojwang'. During all this process Kanyariro grew so slowly that it failed to segment at all. Of course, each new stage of segmentation does not destroy the groupings of the last, but raises their operation to a higher level. The fact that Kochich and Kojwang' split apart to form new *gwenge* does not destroy Komolo as a *gweng'*, but rather gives it a new importance as it is then no longer a minimal *dhoot* but has its own subordinate *dhoudi*. So by an immense process of secular competitive elimination, certain households and homesteads of the past have given rise to *anjuola* segments which later achieved the status of *gweng'* and *dhoot*, and have finally been raised by successive stages of segmentation to their present level as maximal lineages.

But are the figures in these genealogies historical figures, and did these families really multiply and those stagnate, or are all the circumstantial details a *post facto* rationalization of structural relations in terms of a lineage ideology? It seems on balance an easier hypothesis to suppose that there is a genuine element of truth in recorded genealogies and in recollections of recent events; that the omissions from and additions to factual history increase with time depth, and in proportion to the strength of motives for distortion and to the lack of endorsement of recollections of group events by frequent recapitulation in various social activities and embodiment in the pattern of territorial settlement, rather than to regard them purely as a mirage reflecting certain functions of the contemporary social structure. Genealogy is not myth, though it may well, and for the Luo certainly does, bridge the gap between an actual present and a mythical past. It is unlikely that a people, whose memory is shown by indubitable checks to be good (e.g. in the recollections of the coming of individual Europeans to Luoland more than fifty years ago, and of other known historical events of the same period), are wholly inaccurate in what they say about their immediate ancestors' activities in founding *gwenge* and about the descent of *gweng'* members from a paternal grandmother or grandfather. And if this is accepted there is no reason to throw much more doubt on the accounts of earlier ancestors, up to five or six generations back, where these conform to what is evidently true of more recent times. At the remoter genealogical levels the need for caution is obvious, and the stories told of first ancestors twelve to fourteen generations back are of a mythical type easily distinguishable from the more historical accounts of events and persons nearer in time. The Luo of Karachuonyo frankly admit that they know much less about their ancestors before they crossed over Kavirondo Gulf to their present territory about seven generations ago. From this time onward they can give endless details of ancestral activity, for mnemonics are provided by the topography itself and their continuous association with it; but before the crossing they have little to say of their ancestors except for those eponyms who are still of structural importance and who are the focus of a rich body of myth. I have, therefore, approached the account of the most recent levels of the lineage structure on

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

613 127 the assumption that it is likely to be correct, in proportion to the certainty with which it is given, the absence of deviant and contradictory versions, and its conformity with the probabilities established by a knowledge of the forces operative in contemporary family life and in the contemporary activity of lineage segments.

613 To return to the lineage of Komolo: the rapidity of its growth can be seen from the diagram below showing some of the immediate male agnatic descendants of Omolo. Both Omolo's wives produced four sons, and the families of all these multiplied. The sons of Ochich between them married nineteen wives and begot twenty-nine sons, all these latter themselves having issue. The sons of Ojwang' were also prolific, but I have no exact figures for their agnatic issue. Rweya, the present *jaduong' gweng'* of Kochich, is a younger son of Onyango the founder of the *gweng'*, and Bolo, the present *jaduong' gweng'* of Kojwang', is son of its founder Agalo. Rweya's father Onyango was also a very famous leader, acting as chief elder of all Karachuonyo.



The conditions of *gweng'* formation were here satisfied in the reproductive growth of Omolo's patrilineal descendants, the presence of leaders necessary for the new settlements, the suitable numerical size of the *gwenge* defined by the lines of agnatic fission, and the availability of *thim* for them to occupy.[1] The descendants of Omolo were quite numerous enough to form more than a single *gweng'*, and by dividing according to the segments of Omolo's two wives they formed two new *gwenge* each of suitable size. They could not, however, have divided into the segments of Omolo's sons, for this would have meant fission into too many major segments each of too small size. None of these, except perhaps Onyango's, would have been large enough to form a separate *gweng'*. It would have been very unusual for Onyango's lineage to form a *gweng'* while its co-ordinates were unable to do so, for these latter would refuse to join Onyango's *gweng'* and call themselves after him, and could only remain in the undivided *gweng'* of Omolo or else divide into *gwenge* called after his wives, as actually happened. It is practical questions of this sort that require some *dhoudi* to derive their agnatic structure from apical ancestors who were women, and to be called after them, and which give rise to the principle that one co-ordinate cannot split off from its superordinate lineage without the rest.[2] It is fruitless to argue that these ancestresses were merely the wives of agnatic forebears and not even members of the lineage in the strict sense. To any question as to why they are derived from and called after non-agnatic females the members of such a lineage simply say

[1] It appears that ten or a dozen homesteads, that is, ten or a dozen males having reached the status of compound family heads, giving a total population of about one hundred persons, may have been about the minimum size necessary for the founding of a new settlement. In the location of Gem in South Kavirondo there is a case of a *gweng'* founded only in 1924 which in 1947 had fifteen separate homesteads but which started with about ten.

[2] But if all but one of a group of co-ordinates dwindle into insignificance, the one co-ordinate of importance may be able to claim for itself the eponym of the lineage superordinate to them all, as in the case of the wives of Mboya; see above, p. 35.

136

(16) NYAWINO. Like the Nthira but does not grow big and is of a darker colour. Inhabits the Lake and rivers. Edible.

(17) NDERA. Small fieh found in the rivers.

(18) OMENA. A very small silvery fish caught in traps in the Lake. —*Engrauli cypris.*

(19) OYORA. Said to be the young of the Ngege.

(20) OBUDI. Said to be the young of the Mbiru.

(21) ADEL. A small scaled fish of silvery colour about four inches long.

There are other fish which I have not been able to see and cannot describe, but they are said to live in the Lake and rivers and to be edible. The names given are: Otenda, Adendi, Otengo, Nyangoro, Obu.

I have also seen small eels (Okunga), about a foot long, caught in the Lake. Crabs (Okela) and Oysters, and fresh water tortoise (Opuk) are also found.

For a good deal of the material embodied in this article I am indebted to reports made some years ago by Dr. Orloff and Mr. Blaney Percival and also for figures and information supplied by the Administrative Officers in Central and South Kavirondo and the Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy. The native names given are Dholuo (*i.e.*, the language spoken by the Jaluo Kavirondo except where otherwise stated. [128]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the divergences are glossed over and the relations of segments treated in the same kinship idiom as if the implied regularities had been maintained.

I now proceed to the more detailed description of those features of the Luo family which aid in the interpretation of the lineage system. The lineage concepts of the

FIG. 3

Luo are then discussed, and six cardinal principles abstracted from them. Some statistics are given to show the divergence of lineage activities from the norms implied in the concepts and from the genealogical structure itself. More details are given of the nature of segmentary activity within the extended family, between the extended families of whose members the smaller lineage segments are composed, and between the larger lineages. Lastly, an interpretation is given of the transformation of class B into class A segments as small landholding lineages, from which

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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III. THE FAMILY

THE most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dala* or *wuon pacho*; *jaduong* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

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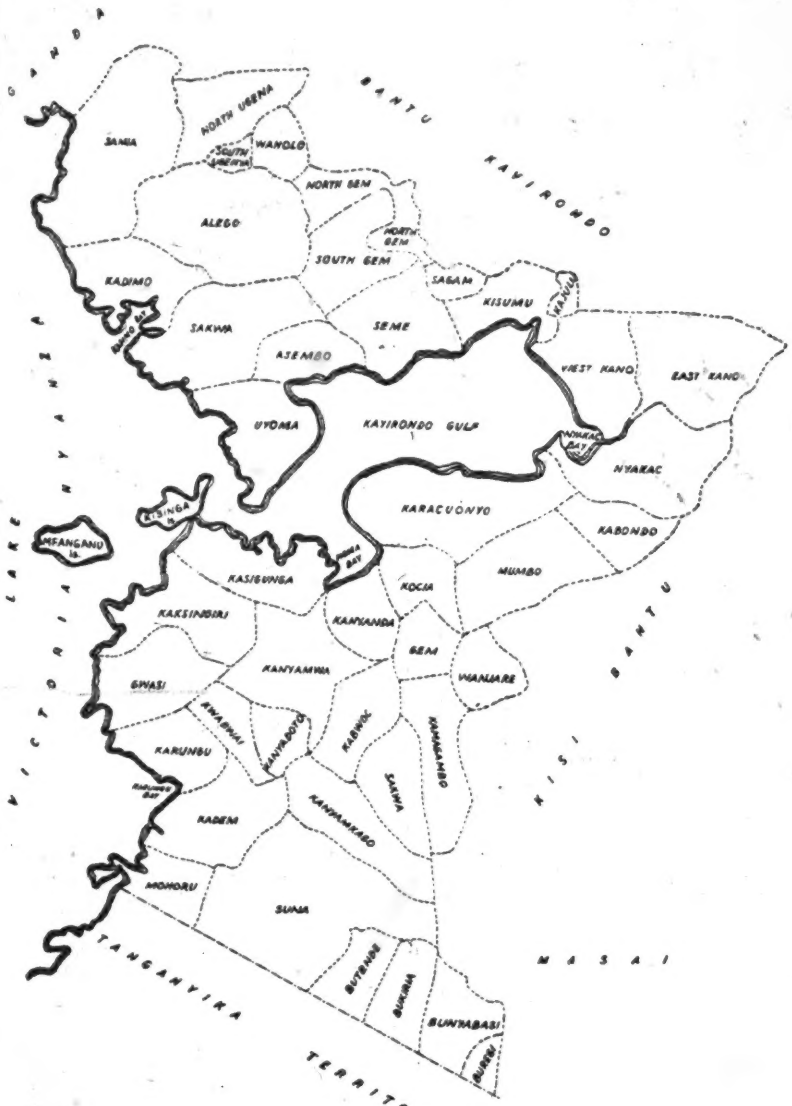
2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949

FL11 Luo FL11



[following p.26]

SCALE - 1:300,000

Luo tribes (Locations) and tribes (locations) assimilated, or partly assimilated, to the Luo.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

§ 2. Nilotic Kavirondo.

101 The generic name of the Nilotic Kavironda is Ja-Luo. By the Bantu Kavirondo they are called Awa-Nife or Nyife, also Awa-Nyoro.

193 *Ja*, *Ka*, and *Yaka* are all prefixes signifying "clan" or "tribe" among the Nile tribes.

The prefix *Tho* signifies language among these people.

Kami or Gemi (call themselves *Gemi*).

101 619 131 Situated to south of River Nzoia between Mumia's and Ugowe Bay. Tribe second in importance in Kavirondo. Nilotic origin; belong to Ja-Luo family. Head chief, Odera Ulalo, son of Umoli. Chief next in importance, Odera Sandei, son of Ulo. Other chiefs: Ilari Atanda (son of Lochi), Wayoti Aratieri.

Subdivisions:—

-Juothi—Odera, Ulalo, Odera Sandei, Atanda Agura.
-Karareo—Ogwel.
-Kagelo—Serua.
-Katumo—Ngaga.
-Kanyadeti—Siwa.
-Kanikwaya—Njwang Kiliko, Ilari, Aratieri.

Lego.

Situate to south of River Nzoia and south-west of Mumia's Nilotic tribe. Part of the tribe acknowledges suzerainty of Mumia. Important chiefs: Ukola Ndonya or Ndong, Ngonga.

Subdivisions:—

-Lafu—Unyango.
-Kukwiri—Othiambo.
-Anyango—Ngonga.
-Kaluo—Ndonya.
-Karuothi—Ukola, Ukelo, Aponyo.
-Yanyujuok—Odero.
-Jamoro—Ogoti, Tao Mwana Uguto.
-Yasiji—Udongo.
-Yakadengi—Otwera.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Nife or Nyife.

Situate north bank of Nzoia River on the road from Mumia's to Port Victoria; a few live on south bank of the river. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Kero, Mulasi, Atipu, Unyango.

Subdivisions:—

-Punji. Chiefs: Kero, Mulasi and Atipu.
-Techi—Unyango, Nyatengi.

Kisumu.

Situate on south-west flanks of the Maragolia Hills and on the lake shore north and west of Railway Inlet. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Ngola or Ugola and Ugada.

Subdivisions:—

-Kisero. Chiefs: Onduu.
-Karatenya—Ngola or Ugola.
-Kadongo—Utuma, Wongo, Ugonyi.
-Korando—Ugada, Ogalo.
-Kaponja—Yareri, Magutha, Wambi.
-Sagami—Opio, Mdieki, Kagonyo, Ndumo, Andoka.
-Kadedi—Kimea.
-Yakamenya—Umuchi.
-Yakagonya—Onduu, Aiyeko.
-Kanyawegi—Uchieng.

The Kisero and Yakagonya clan are now amalgamated under Onduu.

Semi.

Situate south of the Kami tribe between that tribe and Ugowe Bay. Formerly unfriendly with the Kami people. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Wadego, Yagudi, Awina.

Subdivisions:—

Kongo. Chief: Wadekwa.
Tieno—Awina, Abong.
Kalunji—Okechi, Okoko.
Kadipelo—Yagudi, Achola, Ndolo, Hukum.
Kombewa—Okoti, Gumba, Okola.
Were—Wadego.
Kokeri—Abuma, Achachi.

The Kadipelo or Kadipel clan is subdivided as follows:—

Kumbija—Uiti, Okech, Nyabenda.
Konyiwera—Mbima (son of Yagudi).

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Kobita—Undijo.
Kaura—Abundi.
Kanyabong—Hukum.

With the Were clan are incorporated the Kanyadwero, chief Ochanyo. With the Tieno clan are incorporated the Dero.

Sembo.

Situate on north shore of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic tribe. In a measure admit suzerainty of Odera Ulalo. Principal chief: Adola.

Subdivisions:—

Umia—Orero, Yadera.
Kalei—Adola.

Uyoma.

Nilotic tribe, situate at entrance to Ugowe Bay on north shore. Principal chiefs: Lochi (died 1899), Naiya.

Subdivisions:—

Kabuda—Naiya, Kivera.
Katwenga—Lochi (dead), Oginga, Ubuya.
Kobong—Okelo.
Kukwiri—Kariech.

The Kabuda clan live around Laiya Hill, the Katwenga to the east and the others to the north.

Sawakwa or Sakwa.

Nilotic tribe on lake shore to the west of Gemi. Principal chiefs: Ugada, Undieki.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyamwanda Nasimwa—Ugada, Urimba, Ubondo.
Karabori—Nyela, Odero Opio.
Kamiyawa—Buru.
Yakakodi—Odero, Ukumugwam.
Kuduoli—Mbewa, Ngewira.
Kanyavinya (incorporated with Yakakodi).

Timu or Utimu.

Situate on lake shore south of Nzoia mouth. Country called Kadimu; called Wayimbo by Mumia's people. Nilotic origin.

Subdivisions:—

Kadimu—Anam.
Rodi—Uwori.
Niaton—Ugia.

The Kadimu live on the lake shore, the other clans inland.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Songa.

Situate on the south bank of River Nzoia near Port Victoria. Nilotic origin. They are quite a small tribe. Principal chiefs: Unyando (Wa-Mtoni), Unyando (Wa-Juu).

Kanu or Kadibo (often called Wa-Kitoto).

A Nilotic tribe living in an alluvial plain east of Ugowe Bay. Friendly, vast quantities of food, population large. Principal chiefs: Kitoto, Amimo and Niagoli.

Subdivisions:—

Nyamoga or Moga. Chief: Kitoto.
Kajulu—Abongo (this clan is now all scattered).
Kadibu or Kanu—Yosanga, Hongo.
Kumulu or Koloa—Okwachi, Oyaro, Niagoli.
Kubura—Amimo, Hongo, Unongono, Uyangi, Uyoo, Arudi
Kamagaga—Unyoro, Unyangnoro.
Kabonya—Mbuya, Kitaga, Unyanga.
Kamrungu—Undieki.
Kimera or Sua—Mlema, Ugundi, Ununga, Ora, Yabedo.

The big chief Sendegi, now deceased, belonged to the Sua clan.

Khoro.

A Nife tribe situated between the Lego and Kami. Head chief: Uluma, also Kahuri or Nyango. The Kanyamoti (chief, Handa) are allied to Khoro. They formerly lived near River Nzoia, but fled during Nife fighting; settled near Odera Ulalo.

Subdivisions of the Khoro people:—

Makhoya. Chiefs: Orodi, Chiwani.
Umwangwi—Uluma.
Winyi—Meto.
Mache—Ndeta.

Kaki.

Nilotic tribe, allied to the Lego and Songa tribes. Live near Gangu lake, in the vicinity of the delta of the River Nzoia. Chief: Masingo.

Aiendi.

They live on mainland opposite Lusinga country, called Kasagunga. Nilotic origin. Head chief: Abomba.

Subdivisions:—

Aiendi—Abomba.
Sali—Mahinya.
Diang—Okech.
Tema—Usambo.
Kanireri—Urua.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Ravula.

Live on south side of Ugowe Bay, opposite Uyoma country Nilotic people. Head chief: Gori Kogalo.

Subdivisions:—

Kadweti. Chief: Awino.
Kabonyo—Osewi, Magolo.
Kajuang—Yariwo, Arani.
Kanyamwa or Kanyambo—Kogalo and Ogalo.
Yahunda—Chikungi, Uyamu.
Saki—Usodo, Uyumbi, Mongwiri.
Kachola or Kologi—Othina.
Kumungu—Mwai.
Kuchieng—Owino, Tigo.
Kasudo—Ukoli.

[578] The Saki people live near Usao hill, and there is a feud between them and the Kanyamwa owing to the latter having been driven from the lake shore, and thus losing their fishing rights. The Saki are very friendly with the Uyoma tribe and the Kanyamwa with the Sawakwa.

Nyakatch.

Live at south-east corner of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic origin. Very friendly people, live in great dread of the Lumbwa. Head chief: Uhuri.

Subdivisions:—

Kadianga. Chief: Uhuri.
Kabodo—Magero.
Jimo—Mwana.
Kajumbo—Atek.
Kandaria—Omoro.
Kaguta—Sewa.

Kalachanya.

A large tribe of Nilotic origin on the south side of Ugowe Bay. They stretch from the west of the Nyakach people to the west side of Uma or Oma Mountain. The head chief is Nyakiti.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyajok. Chief—Nyakiti.
Uma—Ugwan.
Nyalno—Ngar.
Kanyiperi—Umulu.
Adneti—Nyango, Odondi.
Yakandaiya—Ugala, Oyugi.
Utienu—Ngara.
Kodera—Opiawili.
Unyango—Ugala.
Akelo—Achieng.
Ojuach—Ogado.
Ukwafwa—Kimato.
Kabondo—Lalila.

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

HOBLEY. EASTERN UGANDA. Plate I.

Map of KAVIRONDO and neighbouring country, Brit. E. Africa, showing racial distributions.

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[End Map and plate I.]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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THE KAVIRONDO LUO & CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[p. 2]

[p. 1 has no textual material]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

I. THE SETTING

THE Luo people constitute the third largest tribal unit in eastern Africa, and are by far the largest of the Nilotic-speaking peoples, numbering, by 1947 estimates, some 800,000 individuals. They are entirely contained within the three Kavirondo Districts of the Nyanza Province of Kenya except for some thousands who have now crossed its southern border into the Musoma District of the Lake Province of Tanganyika.

In terms of racial distribution the Luo are the spearhead of the great southward thrust of the Nilotic peoples from the Sudan, and of this spearhead the Luo of South Kavirondo and Tanganyika are the tip. The nearest Nilotic neighbours of the Luo are the Padhola of the Eastern Province of Uganda, whose territory comes within a few miles of the northern Luo boundary; but linguistically their nearest relatives are the Alur who now live 500 miles away, partly in the south-western corner of the West Nile District of Uganda and partly over the border in the Belgian Congo. In geographical terms the Luo occupy the coastal plains which border Kavirondo Gulf and the open expanse of Lake Victoria for fifty miles or so on either side of the entrance to the gulf, and also the foothills and uplands to which these plains give way a few miles inland. Although their territory forms a continuous block all round the gulf, it bears no correspondence to the boundaries of the North, Central, and South Kavirondo Districts, but within each of these consists respectively of 1 out of 19, 14 out of 15, and 19 out of 30 locations.[1] These locations form the territory of lineages or groups of lineages.[2]

II. PRELIMINARY ARGUMENT

THE purpose of this article is to document certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.[3]

If formally questioned on the point, Luo would admit that the members of a lineage are all the agnatic descendants of its founding ancestor, both male and female, living and dead. However, as Mayer remarks (see *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, I.A.I. Memorandum XXIV, p. 7), 'it is no straightforward matter to define the lineage allegiance of women', and the operative members of a lineage in its observable activities are not those who would have to be included in it according to a strict

[1] The word 'location' is in Kenya applied to the territorial subdivisions of administrative districts and has a quite different connotation from that with which it is used in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere.

[2] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, where these groups are described.

[3] For note, see next page.

[p. 5]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

7

HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 THE Luo ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

●131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 178 [197] The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

9: Owen M-5 (ca. 1920)1933 FL11 Luo FL11

FOOD PRODUCTION AND KINDRED MATTERS, AMONGST THE LUO.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

(Paper read at the 3rd Annual Scientific Meeting held in Nov., 1933.)

Soil.:

134 The production of food must necessarily be associated with knowledge of the soil. The principal soil varieties have been named by the Luo, and the methods appropriate to each variety are well known. Black cotton soil, called " anywang," occurs over a wide area, mainly around the lake shores, and is conspicuous in the locations of Uyoma, Karachwonya, Kasigunga and the Kano Plains. Red earth, called " lwala," is, speaking generally, found further back from the lake, on the higher lands, and is to be found over wide tracts in Central and South Kavirondo, a notable location being North Gem, in Central Kavirondo. Sandy soil, called " kwoyo," is generally found in the neighbourhood of outcrops of granite, which is a prominent feature in many parts. The locations of Asembo in Central Kavirondo, and Suna in South Kavirondo are good examples of areas where this sandy soil is abundant. Murram, called " gu " when solid and " ge " when disintegrated into a soil, occurs in places all over the country, Sakwa and Alego in particular providing many examples of it. Stony soil, called " kite," is to be found over large stretches, particularly in those neighbourhoods where escarpments rise from the regions round the lake. Though the labour involved in the cultivation of this stony soil is very great, where there is pressure of population, every available patch is made to produce food.

Rainfall:

132 Over certain sections of the country rainfall is very uncertain. The worst locations in this respect are lower Seme, Uyoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, parts of Asembo, Mirunda, Kasigunga and Rusinga. In other districts rainfall is abundant, running from forty to sixty five inches in the year, well distributed over the months, with the exception of January and early February. January is reckoned to be the driest [524] month of the year, and is the month when there is most relaxation from agricultural operations, this being the favourite time for the inter-clan wrestling matches.

789 Contrary to what many would expect, amongst people who
782 periodically suffer from lack of rain, the Luo have developed no system
776b of rain makers. At the top of Usenge Hill in Kadimo, there is still to be seen a site marked by a collection of votive pots, where the local

[pp. 1-107 not processed]

THE LUO OF KENYA

GENERAL(4)

[101] ●133 The Luo; or Nilotic Kavirondo, inhabit the territories bordering Victoria Nyanza, north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf. Kavirondo is in the south, a flat plain relieved by a few rocky tors and ridges upon which the people build their homesteads; in the north the country is hilly. The rolling, grassy savannahs, the swamps, numerous water-courses and patches of thornwood forest make it comparable to the environments of the other more northern Nilotic tribal groups.

105 The country is suitable for pastoral and agricultural activities, and the lake is rich in fish. The people are mainly agricultural and grain foods form the chief part of their diet. Cattle, sheep and goats are kept. Cattle are the chief criterion of wealth. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to have anything to do with them and there is every indication that cattle enter into the social life of the people to the same degree as among the Nuer and Dinka. Fishing plays a large part in

(1) Driberg, *The Lango*, 1923, pp.148-52.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.152. (3) *Ibid.*, pp.166-7.
(4) Except for three articles by Evans-Pritchard, there is practically no information on the Luo of Kenya.

[p.108]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakac, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo, and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu, Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoc, and Sakwa. The other locations on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location) and the Mohoru; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the Kasigunga, Kaksingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are fraternal to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them *'Jamwa'* or *'Langu'*. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Waholo, who speak both Luo and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokakan lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Kamageta tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulu and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in those areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Seme, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thornwood savannah plain with patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Seme takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

HOBLEY. EASTERN UGANDA. Plate I.

Map of KAVIRONDO and neighbouring country, Brit. E. Africa, showing racial distribution.

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Bartholomew & Stanford.

[End Map and plate I]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

End plate II
[plates III-V have been omitted]

Collotype H. KLEINMANN & Co Photo by WINSCH, Nairobi

Panoramic view of Kisumre & E. shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza

The bay in foreground is the port at the terminus of the Nyanza Bay

226 trying to work their way into these channels get caught in the traps. On leaving the end of Kach Bay we made for the mouth of the Miriu river. On the way we were much interested in the performances of
136 a kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) which flew for some time parallel to the boat and a considerable height above the water. At intervals it would spot a fish, poise itself for a second or two, then drop like a stone perpendicularly into the Lake beak first with a splash, to rise again almost immediately and continue its flight. The Miriu is known
133 higher up as the Kipsonoi and Sondo, but is called the Miriu when it passes through the gorge in the escarpment and comes out into the Lake plain. From there it runs through the level country at first between high solid banks, but as it nears the Lake these disappear and are succeeded by dense papyrus swamps. The channel is exceedingly tortuous, in some cases nearly doubling back on itself, and the total distance from the gorge to the Lake is about seven miles. We took the boat about five or six miles up till we grounded on a sandy spot
136 after which we returned down stream. Several crocodiles (Dholuo, Nuang) were sighted on the way up and one varanus (Kalaguena) which is said to eat fish. When we started to float down with the engine running very quietly, we saw more crocodiles lying out on the mud banks, especially on the higher reaches of the river.

These reptiles must destroy vast quantities of fish and as very few of them are shot they are presumably increasing. It took about an hour to get back to the mouth of the river and two hours from there to Kisumu. I saw no otters (Dholuo, Mandoholo) on this trip. Some years ago I saw two swimming in the Miriu river.

The following are the names of the various fish found in the Lake, with a brief description of each of those I have seen. The list has no claim to be exhaustive.

(1) SUMA. A big fish with a nose and mouth like a trunk. Inhabits the Lake. It is not very popular as food. It is rarely taken in nets or on hooks. A few are taken in traps.
[753] Scales very small. Has firm flesh. The natives think that they get itch from eating it. —*Mormyrus sp.*

(2) NGEGE. A carp-like fish. Firm flesh which lasts well. This is the principal food fish of the Kavirondo Gulf and is sent to Nairobi in considerable quantities. It is extremely like the Mbiru. —*Tilapia sp.*

(3) MBIRU. A good eating fish and very difficult to distinguish from the Ngege. The only difference appears to be that it is a bit darker and the tops of the spine are reddish. It does not keep fresh so long. A small variety of this fish, possibly its fry, is called Obudi. —*Tilapia variabilis.*

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

482
415
291
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Peter Hill

THE END OF A MARKET DAY

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

THE RELUCTANT LUO

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

'The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *m'guru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

9: Owen M-5 (ca. 1920)1933 FL11 Luo FL11

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III

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Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

question of bribery and corruption crops up everywhere and all concerned on the official side recognize it as their deepest enemy. But when I put Mr. Ayan's points to them they were a little sceptical. 'Of course there is bribery,' they said, 'but it is not as bad as that. And it is not the people who oppose land reforms, it is the politicians.' Mr. Ayan had just sent a telegram to the Governor asking for the removal of the 'reactionary D.C.' in Kisumu, so relations were naturally a bit strained.

VI

On the way to Maseno we had passed the ostensible *casus belli* between District Council and Government: the Kisiani hills, a barren, rocky bluff entirely denuded of vegetation and a scene of the most gruesome erosion, given over to goats browsing on boulders and any indomitable weed that had managed to germinate. This place had been leased by the District Council to the Government for the purpose of afforestation and about 800 acres of trees had been planted at a cost of £13,000.

Afforestation is unpopular. Goats were allowed to destroy the Kisiani seedlings and, when the forest department put up fences, people came and tore them down in the night. Others started to cultivate in defiance not only of the terms of the lease, but of regulations which forbid cultivation on steep hillsides. All this, in the official view, was part of a deliberate political campaign to stir up anti-Government feeling.

The Kisiani quarrel brought to a head bad feeling between the Central Nyanza District Council and the Government. All the Councillors are African save for the chairman, who is the D.C. Most of its senior technical staff are European and, in particular, it employs (as do all District Councils with large revenues) a fully qualified accountant to manage its finances.

Those elected Councillors most anxious for unrestricted freedom objected strongly to this accountant. Africans, they said, should have the spending of African money without European interference. Officials retorted that in proper,

228 Kadimu, and Karachonya are the best fishing grounds. Fewer fish are said to be caught during the full moon and the takes are greater when the nights are dark and rainy.

The boats put out 10 to 20 nets each, *i.e.*, 1,000 to 2,000 yards. During the building of the Elderet Railway one European who supplied fish to the labourers manipulated up to 8,000 yards of nets.

227 The 5 to 5½ inch mesh takes the Ngege, Mbiru, Mumi, Kamongo, Seu, Soma, and sometimes Sira. Occasionally a net of a 3 inch mesh
228 is used and this takes the Ningu, Sira, and Onega.

These nets run on a coir rope top and bottom. The top is supported by corks and the bottom weighted with iron rings. They only catch fish while drifting and any check through catching on an obstruction will render them useless. The nets are often damaged by floating islands, boats, and crocodiles.

FISHING CENTRES:

There are three Indian fishing villages in the Gulf, at Seme, Asembo, and Nanga. The last is only three miles south of Kisumu and is the only one near enough to supply fish for the Nairobi market.

MARKETING AND COST:

228 The fish for the Nairobi market are brought in by natives in sacks
935 on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. They are cleaned by Kavirondo women under a tree on the Lee shore near the station and are packed in ice and despatched to Nairobi by the 2-25 p.m. train. The Kavirondo women obtain the entrails as their perquisites and the Indian who superintends takes the gills which appear to be regarded as a delicacy and are extracted before the fish are packed. The fish are packed in ice in large chests. The ice costs 18 cents a pound and one pound is required for each fish. The freight to Nairobi is Shs 3/50 per 100 lbs. Together with the other incidental expenses it costs about 25 cents to send a fish to Nairobi. When the fish are plentiful the usual price is 25 cents a fish in Kisumu market.

ADVERSE TIMES FOR FISHING.

228 The months April to August are not good fishing months and during these months the natives entirely give up fishing in the Lake with drag nets and confine themselves almost entirely to catching fish in the river weirs (Kek).

SPAWNING:

136 Most of the Lake fish spawn in May, June and July. Carp (Ngege and Mbiru) are plentiful during the other nine months. The carp (Kavirondo Ngege) spawn in shallow water with sandy bottom at a depth of 3 to 5 ft., and are thus immune from capture by nets which cannot be used in such shallow spots. They do not spawn in the Gulf except in rare cases but choose the spawning

136 beds near the Islands where the bottom is sandy. The female scoops out a circular hole and deposits the eggs and the male then fertilises them and takes charge hanging over the nest and keeping away sediment by the action of the fins and tail till the young hatch out. This fanning motion keeps fresh water passing over the eggs.

It seems probable that the fish come up the Gulf to spawn and are then caught. A continuance of this year after year may be exterminating the Gulf fish. There is not any close season under the Ordinance. It is possible that the natives catch fry near to the shore under the impression that they are full-grown fish of a small type.

It will be noted that there is a certain amount of divergence of opinion as to where the fish spawn. My authority for stating that they do not spawn in the Gulf is Mr. Oorloff, ex-Government Assistant Surgeon, who is a local authority on Lake Victoria fish.

DECLINE OF INDUSTRY: DIMINISHING CATCHES.

228 433 There appears to be no doubt whatever that fish taken in the Lake are decreasing and various reasons have been brought forward to account for this. Mr. Acton, Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy, dealt with this in his annual report report for 1923 and the figures he gave are of interest and worth quoting:

Year.	Sum collected for licences.	Average retail price of fish.
	Shs.	Cents.
1917-18	16,850 ...	60
1918-19	14,530 ...	70 to Shs. 1/-
1919-20	19,850 ...	50 to 75
1920-21	19,200 ...	50
1921 (9 months) ...	16,800 ...	40 to 25
1922	9,900 ...	25
1923	8,120 ...	25

The following are the corresponding figures for the subsequent years:

1924	8,700
1925	10,500
1926	8,250
1927 to 31/5/27 ...	5,700

He states as follows: " During 1923 the fishermen appeared to have great difficulty in paying the annual licence of Shs. 300/- and although given a good deal of time in which to pay most of them had to be summoned to force payment.

361
162

South Kavirondo.

Karachonya	...	...	...	21,105
Kochia	...	...	...	7,827
Kaniaća	...	...	...	9,579
Kasigunga	...	...	...	2,442
Kakzingiri	...	...	...	1,463
Gwasi	...	...	...	5,390
Karungu	...	...	...	2,569
Kadem	...	...	...	11,145
Moburu	...	...	...	771
Rusinga (Island)	...	...	...	2,099
Mfwangano (Island)	...	...	...	1,792
				65,682

Brief Account of Visit to Kach Bay.

226 The following short account of a trip round Kach Bay and up the Miriu river may be of interest as showing different methods of fishing followed by the Lake shore Jaluo. I had arranged with the son of Chief Amimo of Kanu to go and see the fish being taken out of the basket traps at the weirs at the mouth of the Kibos river and at 6-30 a.m. on May the 29th started off from the Dhow Pier with B. in the Government Motor Boat. It took us about one hour to get to the mouth of the river and on the way we saw the fishing fleet coming back with the night's catch to Nanga fishing station. We ran the motor boat a few yards up the river mouth and landed and the boy lit a fire and prepared breakfast. While waiting we watched the various fish-eating birds which were very numerous. The ordinary 136 Darter Anhinja rufa (Dholuo, Osoo) was there in large numbers. This bird goes right down under the water after the fish. It is said to capture the Fulu, Adel, and Osoga. An occasional cormorant (Dholuo, Kwasi) was to be seen and one or two storks (Dholuo, Okol) while numerous birds like seagulls and terns (Dholuo, Sialo) were flying about and occasionally dipping down into the water to capture a small fish.

The most remarkable birds however were the pelicans, *Pelecanus onocrotalus* (Dholuo, Mbuzi) which were floating quietly about and occasionally dipping their enormous beaks into the water and then raising them skyward to allow the unfortunate victim to slip down their throat more easily. Large numbers of kingfishers, *Ceryle rudis* and *Corythornis cristatus* (Dholuo, Kalamendi) were also seen. The empty shells of numerous fresh water snails (Dholuo, Ogongolo) strewed the shore, which was very sandy. While we were waiting a native brought up a small fish trap (Dholuo, Musathi) which he had just taken out of a ditch running into the Lake. This contained five

small fish: two Adel about four inches long, two Sire and one Ningu. We were also shown two small eels (Akunga). When breakfast was finished we walked up to see the big weir across the river. It was about 50 yards from the mouth and stretched from bank to bank in a zig-zag line. It was made of rough poles driven into the sandy bottom of the river which was very sluggish at this point. Numerous gaps had been left in the barrier and above every gap facing down stream was fastened a fish trap (Musathi) of which there were about 30 or 40 in all. By this time numerous natives had collected together and several rafts had been brought down to assist in lifting up the traps. These rafts were of several kinds. One kind consisted of long thin poles of very light ambatch (Dholuo, Mburi) wood fastened together. This wood, when dry, is as light as cork and is used for floats for the Mugondo, or stationary lines, and also by the Mohuru natives for floating their hippopotami harpoons. The second raft was a large square frame about 12 ft. by 5 ft. made of poles fastened together three deep by iron rods. The floor appeared to be made of some sort of matting. This raft, as it appeared to be the safest, we chose to stand on while watching the fish traps being taken up. The raft was tied up to the top side of the weir while two natives went into the water which was up to their shoulders and unfastened the traps one by one. When they were undone the native who was with us on the raft pulled the trap out of the water with the mouth up and the fish that were inside slipped to the end of the cone. When he got it on the raft he turned it the other way up and the fish could then be pulled out where the inner basket was fastened to the outer one at the mouth. The fish were then put into a receptacle of matting work for safe keeping called Ngaha. We watched 20 of these baskets being taken out and the following is a record of the catch in each basket. I was informed that these catches were very very small compared with what is usually taken in the months when fish are plentiful.

136 ● 226 226 501 226

It is noteworthy that only one of the 20 baskets drew a complete blank and in one other both the fish Ngege were dead.

1st trap	1 Mumi	11th trap	5 Ngege
2nd ,, ...	2 Ngege	12th ,, ...	1 Ngege
3rd ,, ...	1 Ngege	13th ,, ...	9 Ngege
4th ,, ...	1 Ngege	14th ,, ...	3 Ngege
5th ,, ...	1 Ngege	15th ,, ...	1 Ngege
6th ,, ...	1 Mbiru	16th ,, ...	3 Ngege
	1 Ningu	17th ,, ...	Empty
7th ,, ...	1 Ngege	18th ,, ...	2 Ngege
8th ,, ...	1 Sire		1 Mbiru
	3 Ngege	19th ,, ...	1 Ngege
9th ,, ...	1 Ngege	20th ,, ...	1 Ngege
10th ,, ...	2 Ngege		

226 trying to work their way into these channels get caught in the traps. On leaving the end of Kach Bay we made for the mouth of the Miriu river. On the way we were much interested in the performances of
136 a kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) which flew for some time parallel to the boat and a considerable height above the water. At intervals it would spot a fish, poise itself for a second or two, then drop like a stone perpendicularly into the Lake beak first with a splash, to rise again almost immediately and continue its flight. The Miriu is known
133 higher up as the Kipsonoi and Sondo, but is called the Miriu when it passes through the gorge in the escarpment and comes out into the Lake plain. From there it runs through the level country at first between high solid banks, but as it nears the Lake these disappear and are succeeded by dense papyrus swamps. The channel is exceedingly tortuous, in some cases nearly doubling back on itself, and the total distance from the gorge to the Lake is about seven miles. We took the boat about five or six miles up till we grounded on a sandy spot
136 after which we returned down stream. Several crocodiles (Dholuo, Nuang) were sighted on the way up and one varanus (Kalaguena) which is said to eat fish. When we started to float down with the engine running very quietly, we saw more crocodiles lying out on the mud banks, especially on the higher reaches of the river.

These reptiles must destroy vast quantities of fish and as very few of them are shot they are presumably increasing. It took about an hour to get back to the mouth of the river and two hours from there to Kisumu. I saw no otters (Dholuo, Mandoholo) on this trip. Some years ago I saw two swimming in the Miriu river.

The following are the names of the various fish found in the Lake, with a brief description of each of those I have seen. The list has no claim to be exhaustive.

(1) Sowa. A big fish with a nose and mouth like a trunk. Inhabits the Lake. It is not very popular as food. It is
[783] rarely taken in nets or on hooks. A few are taken in traps. Scales very small. Has firm flesh. The natives think that they get rich from eating it. —*Mormyrus sp.*

(2) Nyasa. A carp-like fish. Firm flesh which lasts well. This is the principal food fish of the Kavirondo Gulf and is sent to Nairobi in considerable quantities. It is extremely like the Mbiru. —*Tilapia sp.*

(3) Mbasa. A good eating fish and very difficult to distinguish from the Ngege. The only difference appears to be that it is a bit darker and the tops of the spine are reddish. It does not keep fresh so long. A small variety of this fish, possibly its fry, is called Obodi. —*Tilapia variabilis.*

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

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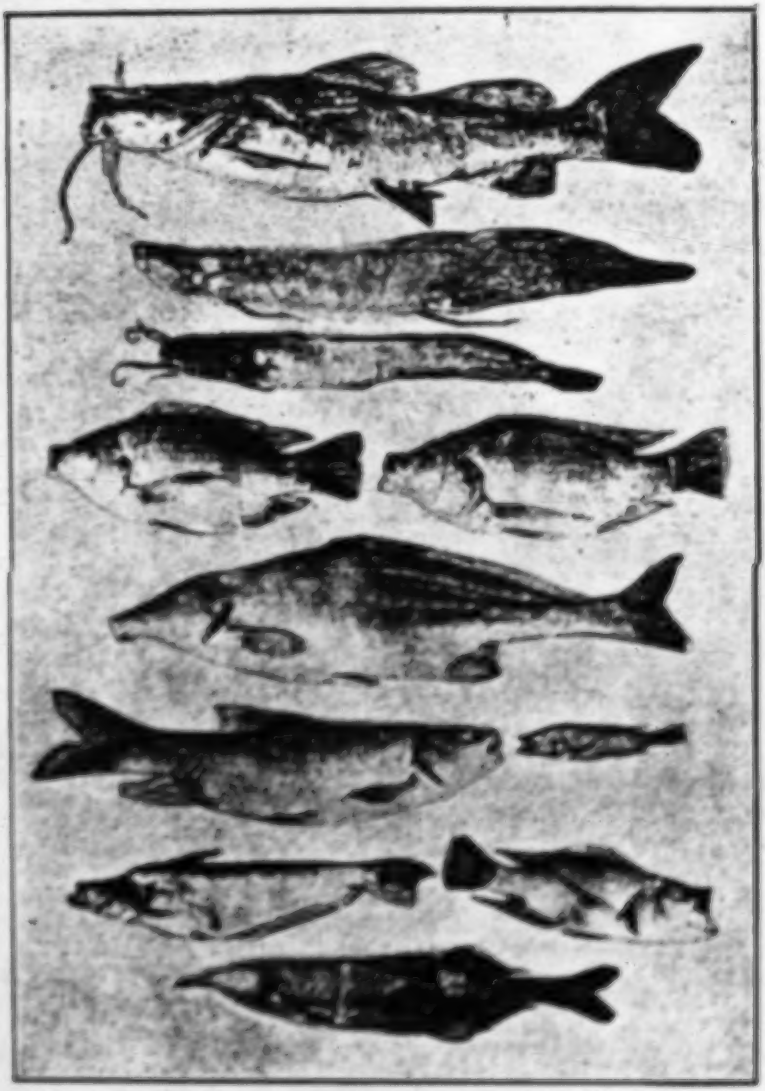

Photo by C. M. Dobbs.

FISH FROM KAVIRONDO GULF.

1. Sea (*Bagrus docmac*).
2. Kamongo (*Protopterus æthiopicus*).
3. Mumi (*Clarias mossambicus*).
4. Ngege (*Tilapia sp.*). 5. Mbira (*Tilapia variabilis*).
6. Soma (*Mormyrus sp.*).
7. Fwani (*Barbus radiolifi*). 8. Fulu (*Haplochromis sp.*).
9. Sico (*Schilbe sp.*). 10. Osondapore (*Haplochromis sp.*).
11. Ondhuri (*Gnathonemus longibirbis*).

[facing p.107]

136 (4) KAMONGO (Swahili, Mamba). This is the Lung fish *Protopterus æthiopicus*. It is a mud fish and can live out of water in mud for months. The natives are fond of this fish. It breeds in papyrus swamp. When caught it utters a grunting sound. It is not eaten by Mohammedans. Lives in Lake and rivers.

(5) FULO. A small fish. Lives in Lake and rivers.
—*Haplochromis sp.?*

(6) SEU. A spined barbel. Has a big mouth with whiskers. Eats other fish. Grows very large. Takes meat or fish bait. Not very popular as food. Caught in the Lake. Not a very important fish. Only a few caught. —*Bagrus docmac.*

(7) FWANI. A yellow fish with big scales found often in rivers. Known as the Kisinja. This is the fish caught at the Jinja Falls. A true Barbus. Inhabits the Lake and large rivers. Very bony and poor food. —*Barbus Radcliffi.*

(8) ONDHUMI. Found in Lake and rivers. Has a curious fleshy proboscis on the lower jaw. —*Gnathonemus longibirbis.*

(9) OKORO. No scales. Spotted. Upright fin on back. About 9-12 inches. Found in Lake and rivers. Edible.

(10) MUMI. The barbel of South Africa. Called in Swahili Kambare. Has a very flat head and grows very large. Eaten only by Africans. Eats other fish. Of no commercial importance. A mud fish. Will take bait.
—*Clarias mosambiacus.*

(11) NINGU. Has scales and is very bony. Only eaten by natives Caught in the Lake. The mouth is underneath.

(12) SIRE. Found in Lake and rivers. Edible. Has two deep depressions on each side and a hump on top. Has a shovel mouth. Something like a herring. Probably *Schilbe mystus*. Known also as the Butter fish. Breeds in the papyrus. Seldom caught in nets. Generally in fish traps. Said to be quite the best eating fish of Kavirondo waters, but not caught in commercial quantities and probably would not travel well. In season takes bait. When cured and smoked not unlike dried red herring. —*Schilbe.*

(13) OSONDOGORO. A scaly fish like a John Dory. Found in the Lake. Edible. —*Haplochromis sp.?*

(14) OSOGA. A small silvery fish. Caught along the Lake shore with rod and line. Edible. —*Alestes nurse*

(15) NYERA. Said to be the young of the Mumi. Very like the Nyawino but lighter.

136

(16) NYAWINO. Like the Nthira but does not grow big and is of a darker colour. Inhabits the Lake and rivers. Edible.

(17) NDERA. Small fieh found in the rivers.

(18) OMENA. A very small silvery fish caught in traps in the Lake. —*Engrauli cypris.*

(19) OYORA. Said to be the young of the Ngege.

(20) OBUDI. Said to be the young of the Mbiru.

(21) ADEL. A small scaled fish of silvery colour about four inches long.

There are other fish which I have not been able to see and cannot describe, but they are said to live in the Lake and rivers and to be edible. The names given are: Otenda, Adendi, Otengo, Nyangoro, Obu.

I have also seen small eels (Okunga), about a foot long, caught in the Lake. Crabs (Okela) and Oysters, and fresh water tortoise (Opuk) are also found.

For a good deal of the material embodied in this article I am indebted to reports made some years ago by Dr. Orloff and Mr. Blaney Percival and also for figures and information supplied by the Administrative Officers in Central and South Kavirondo and the Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy. The native names given are Dholuo (*i.e.*, the language spoken by the Jaluo Kavirondo except where otherwise stated. [129]

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop,
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a " medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high, which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms. In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
● 136 monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in, organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
136 disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts. This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

241 life of the countryside. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from
136 which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or
857 into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in
136 their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our
789 civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied [837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

578 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry
685 passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task [462 of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets 857] and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

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The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Collotype H. KLEINMANN & Co Photo by WEISCH, Nairobi

Kavirondo natives of Kitotos
Nilotic group or Ja-luo

The centre figure is an unmarried girl: the figures to right and left are married women
(Note decorated goat skin, sign of marriage)

[End plate VI]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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Arabchebki, Lumbwa Chief.

Oduu : Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

Gusungishu Warrior (Moran).

Ugada, Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

Cp 358 AJ

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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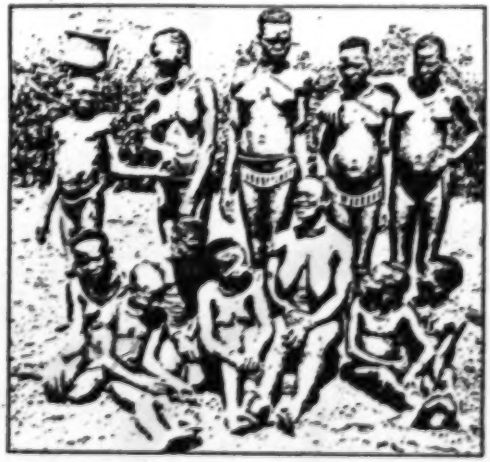
Jaluo Girl ; Kajulu Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Ketosh Woman (N. Bantu).



Kisumu Girls.

[p. 358 B]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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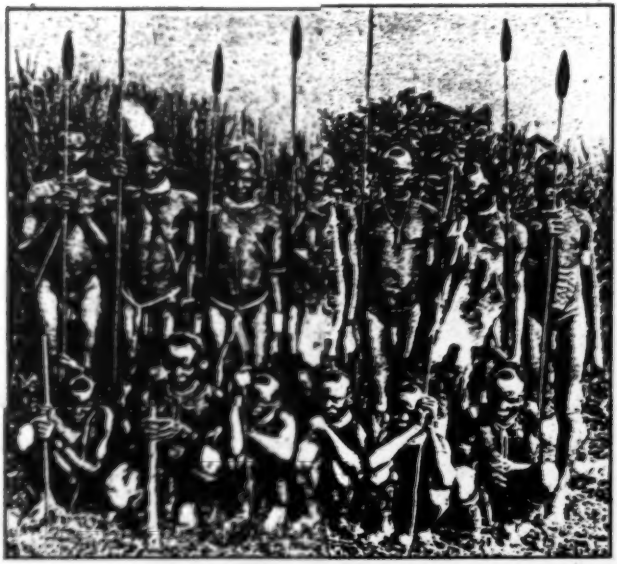

Kavirondo Warriors.

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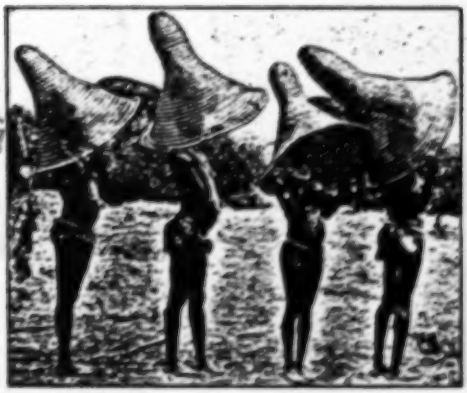

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karunga Warriors (Ja-Luo).

[p.358]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER XXV

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO AND THEIR COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT, MARRIAGE, BIRTH AND PUBERTY

The tribe and their district—origin of the tribe—chiefs as rulers—land tenure—the local chief as the magistrate of his village—courts and court fees—making peace between two sections of the tribe—theft—adultery—murder—inheritance—marriage customs—distinctive dress of married women—birth customs—birth of twins—initiation at puberty.

The tribe and their district. The Nilotic Kavirondo are so named to distinguish them from the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo. They are a branch of the great family known as Nilotic tribes or tribes of the Nile Valley, and are quite distinct in language and custom from Bantu tribes. This particular branch may be found extending southwards from Mount Elgon along the coast of Lake Victoria Nyanza into German territory. They are settled in groups of villages among the Bantu and yet are quite distinct from them and do not intermarry with them. The clans met with live chiefly in the hills bordering on Lake Victoria. The mornings and 291 evenings are comparatively cold in these hills, yet the people are absolutely destitute of clothing; indeed they consider clothing as indecent, and members who have been abroad and have adopted clothing are requested to put it away during their residence in their old homes. The features of the people ● 142 are more closely allied to those of the pastoral tribes than to the Bantu. In stature the men are not, however, quite so tall as the Bahima, few of them reach six feet, five feet six to five feet eight being more usual. Their frame is slim like that of the Bahima, and the nose inclined to have a bridge. Again their love for cows is stronger than that of the Bantu. The women are shorter than the men, they are slim and athletic, a stout woman being seldom found; this may be accounted for by the amount of exercise they take and their constant activity in the field and home.

[p. 275]
[pp. xi-xii, 1-274 not processed]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Plate XXII

L
142
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(1) Nilotic Kavirondo girls

B
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(2) Young women ready for initiation ceremony
(*Bagesu Tribe*)

[facing p. 276]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it.

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

[illegible] AND WIFE, [illegible]

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[i.e., a very bad omen; among the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (on p. 752-not processed). - Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4. 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

29% wears European trousers, he must have a piece of goat skin underneath. 5% Unmarried girls wear no clothes. Married women wear a tail of strings

[301 of 42]

[illegible]

behind. When they go to visit another village, they don a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which a curious and rather pretty pattern has been burnt with a red-hot stick. When a woman is married, she puts on

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

301 "nyalus." It is thought by some authorities that these have wandered down in past ages from the direction of Egypt—in fact, some of the

[illegible]

[illegible]

more northern Nilotic peoples declare that they came from the north or north-east. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads made considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills,

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

and that the beads were constantly being dropped and lost in the fields. After floods the loosened soil might expose to sight some of the beads which had thus been dropped or thrown away. The supply of these blue

439. A JA-LUO MAN WITH EAR-RINGS

beads is, of course, quite inadequate for the population, and many are making up for the scarcity now by using the ordinary blue beads of commerce.

The Ja-luo men often wear an armlet of threaded cylindrical wooden

14: Johnston G-4.5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

142
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[p.786]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Loc FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

When a person dies, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each one that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of mourning the women wear a string of beans tied round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadlai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they again became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding

[63] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

● 192 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably

[46] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1892, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather sweet cones, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the

241 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on

[30] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[51] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11
[PP.4-96 not Processed] Kikuyu FL10

CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10

I.—Blood Groups in some Kenya Tribes

By A. C. Allison, *Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford*, Elizabeth W. Ikin *and* A. E. Mourant, *both of the Blood Group Reference Laboratory (Medical Research Council), Lister Institute, London.*

This communication embodies the results of A,A$_2$BO, MNS, and Rh tests on the Luo and Kikuyu tribes of Kenya, together with P tests on the Kikuyu and ABO tests on the Masai. The specimens were collected as part of the anthropological investigation carried out while one author (A.C.A.) was a member of the Oxford University Mount Kenya Expedition, 1949.

The only previous anthropological blood group study carried out in this area is the work of Elsdon-Dew (1939) on the ABO groups of some East African native populations.

The Luo and Kikuyu are two of the largest tribes in the country and although neither is "racially pure" they differ in language and custom and are generally believed to differ in origin. The Luo may be taken as representative of the Nilotic group and the Kikuyu of the Eastern Bantu.

The subjects were hospital patients and groups of labourers, the Luo from Nairobi and Nakuru districts, the Kikuyu from Nairobi, Kiamba and Embu districts. Individuals who were tested were unrelated to one another and were not aware of having any forebears from other tribes. Specimens were taken in the form of clotted blood by means of "Venules" and sent by air to London. Specimens were taken without mishap or complication from 128 Luo and 124 Kikuyu. Specimens were also taken from a further 61 Luo and 111 Kikuyu, but owing to an unsatisfactory system of labelling became mixed in transit. As will be shown below, the Luo and the Kikuyu differ little in their blood group frequencies and the mixed specimens differ little from either of the pure batches. Moreover, the total number of

[p. 55b]

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MNS and Rh tests recorded for Africans is very small. It has therefore been thought desirable to place on record the results of our tests on these mixed specimens as representing a general and not highly heterogeneous sample of the East African native population.

The specimens arrived in London in good condition in about three days. Tests for the ABO system were done with anti-A, anti-A_1 and anti-B. Rh tests were done with anti-C, anti-D, anti-E and anti-c. All E positive bloods were tested with anti-e, and all bloods negative with saline anti-D were tested for the D^u antigen by means of an indirect Coombs test with "incomplete" or albumin-agglutinating anti-D. Dr. K. Henningsen, of Copenhagen, was visiting the Laboratory and tested 66 Kikuyu bloods for P by the elaborate and highly accurate method which he has devised for detecting this difficult antigen, with results which he has recently published (Henningsen, 1950). In addition, ABO grouping was carried out in the field near Magadi on 233 Masai tribesmen.

The methods used in the gene frequency calculations are based on the accepted theories of the genetics of the respective blood group systems, which are conveniently set out in the chapters on the various systems by Race and Sanger (1950). The details of the methods are too complicated to set out within the limits of a paper such as this, but will shortly be published in full by Mourant (1953).

For the ABO system the methods are based on the corrected method of Bernstein (1930). For the MNS system the total frequencies of the M and N genes are calculated by the gene adding method (e.g. $\overline{M} = \overline{MM} + \frac{1}{2}\overline{MN}$) and the total S frequency thus:

$$\overline{S} = 1 - \sqrt{MsMs + MsNs + NsNs}$$

This value for $\overline{S}$ is then divided up between $\overline{MS}$ and $\overline{NS}$ in proportion to values for $\overline{MS}$ and $\overline{NS}$ derived separately from the values of $\overline{MMS}$ and $\overline{MsMs}$; and of $\overline{NNS}$ and $\overline{NsNs}$.

For the Rh system the total frequency of the C

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[p. 550]

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gene (which is the sum of the frequencies of the chromosomes carrying C) is obtained by gene adding methods:

$$\overline{C} = \overline{CC} + \tfrac{1}{2}\overline{Cc}$$

$\overline{E}$ is obtained similarly.

If, as in all these samples, recognizable genotypes containing CDE and CdE are absent, then:

$$\overline{cde} + \overline{cD^{e}e} + \overline{cDe} = 1 - (\overline{C} + \overline{E})$$

Provisional separate values for these three chromosome frequencies are obtained by square root formulae involving the frequencies of the phenotypes ccddee, $ccD^{e}ee$ and ccDee, and the resultant values are adjusted proportionally so that their sum is that already obtained. The frequencies of the rarer chromosomes are then obtained from these basic values by further equations based on the simple genetical rules, e.g.

$$Cde = \frac{\overline{Ccddee}}{2\ cde}$$

In certain cases, such as that of the Luo, it has been necessary to devise further equations, based on the same principles, to meet special eventualities.

The good agreement between the observed phenotype frequencies and the expected frequencies calculated from those of the genes are evidence of the general accuracy of the serological tests and the homogeneity of the populations tested. The deficiency of AB among the Masai, as compared with the expected number, is probably due to a small number of A_2B bloods having been taken for B, an error difficult to avoid under field conditions. Since both on internal and on external evidence the mixed series of Luo and Kikuyu specimens was probably not highly heterogeneous from a blood group standpoint, and since gene frequencies are of great help in comparing one population with another, this series has been treated as though homogeneous, and gene frequencies calculated as for the others.

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TABLE I. *The ABO Blood Groups of the Luo*

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	58	0·4531	0·4715	60·59
A_1	24	0·1875	0·1700	22·52
A_2	8	0·0625	0·0512	6·55
B	35	0·2734	0·2507	32·09
A_1B	3	0·0234	0·0367	4·70
A_2B	0	0·0000	0·0118	1·51
	128	0·9999	0·9999	127·96

[p.56a]

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Gene frequencies

O	0·6881
A_1	0·1127
A_2 .. .	0·0362
B	0·1629
	0·9999

TABLE II. *The MNS Blood Group Frequencies of the Luo*

Phenotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
MMS	11	0·0859	0·0923	11·82
MsMs	19	0·1484	0·1655	21·19
MNS	28	0·2187	0·2039	26·10
MsNs	42	0·3281	0·2959	37·88
NNS	13	0·1016	0·1100	14·08
NsNs	15	0·1172	0·1323	16·93
	128	0·9999	0·9999	128·00

Chromosome frequencies

MS	0·1010
Ms	0·4068
NS	0·1285
Ns	0·3637
	1·0000

TABLE III. *The Rh Blood Group Frequencies of the Luo*

Phenotype	Commonest genotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
ccDee	R_oR_o	103	0·8047	0·8134	104·11
CcDee	R_oR'	11	0·0859	0·0766	9·81
ccDEe	R_oR''	11	0·0859	0·0766	9·81
ccD^{u}ee	R^u_or	1	0·0078	0·0062	0·79
CcD^{u}ee	R^u_oR'	1	0·0078	0·0044	0·57
ccddEe	R_r	1	0·0078	0·0039	0·50
ccD^{u}Ee	R^u_oR''	0	0·0000	0·0044	0·57
ccddee	rr	0	0·0000	0·0017	0·22
Ccddee	$R'r$	0	0·0000	0·0039	0·50
CCddee	$R'R'$	0	0·0000	0·0022	0·28
CcddEe	$R'R''$	0	0·0000	0·0044	0·56
ccddEE	$R''R''$	0	0·0000	0·0022	0·28
		128	0·9999	0·9999	128·00

Chromosome frequencies

R_o	cDe	.. ..	0·8174
R^u_o	cD^{u}e	..	0·0474
r	cde	.. ..	0·0415
R'	CDe	.. ..	0·0469
R''	cdE	.. ..	0·0469
			1·0001

[p.566]

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Chromosome frequencies

R_o	cDe	0·6159
R_1	CDe	0·0654
R_2	cDE	0·0645
R'	cDe	0·0942
R'	Cde	0·0313
r	cde	0·1287
		1·0000

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TABLE VII. *The ABO Blood Groups of a Mixed Series of* 61 *Luo and* 111 *Kikuyu*

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	87	0·5058	0·5106	87·82
A_1	31	0·1802	0·1749	30·09
A_2	11	0·0640	0·0640	11·01
B	37	0·2151	0·2099	36·09
A_1B	4	0·0233	0·0289	4·97
A_2B	2	0·0116	0·0117	2·01
	172	1·0000	1·0000	171·99

Gene frequencies

O	.. .. ..	0·7145
A_1	.. ..	0·1077
A_2	.. ..	0·0435
B	.. .. ..	0·1342
		0·9999

TABLE VIII. *The MNS Blood Groups of a Mixed Series of* 61 *Luo and* 111 *Kikuyu*

Phenotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
MMS	29	0·1686	0·1458	25·09
MsMs	21	0·1221	0·1310	22·53
MNS	34	0·1977	0·2370	40·76
MsNs	47	0·2733	0·2616	45·00
NNS	19	0·1105	0·0939	16·15
NsNs	22	0·1279	0·1306	22·47
	172	1·0001	0·9999	172·00

Chromosome frequencies

MS	.. ..	0·1642
Ms	.. ..	0·3619
NS	.. ..	0·1124
Ns	.. ..	0·3614
		0·9999

[p.57b]

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TABLE IX. *The Rh Blood Groups of a Mixed Series of* 61 *Luo and* 111 *Kikuyu*

Phenotype	Commonest genotype	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
ccDee	R_0R_0	97	0·5640	0·5793	99·65
CcDee .	R_1R_0	24	0·1395	0·1325	22·79
CCDee	R_1R_1	2	0·0116	0·0074	1·27
ccDEe	R_2R_0	35	0·2035	0·1743	29·98
ccDEE	R_2R_2	1	0·0058	0·0127	2·18
CcDEe	R_1R_2	1	0·0058	0·0194	3·33
ccD^{u}ee	R^u_0r	3	0·0174	0·0179	3·08
ccddee	rr	7	0·0407	0·0418	7·19
Ccddee	R′r	1	0·0058	0·0058	1·00
ccddEe	R″r	1	0·0058	0·0058	1·00
CcD^u e	R^u_0R'	0	0·0000	0·0011	0·20
ccD^{u}Ee	R^u_0R''	0	0·0000	0·0011	0·20
CCddee	R′R′	0	0·0000	0·0002	0·03
CcddEe	R′R″	0	0·0000	0·0004	0·07
ccddEE	R″R″	0	0·0000	0·0002	0·03
		172	0·9999	0·9999	172·00

Chromosome frequencies

R_0	cDe	0·5550
R_1	CDe	0·0730
R_2	cDE	0·0992
R^u_0	cD^{u}e ..	0·0399
r	cde	0·2045
R′	Cde	0·0142
R″	cdE	0·0142
		1·0000

K
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TABLE X. *The P Blood Groups of the Kikuyu*

	Number observed	Frequency
P-positive	64	0·970
P-negative	2	0·030
Total	66	1·000

Gene frequencies

P	.. .. ..	0·826
p	.. .. ..	0·174
Total	.. ..	1·000

M
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TABLE XI. *The ABO blood groups of the Masai*

Group	Number observed	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	112	0·4807	0·5034	117·29
A	47	0·2017	0·1762	41·05
B	71	0·3047	0·2800	65·24
AB	3	0·0129	0·0403	9·40
	233	1·0000	0·9999	232·98

[p.58a]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

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Gene frequencies

O .. .. .. 0·7095
A .. .. .. 0·11[illegible]
B .. .. .. 0·1[illegible]

M
L
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TABLE XII. *Colle[illegible]requencies : Kenya*

	Kikuyu	Luo	Mixed Series: Luo and Kikuyu	Masai
O	0·6882	0·6881	0·7145	0·7095
A_1	0·1113	0·1127	0·1077	} 0·1148
A_2	0·0661	0·0362	0·0435	
B	0·1343	0·1629	0·1342	0·1756
MS	0·2088	0·1010	0·1642	
Ms	0·3799	0·4068	0·3619	
NS	0·0841	0·1285	0·1124	
Ns	0·3272	0·3637	0·3614	
R_1 CDe	0·0654	—	0·0730	
R cDE	0·0645	—	0·0992	
R_2 cDe	0·6159	0·8174	0·5550	
R^0 cD^{u}e	0·0942	0·0474	0·0399	
r cde	0·1287	0·0415	0·2045	
R′ Cde	0·0313	0·0469	0·0142	
R″ cdE	—	0·0469	0·0142	

DISCUSSION

The ABO blood group frequencies of a large number of East African tribes have already been studied by Elsdon-Dew (1939). Readers who wish to obtain a general view of the distribution of the ABO groups in the region as a whole should consult that paper and especially charts 4 and 8. If the gene frequencies given in tables IV and XI of the present paper are interpolated in chart 4 their relationship to the rest of the region will be clearly seen as well as whether the differences from earlier data are statistically significant (on a basis of P=0·05). It should be noted, however, that we find a B frequency among the Luo significantly higher than that determined by Elsdon-Dew. His figures for ABO frequencies, based on the examination of 440 persons, are, of course, to be preferred to ours—or rather, the total observations should so be accepted as giving the best frequency estimate. For the Kikuyu, on the other hand, we find a significantly higher A frequency than Elsdon-Dew. Here, again, the combined results should give the best estimate. The Masai with their high B frequency appear unique in this part of Africa. Of Africans generally their ABO frequencies most

[p.58b]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

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resemble those of the Ankonde of Nyasaland who possibly contain an Asiatic strain. The high B frequency of the Masai cannot be explained in a simple manner as being derived from Egypt, since the Egyptians have a very high frequency of A as well as of B.

No previous determinations have been published of A_2 frequencies in East Africa, and indeed very few from Africa at all, but it is known, mainly from observations on American Negroes, that A_2 is about as common in Africans as in Europeans. Our observations confirm this.

The MNS results support the slowly growing mass of data showing that pure Africans generally have about equal M and N frequencies, and that the gene S is much rarer than in Europe and about equally divided between the M and N genes. The scattered data will shortly be collated and discussed by Mourant (1953).

The high P frequency found among the Kikuyu is similar to that found in all African populations that have been tested. The strength of P reactions varies widely from one individual to another in all populations, but in the Kikuyu as in other African populations the average strength of the P reactions is much greater than among non-Africans.

Twenty Luo were also tested for the Kidd or Jk^a antigen. All but one were found to be positive. Thus in this population as among West Africans the frequency of this antigen is much higher than among Europeans.

The Rh results are the most difficult to interpret, and especially those of the Luo. It is quite clear that the latter have a very high frequency of the chromosome cDe and a very low one (for Africa) of cde. However, though observed and calculated phenotype

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[B: bibliography - see also p. 59b]

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[p. 59a]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

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frequencies agree well, it cannot be said with certainty that all the C and E genes are, as assumed, in the respective combinations Cde and cdE; it is possible that the chromosomes CDe and cDE are present in the phenotypes CcDee and ccDEe. The Kikuyu Rh groups are easier to interpret. The chromosome cDe is still very abundant though less so than in the Luo, while cde remains rare.

The mixed series of specimens shows less extreme values for both cDe and cde than either of the pure series, suggesting that the extreme character of both of the latter series is in part an accident of sampling. Moreover, individual batches of specimens from different areas seemed to have characters of their own and, though these variations were scarcely significant statistically, it is possible that there is some heterogeneity of Rh constitution even within racial groups. Much more numerous tests must be done on both tribes before their Rh constitution can be clearly interpreted.

Taking all blood group systems into consideration, it is surprising to see how slight are the differences between the Nilotic Luo and the Eastern Bantu Kikuyu. From the present study and the results of Elsdon-Dew (1939) the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the East African native population (apart from the Masai and other Hamitic tribes) is, on the whole, fairly uniform.

Acknowledgements

TFD

Our thanks are due to colleagues in East Africa who facilitated the collection of the blood, and to Captain T. H. C. Allison who arranged the dispatch of several batches of specimens. We also wish to thank Miss P. J. Brooks and Miss K. E. Garner for skilled technical assistance in the numerous tests involved. The investigation was made possible by generous financial grants from the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Viking Fund, Inc., New York.

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[B. Wiggenphy – see also p. 59a]

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[p. 59b]

18: Allison et al. D-5 (1949) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10

I.—Blood Groups in some Kenya Tribes

By A. C. Allison, *Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford*, Elizabeth W. Ikin *and* A. E. Mourant, *both of the Blood Group Reference Laboratory (Medical Research Council), Lister Institute, London.*

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This communication embodies the results of A_1A_2BO, MNS, and Rh tests on the Luo and Kikuyu tribes of Kenya, together with P tests on the Kikuyu and ABO tests on the Masai. The specimens were collected as part of the anthropological investigation carried out while one author (A.C.A.) was a member of the Oxford University Mount Kenya Expedition, 1949.

The only previous anthropological blood group study carried out in this area is the work of Eladon-Dew (1939) on the ABO groups of some East African native populations.

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The Luo and Kikuyu are two of the largest tribes in the country and although neither is "racially pure" they differ in language and custom and are generally believed to differ in origin. The Luo may be taken as representative of the Nilotic group and the Kikuyu of the Eastern Bantu.

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The subjects were hospital patients and groups of labourers, the Luo from Nairobi and Nakuru districts, the Kikuyu from Nairobi, Kiamba and Embu districts. Individuals who were tested were unrelated to one another and were not aware of having any forebears from other tribes. Specimens were taken in the form of clotted blood by means of "Venules" and sent by air to London. Specimens were taken without mishap or complication from 128 Luo and 124 Kikuyu. Specimens were also taken from a further 61 Luo and 111 Kikuyu, but owing to an unsatisfactory system of labelling became mixed in transit. As will be shown below, the Luo and the Kikuyu differ little in their blood group frequencies and the mixed specimens differ little from either of the pure batches. Moreover, the total number of

[p. 55b]

585 gamous tribes the women should be contented with a system that
606 deprives them and their children of the exclusive care and attention of the husband and father. But it is easy to see that a young Luo wife might well be glad to share her claims with another in return for a lightening of her domestic burdens. A description of the full nature of these burdens does not lie within the scope of this paper. But I
145 might say here that they are in all cases extremely heavy. There is
461 little doubt that the premature ageing that is such a marked characteristic of the women in all primitive agricultural tribes such as the Luo, is due to the almost unremitting toil incidental to the early years of marriage and child-bearing even where the family circumstances are comparatively prosperous.

(To be continued.)

[the continuation of this article was never published. - Analyst]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[587] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[231] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

● 145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a healthy people.

226 The total catch of the 20 traps was therefore 20 Ngege, 1 Mumi, 2 Mbiru, 1 Ningu, and 1 Sire, *i.e.*, 45 fish in all.

We left the Kibos river at 9-30 and went on towards the end of Kach Bay seeing numerous fish eating birds on the way.

LINE WITH MULTIPLE HOOKS.

There were also quite a number of natives in canoes and one of these to whom we spoke was working a long line called by the Jaluo Mugondo. This is a very long line weighted at one end with a stone. At intervals along it are hooks fastened to the main line by short lengths of thinner line and baited with pieces of fish mostly Fulu. It is also buoyed at intervals by floats of embatch (Mburi) wood. The native in the canoe holds the other end. The hooks of some of these lines we saw were the ordinary barbed variety bought in the shops but one man had barbless hooks evidently locally made.

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They were very sharp and curved almost into a complete circle, while the point was slightly bent to one side. I tried to buy this line from the owner but he refused to part with it.

WEIRS AND TRAPS, NOT IN RIVERS.

Along the shore and end of Kach Bay, near the mouth of the Nyando river, we saw two other varieties of fish weirs called by the Jaluo Osugeru and Bwanza, something on the principle of the river weir (Kek).

The Osugeru resembles a maze and is made of papyrus stalks (Dholon, Tugo) driven into the bottom of the Lake and fastened together and forming a barrier through which the fish cannot pass. As far as I can discover the fish in the course of their peregrinations meet this barrier and move along it until they get caught in a suitably placed basket trap (Musathi). The Osugeru is as often as not entirely below the surface of the water and just outside the mouth of the Mirio River we came across a canoe and a raft containing two and one man respectively engaged in building this form of trap. We were informed that a fourth man was working on the Lake bottom pushing in the papyrus stalks. He eventually came up for air and it was amazing the amount of time he spent underneath.

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TRAPS AND ARTIFICIAL REEFS.

The Bwanza is also made of papyrus stalks. It is a small barrier built across little channels cut into the papyrus swamps or scooped out of the sandy shore either on the side of the Lake or on the river bank.

A small gap is left in the barrier, and basket traps are placed on the side away from the Lake or river as the case may be. The fish

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is nyieko, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, whom the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a panga in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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159 762 propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

762 159 556 759 The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

● 152 ## Suicide Case No. 9.

[587] The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as levirate wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *lihumbe*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

762 159 928 The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

mother against the child, the child's emotions of anger or suffering have the effect of reminding the mother of their physiological connection. When a mother is unable to pacify her crying child she generally feels a quite personal sense of depression.

On the other hand, signs of pleasure in a child give its mother the greatest satisfaction. If a child has a happy nature, even the most critical of neighbouring relatives are pleased, and frequently comment or compliment the mother upon it. The desire to share the emotions of her children leads a mother to begin laughing with them and tickling them while they are very young.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let
589 his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

585 Among the majority of young women an unwilling-
152 ness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violet outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

585 *The traditional ceremonies.* The news that a particular
[830] girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

585 177 [583] [152] demand very high dowries for their daughters. Like the traditional marriage it[1] is also accompanied by considerable emotional strain, felt more by the mother and female children than by the male members of the family.

[1] [i.e. Christian marriage -- Analyst]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

641 the time of their grandfathers are constantly brought for hearing, and the complications which ensue would bewilder the most legal mind.

153 The adaptability which they show in learning the lower stages of all kinds of work is a hopeful sign for the future. To the writer's knowledge they are now 463 employed as soldiers, sailors, police, masons, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, gardeners, and boys. In none of these occupations can they be said to excel at present, though at the head-quarters of the Kavirondo Province, Kisumu, the native sergeant instructor is a Jaluo and does his work very efficiently; but, on the other hand, it is only during the last four or five years' time that Kavirondo and the Jaluo have been taken seriously, and for this short time they show a great progress.

153 Combining as they do an undoubted industry and keen trading character with a surprising quickness to learn the lessons of civilisation, *e.g.*, their ready change from trade goods to cash in commercial matters or their almost immediate recognition of the advantages which may be gained by taking their disputes to the station for settlement, the Jaluo give us every reason to hope that in them we have a valuable subject race, the study and consideration of which will in a very few years bring to the Protectorate Government a great and enduring profit.

stages of class A segmentation in very quick succession: first, the separation of the descendants of Ogweno's second wife Gaya from those of his first wife Nyariro; second, the separation of the descendants of Awuor—the wife of Ogembo inherited after his death by his younger brother Onyango Adhanja—from the descendants of Onyango Adhanja's own wives; third, the separation of the descendants of Omolo from those of his brother Mboya; finally, the separation of the descendants of Omolo's two wives Ochich and Ojwang'. During all this process Kanyariro grew so slowly that it failed to segment at all. Of course, each new stage of segmentation does not destroy the groupings of the last, but raises their operation to a higher level. The fact that Kochich and Kojwang' split apart to form new *gwengo* does not destroy Komolo as a *gwengo*, but rather gives it a new importance as it is then no longer a minimal *dhoot* but has its own subordinate *dhoot*. So by an immense process of secular competitive elimination, certain households and homesteads of the past have given rise to *anyanle* segments which later achieved the status of *gwengo* and *dhoot*, and have finally been raised by successive stages of segmentation to their present level as maximal lineages. 613

But are the figures in these genealogies historical figures, and did these families really multiply and those stagnate, or are all the circumstantial details a *post facto* rationalisation of structural relations in terms of a lineage ideology? It seems on balance an easier hypothesis to suppose that there is a genuine element of truth in recorded genealogies and in recollections of recent events; that the omissions from and additions to factual history increase with time depth, and in proportion to the strength of motives for distortion and to the lack of endorsement of recollections of group events by frequent recapitulation in various social activities and embodiment in the pattern of territorial settlement, rather than to regard them purely as a mirage reflecting certain functions of the contemporary social structure. Genealogy is not myth, though it may well, and for the Luo certainly does, bridge the gap between an actual present and a mythical past. It is unlikely that a people, whose memory is shown by indubitable checks to be good (e.g. in the recollections of the coming of individual Europeans to Lookland more than fifty years ago, and of other known historical events of the same period), are wholly inaccurate in what they say about their immediate ancestors' activities in founding *gwengo* and about the descent of *gwengo* members from a paternal grandmother or grandfather. And if this is accepted there is no reason to throw much more doubt on the accounts of earlier ancestors, up to five or six generations back, where these conform to what is evidently true of more recent times. At the remoter genealogical levels the need for caution is obvious, and the stories told of first ancestors twelve to fourteen generations back are of a mythical type easily distinguishable from the more historical accounts of events and persons nearer in time. The Luo of Karachuonyo frankly admit that they know much less about their ancestors before they crossed over Kavirondo Gulf to their present territory about seven generations ago. From this time onward they can give endless details of ancestral activity, for mnemonics are provided by the topography itself and their continuous association with it; but before the crossing they have little to say of their ancestors except for those eponyms who are still of structural importance and who are the focus of a rich body of myth. I have, therefore, approached the account of the most recent levels of the lineage structure on

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11
[?24-96 not processed] K:Kikuyu FL10

CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

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THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

which is the infidelity of the spouse of the deceased, in the case of a child, by the adultery of its mother. Ritual cleansing of the members of the minor lineage is therefore necessary, as for kwer.

I mentioned above a classical case of homicide which illustrates what the Joluo regard as a calculated risk of the consequences. It deserves fuller analysis.

Case No. 1.

This case involved a group of nine related men. Only one of them was convicted, and he eventually was acquitted on appeal through lack of corroborative evidence.

A quarrel began between members of two major clans of the same tribe over the appointment of an assistant chief. The clan from which the assistant chief was appointed—we shall call it Jokath—is alleged to have taken advantage of the clan—which we shall call Jokech—which was unsuccessful. The clans feuded in every way, over land, cattle grazing and so on, until the elders of Jokech decided, as a warning in the ancestral way, that they should burn the hut of a leading elder of Jokath. This was done. The assistant chief arrested a member of clan Jokech, a person with whom he is alleged to have had a personal [illegible] and this man was convicted of the burning and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His sons fought hard and long to have him released on grounds of ill health and, when finally successful, took him home only to have him die shortly after. On his death bed, he made his sons swear to avenge his death.

Diviners and medicine men were consulted, and many methods were tried unsuccessfully for several years to bring clan Jokath to its knees and to bring about the death of the assistant chief who had by now retired.

All was not well with the affairs of Jokech clan. Each new catastrophe was taken as evidence of the malevolence of the ghost of the deceased because his death remained unavenged.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

*Homicide and Suicide among the Jo*luo *of Kenya*

Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *pakakowo* consulted the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *boambow* vine. The minimal lineage, *pakakowo*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Lee FL11

159 the murdered man, to mourn his death, to placate his spirit,
743 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
791 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pire*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most John will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
791 incident. This is not difficult in Lao society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his left and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

157 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
443 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out. 159 ● 683

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 40 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type. 595 661 683

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 40 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter. 682 273

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows. 159 683 684

Case No. 3.

In 1948, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcibly restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the clo-

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ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover. Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however, had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a panga and a knife. The lover was killed [illegible] husband charged with murder.

In this case, the [illegible] decided that this was manslaughter,

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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, when the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a panga in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 15 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

Male suicides in Lue usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Jobo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he was regarded as a junior

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was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful.

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the shrine, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree.

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the public and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white ewe-lamb and a black sheep.

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the public. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide

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was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jo-kilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear sections which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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in cattle, and had a permanent modern house at his homestead where four of his wives cultivated large gardens. His fifth wife lived with him at his place of employment. At the time of his suicide he was in the process of marrying a sixth wife whom, during one of the marriage ceremonies at her village, a brother of the bride objected to her becoming his wife. He charged that the man had already too many wives and could not look after them. As proof, he offered the evidence that his most recent wife, the fifth one, was no more than a prostitute and that he, himself, had used her on several occasions. This caused a fight in the village and quarrels which led to the exchange of many curses between the two groups, and therefore the wedding could never take place. The driver returned to his homestead to confront the wife named in the incident with the accusation and, in typical Luo fashion, she calmly admitted her guilt, chiding him to do something about it. He beat her severely and she ran from her house and spent the night in the bush. He brooded all night on what had happened and on the shame his wife had brought him. Moreover, he knew that he was shortly to be accused of fraudulent conversion of funds by the Government and would lose his job, if he did not end up in prison: neither of which were considered really serious. However, in his emotional state, these must be considered as contributory causes. He could see his whole world collapsing around him.

The next morning he sent his servant, a young lad, to the butcher's shop for meat in order to get him out of the way. He then hanged himself from the ceiling of his hut.

My Luo informants state with confidence that the primary cause of this suicide was the behavior of his wife, which had brought shame to a proud and successful man, so that he could no longer face his friends. The fact that the Government was interested in recovering a large sum of money which he was alleged to have used for his own purposes is, in my opinion however, a contributory factor.

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Suicide Case No. 4.

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A young lad aged about 23 years was being married to a girl from a neighboring location. He had paid a portion of bride-wealth and many of the early ceremonies had been performed. His bride had returned to her home as is the custom until he had paid the remainder of the bride-wealth. He went to his father-in-law to discuss the last and final payment, with his jaguen as witness, and the father-in-law agreed that a milch cow would complete the payment. He returned in high spirits to the home of his father and asked for the cow, stating that this was all the father-in-law demanded. His father told him that if he had not paid enough, then the father-in-law must be a bad man and the girl was not worth having. The father and the son quarreled, and during the quarrel the son threatened suicide if he did not get the animal. The next day the son took a cow by force, while his father was absent, and sent it off to his father-in-law by a group of herd boys. When the father returned, he was furious at what his son had done and went after the cow himself. He caught up with the boys and brought the cow back to the village.

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The son had warned his father that, if he should take this course, he would hang himself, and, as he saw the father returning in the distance, he hanged himself from a tree which stood just outside his father's village. This tree, as is the custom, was completely uprooted and destroyed.

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The next cases are two which were due to modern circumstances but which in a sense involve the loss of status and therefore brought shame to the individual.

Suicide Case No. 5.

A young man eloped with the wife of a Kikuyu in Nairobi, far from his homeland. Whereas in Luo customary law to run off with the wife of another man is not considered to be particularly serious, in Kikuyu customary law it is regarded as

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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

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An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

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159 762 propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

762 159 556 754 The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

152 ## Suicide Case No. 9.

[587] The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own Mumbo, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

762 159 828 The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

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9. This example is used time and time again by the Luo to prove the point that the tendency to commit suicide is inherited or caused by ancestors.

I was able to follow one particular series of events in connection with Luo marriage laws and customs over three years, which began with the elopement of a girl and her lover, and ended in suicide only a month before this chapter was written.

Marriage in Luo is traditionally arranged by the family of the boy and the family of the girl. Not infrequently, because of debt or close friendship, a father may promise his daughter in marriage to a friend or creditor while the girl is still very young. He obtains the animals to which he is entitled (*dho i kenyi*) approximately one half of the final bride-wealth, at that time and the girl is known as *nyar kiseke*, "the wife of the beer reed," as this arrangement is usually contracted and finalized at a beer party. So it was in the case we are about to describe.

Suicide Case No. 10.

The girl in this case had been promised by her father when she was but three years of age to a friend of his own age group. The father, Opio*, was a well educated Joluo, and by the time his daughter, Akoch, was ready to be taken in marriage, at the age of 18, he was employed as the headmaster of an intermediate school administered by a local mission. He had insisted that his daughter be educated to enhance the final payment (*dho mikahini*) of her bride-wealth. She was, for an African woman, a well educated girl. She had received a secondary school education where, in this particular segment of the Joluo tribe, fewer than 1 per cent of the girls have had as much education.

Akoch had been prepared for this event all her life. She knew her future husband and from a child, each time he visited

* All names are fictitious, but common Joluo names.

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762 the village, she would be teased and chided pleasantly about
159 the fact that he was her future husband. Perhaps she would
584 have been married sooner, had her future husband, Opala, not been employed in a city many hundreds of miles away. He returned on his long leave to consummate the marriage at the time when the girl had just finished her secondary education and was about 18 years of age.

While at school, however, Akoch had fallen in love with a teacher, Ohare, in a neighboring technical school and he was determined to marry her. He went to her father and pleaded to be allowed to repay the bride-wealth animals her father had received years before and to complete the bride-wealth payments to marry the girl by Luo law and custom. Opio adamantly refused, and her brothers threatened Ohare with physical violence if he should try to see the girl again. Ohare was heartbroken and returned to his place of employment. Akoch, however, had other ideas. When she was told that the date of her wedding had been fixed, she pleaded and tried every traditional way of breaking the marriage, but was unsuccessful. Her father and her prospective husband remained adamant.*

159 The night before the wedding, she ran away from home to
762 join Ohare at his place of employment. Both knew that they
584 would be pursued by the girl's brothers and by her father, as
684 they hired a car and fled to the boy's village in a distant Luo tribe, some 200 miles away. Her father, brothers and future husband pursued the lovers to Ohare's village where the father had him arrested for taking Akoch from his custody. Ohare's brothers, however, took the girl to Nairobi to hide her pending the result of the case. One of the brothers was then arrested for aiding and abetting the elopement.

Now the essence of this case goes to show that the father

[842] * By tradition, a girl may run off to the house of a "bride," thus to marry will produce sterility. She may climb a tree beside, as superfluous, which is believed to be closely associated with the ancestors. There are several other ways, all of which would cancel an ordinary wedding, but some is effective in the case of eger bride.

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wanted the best of two worlds. Traditionally, elopement (*por*) 159
is justified and is legal, albeit more difficult in cases of *nyar* 762
kinche, providing that the young man has stated his willingness 584
to pay bride-wealth and has been refused. Moreover, it is the 684
last remaining traditional way by which a young woman, forced to marry against her will, is able to break the arrangement. Today, however, because there are so many illegal unions, the African courts take a serious view of young men and women running off to the towns without the slightest intention of paying bride-wealth.

While Okare and his brother were retained in gaol, pending the case, the girl's father and her brothers went to Nairobi, where they found the girl after some difficulty and took her back to her village by force. There they married her to Opala and he, with two of her brothers, took her by force to the place of his employment which was in another territory nearly 700 miles away.

Opio, who was an influential man in his district, then pro- 762
ceeded with the case against Okare and his brother. The Court 159
decided in favor of Opio, ordered compensation for the ex- 684
penses he had incurred securing the return of his daughter. Okare and his brother were heavily fined for having taken the girl from the protection of her father. The compensation and the fine amounted to a very large sum of money and the boy appealed to the District Officer's Court. Pending the Appeal, he went to search for new employment at Nairobi. Akech, in the meantime, had arrived at the home of her husband in the far away city, only to find that he was already married and that his first wife, as a Christian, refused to have her in her home. Quarrels and arguments began in earnest, with the re- 584
sult that Opala had no alternative but to send the girl back to her father and to demand a divorce. Akech, however, did not go home but returned to Nairobi to Okare.

The father heard what had happened and, in the shame 762
and humiliation, hanged himself in a classroom at the school 159

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159 762 where he was headmaster. His final act was to write to all those involved in this series of incidents, which had taken nearly three years, to the effect that his daughter had killed him, that shame was brought to his clan and lineage, and that the liaison she had formed with Okore would end in disaster. He swore he would return in spirit to ensure that the marriage would end in failure.

159 762 558 747 It can be seen from this case that the difficult transition faced by even the most educated Christian Jaluo is complicated by the intense residual customary law and the attitudes of the people regarding the authority of a father and the duty of his daughter to this authority. The father in his case was a well educated, highly respected, important person in his district. The daughter, by her behavior, had humiliated him and he took recourse to indigenous rules and beliefs to solve his problems. They were initially successful. In the end, however, the threat to his status as a Christian of the fact that he had married his daughter by force to a Christian who was already married and therefore a bigamist in the eyes of the Church, brought shame and disaster to his social position as a Christian headmaster. His final act, however, was typically an indigenous one. He would not face the shame and humiliation brought to him by the course of events, so he took refuge in traditional recourse to suicide as a curse to the future happiness of those whom he thought had caused his grievance. To the end, therefore, he struggled to obtain the best of two worlds.

FEMALE SUICIDE

762 The most common cause of suicide among females is domestic quarrels and, coupled with that, the fear of physical violence from their husbands. Secondly, jealousy between co-wives, thirdly, the result of extreme grief, and finally, illness.

In the first category, out of the thirteen cases recorded from our sample, seven were of the domestic quarrel type. Of these, one was complicated by a curse from the husband, another

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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide.

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing."

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof.

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife.

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents.

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

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762. 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial deliberation she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 159 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Jolos.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

503 It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 159 595 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

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As in the previous case, the woman's family believed that she was murdered and the man's family believed that she committed suicide. It is difficult to say which version is true. It is extremely unusual, however, for a woman to kill herself with a knife, and I have not recorded another case. There was one case among the men, Number 6, but this was a modern "intellectual," who lived in a Council house with a plastered ceiling, which was hardly suitable for hanging in the traditional way.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier involving a woman's fear of the consequences of her son's behavior.

Suicide Case No. 16.

The woman in this case was the wife of a squatter who was a servant to an important Chief. The Chief helped him to get married to this woman, a local girl who was in fact related in some way to the Chief. After his establishment as an elder of the Chief, the polak became very wealthy and built his own village on a place allocated by the Chief. He married a second wife after the building of his village and, just before the case we are discussing, married a third wife. The first wife had many children, most of whom were daughters. At the time of her suicide, all but one had married and her house was very wealthy. The houses of the other two wives were therefore extremely jealous.

One day during the short rainy season, the owner of the village, the husband, wished to make a present of sim-sim to his Chief and headwife in order that he might pay the tax which at that time was calculated on the number of wives and also to pay the traditional tribute to the Chief. The woman's son at about that time invited a large number of guests to his village and demanded that his mother give him sim-sim with which to entertain them. She refused because she knew her husband intended to use the entire crop. The son disobeyed

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his mother and took the secrets by stealth. When the husband came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large portion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel between him and the boy's mother.

In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for selling, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body cursed it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked to bring hoes, axes, and pangas to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Lozi believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

The husband of this suicide had been having considerable trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her daughter with a young man who had neither paid bride-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

Homicide and Suicide among the Jolus of Kenya

the local prophet (jabilo). When he returned to the village from his visit to the jabilo, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okech, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apolo, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nurse-maid for their first child.*

* This is common practice among the Jolus and often the "nurse" (japiek) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters co-operate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the japiek will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a japiek, she becomes known as ayer sinoko, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same hut and trace descent through the older sister. The term sinoko is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son, if therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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African Homicide and Suicide

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Okech decided to marry the nursemaid but his wife adamantly refused to agree. Okech beat her severely and she ran home to her parents where she remained for several weeks. Her sister, Apolo, continued to live in the village and by now cohabited openly with the husband as if they were man and wife. The wife eventually returned and made an effort to accept the situation as it existed. The husband built Apolo her own house as the second wife (*nyachira*) in the customary place in the homestead, but had not paid bride-wealth. In fact, he had not completed (*riso*) bride-wealth of the first wife, which added tension to the situation.

All appeared to go well until one night Okech returned from a beer party and abused his wife. What was more serious, he went to the hut of Apolo to sleep although it was the customary period of the month when he should have gone to the house of his first wife.

Early the next morning, the wife visited the mother of my informant and insisted that she accept as a gift her cooking pot and other household utensils. Her excuse was that she had bought new ones. She returned to her house where she packed the utensils and sent Apolo to carry them to my friend's mother. Meanwhile, Okech was sleeping.

She then hanged herself from a rafter in her hut. The noise of her strangulation awakened Okech, who cut the rope and made frantic efforts to revive her with water and to come the body in the customary Luo manner. His wailing brought his brothers and relatives from their homesteads nearby.

When Apolo returned she was confronted by the irate brothers of Okech who accused her of being a witch who had brought *chira* to the village and to the lineage. They beat both Okech and Apolo and drove them from the homestead. The hut in which the woman had hanged herself was then immediately destroyed.

Apolo was not allowed to enter the homestead of her father who, with his sons, drove her from the clan area by thrashing

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

her with cases. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two levirate wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

This woman was the second wife (*aperture*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to cane him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a goat was buried in front of her house to represent her body, for they were certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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The sisters claim that her life was a tragic one, and that her sister had hanged herself a few years before and had returned for her.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier in connection with case number 15 involving the mother of a girl who had committed suicide after her mother had forced her to marry against her wishes.

Suicide Case No. 21.

This mother realized that her daughter's death was due to her action. She therefore tried to commit suicide by hanging shortly after she heard the news, but was prevented from doing so by her husband and his children. A week later, she tried to hang herself on a tree by the river but she had been followed by her co-wives, who cut her down in time. Finally, a month later she hanged herself from the roof of her hut and, although she was cut down while still alive by her watchful co-wives, she died shortly afterwards from a broken neck.

Profound grief lay behind the next case. It was related to me by an informant who was present at the time.

Suicide Case No. 22.

A man in the prime of life died suddenly. His death came as a shock to all his friends and relatives, among whom he was regarded very highly. This man had two wives and a mistress (*ngwe gogo*). The latter was away at the time of his death visiting her family, and she had been cursed there by her father because she refused to return to the family into which she had been legally married. Her father refused to return the bride-wealth, or to accept bride-wealth from her lover, with whom she was living. When she returned to the village of her lover, she heard the wailing of the women and knew that her lover was dead. On such occasions it is customary to run into the

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

Suicide Case No. 23.

762 151 881 734 [603]

An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to teach and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

[pp. 214-272 not processed]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

LUO TRIBES AND CLANS

by

E. E. Evans-Pritchard

In 1936 I had an opportunity, through the generosity of the Leverhulme Grants Committee, to spend a few weeks in Kenya. In the conditions then prevailing in that colony the Kenya Government considered it unwise for me to visit either the Masai or the Turkana, as had been my intention, so I decided that my time would be best employed in making a short survey of the Luo people, very little having been written about them and much of that of poor quality.[1]

Some six weeks were spent in Luoland. In view of the shortness of time at my disposal, made yet shorter by exceptionally severe fever, my enquiry was limited to certain features of Luo social organization. It was particularly directed towards a survey of political structure to discover how similar was Luo political structure to that of the Lango, Nuer, Anuak, and other Nilotic peoples. Some of the results of this survey are now recorded. They would have been published earlier had not the war prevented my giving any attention to anthropological studies. Statements made in this paper refer to 1936.

I had hoped that the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen, who knew the Luo better than anyone has known them, would have read this article. The Archdeacon died in 1945. I am most grateful to him and to Mrs. Owen, for without their support I would certainly not have been able to make so rapid a survey. My thanks are also due to the many Luo who, largely out of regard for the Archdeacon and Mrs. Owen, assisted me in my enquiry.

The Luo of Kenya are a Nilotic people of some 500,000 souls bordering Lake Victoria Nyanza to the north and south of Kavirondo Gulf. Some outlying sections also stretch into Tanganyika. The parts of Luoland which lie back from the lake, e.g. Alego and Ugenya tribal areas, are undulating country in which the homesteads are built along the slopes (*thure*, sing. *thur*, also meaning 'home') of the successive ridges. The country near the lake is less broken. The rainfall is everywhere heavy and well-distributed. The people are mainly agricultural, though they keep

[1] C.W. Hobley, 'Kavirondo', *The Geographical Journal*, 1898; Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, 1902; C. W. Hobley, 'Eastern Uganda', *Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, No 1, 1902; G. A. S Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo', *J.R.A.I.* 1907; The Rev. N. Stam, 'The Religious Conceptions of the Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1910; C. M. Dobbs, 'Fishing in Kavirondo Gulf', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.*, 1927; The Rev. H. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1928; K. C. Shaw, 'Luo Marriage Customs' *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.* 1932; Archdeacon W. E. Owen, 'Food Production and kindred Matters amongst the Luo', *J.E.A.U.N.H.S.*, 1933.

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a flust. Nyawino, Nihira, Osuga, and fibre are caught in this way. The bait used is Oulambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up. 226 227

Fish used for Local Consumption.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:— 251 262

Central Kavirondo	216,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,227

[161]

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dhulue, Tiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai). 226 [501]

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mokuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:— 361

Central Kavirondo.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	28,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	18,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

19: Southall E-9 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

I. THE SETTING

The Luo people constitute the third largest tribal unit in eastern Africa, and are by far the largest of the Nilotic-speaking peoples, numbering, by 1948 estimates, some 800,000 individuals. They are entirely contained within the three Kavirondo Districts of the Nyanza Province of Kenya except for some thousands who have now crossed the southern border into the Musoma District of the Lake Province of Tanganyika.

In terms of racial distribution the Luo are the spearhead of the great southward thrust of the Nilotic peoples from the Sudan, and of this spearhead the Luo of South Kavirondo and Tanganyika are the tip. The nearest Nilotic neighbours of the Luo are the Padhola of the Eastern Province of Uganda, whose territory comes within a few miles of the northern Luo boundary; but linguistically their nearest relatives are the Alur who now live 300 miles away, partly in the south-western corner of the West Nile District of Uganda and partly over the border in the Belgian Congo. In geographical terms the Luo occupy the coastal plains which border Kavirondo Gulf and the open expanse of Lake Victoria for fifty miles or so on either side of the entrance to the gulf, and also the foothills and uplands to which these plains give way a few miles inland. Although their territory forms a continuous block all round the gulf, it bears no correspondence to the boundaries of the North, Central, and South Kavirondo Districts, but within each of these consists respectively of 1 out of 13, 14 out of 15, and 19 out of 30 locations.[1] These locations form the territory of lineages or groups of lineages.[2]

II. PRELIMINARY ARGUMENT

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.[3]

If formally questioned on the point, Luo would admit that the members of a lineage are all the agnatic descendants of its founding ancestor, both male and female, living and dead. However, as Mayer remarks (see *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, I.A.I. Memorandum XXIV, p. 7), 'it is no straightforward matter to define the lineage allegiance of women', and the operative members of a lineage in its observable activities are not those who would have to be included in it according to a strict

[1] The word 'location' is in Kenya applied to the successful subdivisions of administrative districts and bears quite different connotations from that with which it is used in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere.

[2] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, where these groups are described.

[3] For notes, see next page.

[p. 5]

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL.11 Lao FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Lao mind. Here, on these hot and epithetic lateritoid flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Lao politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely detected Lao indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organised battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

2

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations: North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 518), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo: Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,047 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Jaiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jouko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Mwa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Langu*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

5: Hobley G-6 (ca. 1930) 1933 FL.11 Lue FL.11
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Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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of the baby, if a boy, and round its left wrist, if a girl. Next morning, the body and head of the quail are cut off, leaving the lower half of the beak of the bird suspended by the string round the child's neck; everyone then knows that it has been named.

Names are often suggested by some event happening at the time.

Mumia was born on the day of an attack by the Wamia or Elgoni people, and was thus named Mumia. Formerly, again, when Europeans were great rarities in the county, if a child was born on the day a caravan camped at the village, it would often be named after the leader of it, if he chanced to be well known, thus "Jakoinis," "Martinis," and "Obilos"[1] are very common.

Tattooing and Tribal Marks.

These rarely appear to have any special significance, but, among the Ja-Luo people, it is thought that a woman will not bear children unless she is tattooed.

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All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel (Fig. 6). When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist. All the men are not marked, it is quite a matter of choice with them. For instance, the head chief of the Kisumu people is not tattooed.

Fig. 6

The various tribes of the Ja-Luo have slightly differing tattoo marks.

Among the Kotosh, if a warrior kills an enemy in warfare, on his return he has two rows of round marks tattooed on his right chest and continued upwards over his right shoulder; moreover, upon reaching home, it is considered essential that he should have connection with his wife as soon as convenient; this is believed to prevent the spirit of his dead enemy from haunting and bewitching him.

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The Turkana and Suk tattoo rows of spots from the chest over the shoulder, but whether this is significant of the warrior having killed an enemy or not, is not known.

An examination of the Kotosh language affords reasons for believing that there is a strain of Koromojo or Turkana blood among them, and this peculiar tattooing custom may be additional evidence of the affinity.

The Kotosh women have a number of raised dots tattooed on their stomachs and abdomen arranged regularly in close board fashion. An irritant is rubbed into the cuts to produce weals.

Numerical Proportion of Sexes.

In a previous publication[2] I ventured the opinion that the female sex greatly outnumbered the male. My observation was based upon the prevalence of

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[1] The native version of the names Jackson, Morris and Hobley.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 19

S. Hickory G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL-11 Law FL-11
Island FL-13
Santa Kavirondo FL-4
114 C. W. Hobley—British East Africa: Anthropological Studies

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polygamy, and the deceptive fact that the village headmen and elders generally have large numbers of wives. Though still of opinion that the female are predominant, their numerical superiority is probably not so great as I thought at first, and having had my attention called from time to time to the large number of unmarried adults in many of the villages, I have collected statistics on the subject.

LBN 163

The summary of these statistics is as follows:—

Santa Kavirondo		male	births	...	57½ per cent.
		female	"	...	45½ "
Nilotic stock	Ja-Luo	male	"	...	65 "
		female	"	...	35 "
	Nandi	male	"	...	60½ "
		female	"	...	39½ "

It thus appears that among the Santa tribes the number of male births is in excess, and among those of Nilotic origin, particularly among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the female births are in excess.

LBN 162

The statistics also show the average number of children in a family among the various races.

		Average Number of Children.
Santa Kavirondo		7·73
Nilotic stock	Ja-Luo	10·6
	Nandi	7·6

Of course in times past the wastage of male life was extremely heavy, and in spite of the more peaceful times now prevailing, still is so.

In connection with this subject I may mention that as the country settles, and the male are obtains a better chance of survival, I am hoping that the custom of marriage by purchase, which entirely prevails in this area, will prove an incentive to the younger male population to turn their attention more to the habit of working steadily for hire, in order to obtain the wherewithal to buy their wives, and I hope I am not too sanguine in making the statement that I fancy signs of this movement are becoming apparent.

4: Dobbe G-9 (no date)1927 F2.11 Lwo F2.11

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F2.11

Gross Revenue.

Kanadongo	£1,116
Lodoo	1,027
Lwamia	6,270
Lwapunga	2,442
Lukungu	1,469
Owen	4,395
Rurongo	2,000
Unkua	11,142
Mukura	771
Rusinga (Island)	2,000
Mfwangano (Island)	1,700
	£36,662

Short Account of Visit to Lake Rui.

236 The following short account of a trip round Rusinga Island and up the Mbita river may be of interest as showing different methods of fishing followed by the Lake shore Jaluo. I had arranged with the son of Chief Asumo of Kanu to go and see the fish being taken out of the basket traps at the weirs at the mouth of the Kibon river and at 6.30 a.m. on May the 29th started off from the Shore Post with D. in the Government Motor Boat. It took us about one hour to get to the mouth of the river and on the way we saw the fishing fleet coming back with the night's catch to Nungo fishing station. We ran the motor boat a few yards up the river mouth and landed and the boy lit a fire and prepared breakfast. While waiting we watched the various fish-eating birds which were very numerous. The ordinary
136 Sterna Bergii rubo (Dholuo, Ojuri) was there in large numbers. Two bird goes right down under the water after the fish. It is said to capture the Fulu, Adol, and Gunga. An occasional cormorant (Dholuo, Kwan) was to be seen and one or two storks (Dholuo, Ojuri) while numerous birds like seagulls and terns (Dholuo, Siaia) were flying about and occasionally dipping down into the water to capture a small fish.

The most remarkable birds however were the pelicans, *Pelecanus onocrotalus* (Dholuo, Mbuni) which were floating quietly about and occasionally dipping their enormous beaks into the water and then raising them skywards to allow the unfortunate victim to slip down their throat more easily. Large numbers of kingfishers, *Ceryle rudis* and *Corythornis cristatus* (Dholuo, Kalowandi) were also seen. The empty shells of numerous fresh water snails (Dholuo, Ogengulo) strewed the shore, which was very sandy. While we were waiting a native brought up a small fish trap (Dholuo, Monethi) which he had just taken out of a ditch running into the Lake. This contained five

S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13
Basta Kavirondo FL4

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polygamy, and the deceptive fact that the village headmen and elders generally have large numbers of wives. Though still of opinion that the female sex predominate, their numerical superiority is probably not so great as I thought at first, and having had my attention called from time to time to the large number of unmarried adults in many of the villages, I have collected statistics on the subject.

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The summary of these statistics is as follows:—

Basta Kavirondo	male	births	...	57½ per cent.
	female	"	...	42½ "
Nilotic stock: Ja-Luo	male	"	...	62 "
	female	"	...	38 "
Nilotic stock: Nandi	male	"	...	60½ "
	female	"	...	39½ "

It thus appears that among the Basta tribes the number of male births is in excess, and among those of Nilotic origin, particularly among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the female births are in excess.

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The statistics also show the average number of children in a family among the various races.

		Average Number of Children.
Basta Kavirondo	... ...	7·75
Nilotic stock: Ja-Luo	... ...	10·6
Nilotic stock: Nandi	... ...	9·6

Of course in times past the wastage of male life was extremely heavy, and in spite of the more peaceful times now prevailing, still is so.

In connection with this subject I may mention that as the country settles, and the male sex obtains a better chance of survival, I am hoping that the custom of marriage by purchase, which entirely prevails in this area, will prove an incentive to the younger male population to turn their attention more to the habit of working steadily for hire, in order to obtain the wherewithal to buy their wives, and I hope I am not too sanguine in making the statement that I fancy signs of this movement are becoming apparent.

9: Bobby G-5 (ca. 1908) 1983 FL11 Lan FL11
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Fourth Census.
Great Tribe, Ao-Lau—Statistics

Names of Women.	Total Number of Children Born.	Surviving Children.		Children who have Died.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1. Thai ...	0	1	0	1	0
2. Ewar	0	1	1	0	0
3. Tsyungo	10	0	0	0	0
4. Wabai	11	0	0	0	1
5. Ogiuna	10	0	0	0	0
6. Thai ...	0	0	0	1	1
7. Tyuni	11	0	0	1	1
8. Tsyini	0	0	0	1	0
9. Ohungo	0	0	0	0	1
10. Ohimaeho	11	1	0	0	0
11. Ohuoh	10	0	0	0	0
12. Ohuoh	11	0	0	0	0
Total ...	100	50	40	25	25

Statistics of the Kumli.

Kumli.	Number of Wives.	Children Born.		Surviving Children.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Kumsalam, about 60 years old ...	5 wife 1st wife ... 2nd " ... 3rd " ... 4th " ... 5th " ...	0 0 0 0 1	0 0 0 0 1	0 0 0 0 1	1 0 0 0 1
Amth. Ethei, about 30 years of age ...	2 wife 1st " ... 2nd " ...	0 died in infant hands.	1	0 —	1 —
Arolaolem, about 50 years	5 wife 1st wife ... 2nd " ... 3rd " ... 4th " ... 5th " ...	0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 1	0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 1
Amth. Kaiem, about 30 years	2 wife 1st " ... 2nd " ...	0 died in infant hands.	0	1 —	1 —
Jonjoria, about 60 years	2 wife 1st " ... 2nd " ...	0 0	1 1	0 0	0 1
Total	...	10	10	15	15

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bau* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomea palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; *remedies* for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

436. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EAST CENTRAL AFRICA. (THE PLAYERS HERE ARE YAO SOLDIERS FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA)

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

856 constant help from the mother, the nurse, and other members of the family, the child is able to sit up without support.

[854] The practice of straddling the child on the hip begins during the sixth month. From this period there is a rapid development of its manipulative skill. Between the seventh and eighth months the child begins to crawl about on the floor, and will crawl away from wherever it is seated. As the child's manipulative skill develops he begins to pick up things that attract the eyes, often knocking them down repeatedly. The mouth is also used in testing the properties of articles. There is thus some difficulty in preventing the child from putting dirty things into its mouth.

If a child is not watched it may eat a large quantity of soil, a practice facilitated by its surroundings, the floor and ground in front of the house being bare earth. It is [164] therefore not surprising that children of this age frequently suffer from serious stomach trouble. Even before [854] the children begin to sit up, the nurses, who themselves [857] are only between six and eleven years old, do not effectively prevent them from touching dirty things, because they are sometimes tempted to run away to play, leaving the babies to look after themselves.

856 A child is persuaded to walk by holding its hands and 868 helping it along. In this process the older person repeats the words 'Taa, taa,' in a monotone. The practice is continued daily until the child is able to walk; but as soon as it can support itself on its feet the mother or nurse may move away a short distance and try to induce it to come nearer. Every member of the family takes a great interest in all this and loses no opportunity to help the child.

According to my observations, cooing and the earliest symptoms of speech begin to come into evidence in the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
● 164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

593 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are these lads when they return to the Reserves, though some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 There is nothing in the social life of the Luo in the way of
178 organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the [166] younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax,
178 we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has
651 given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Luo. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief
643 subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly
[423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A
[166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father
621 or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or
[177] sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander
423 into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia
[343] bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum XXVI, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

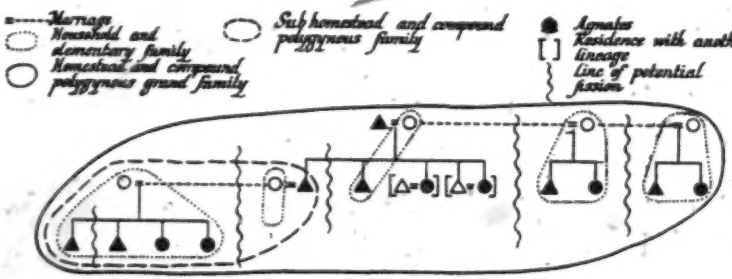
Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

with one maximal lineage, which includes the lineage segments whose territories are marked on the map (Fig. 3) as the locations of Karachuonyo, Kasipul, Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem.[1] These lineages all claim patrilineal descent by a recognized genealogy from Awandu the wife of Jook, an ancestor from nine to twelve generations of ascent from elders still alive. This is an exceptionally large exogamous group and has no parallel even among the Luo, with their very wide tracing of marriage bars. Its present population is about 120,000, including a small percentage of settlers (*jodak*) from other lineages. The ban on intermarriage is still observed throughout this group except for the *jodak*. Its major segments would



probably have separated from one another completely and ceased to claim effective common descent, if it had not been for the tendency of European administration to crystallize the relations of maximal lineages at about the stage they had reached when outside control was first imposed over half a century ago. Since that time the population of the group has probably doubled to reach its present size. It is regarded by all the Luo as one of the most important and most authentically Luo groups among them. Since, as the map shows, the territories of its major segments are not contiguous, but form three separate blocks, their day-to-day activities have become similarly divided; I deal chiefly with the block formed by the locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, which have a population of 90,000. The lineages of both these locations claim agnatic descent from Rachuonyo, and will be referred to together as Karachuonyo. (They were, in fact, called East and West Karachuonyo by the British administration until recently.) Karachuonyo people can intermarry with the lineages of the surrounding locations—Nyakach, Gem, Kanyada, and Kagan (see map, Fig. 3)—as well as with the groups of *jodak* who have been permitted by them to settle within their territory.[2]

Cases of murder between Karachuonyo and other lineages would—before the British administration—have occasioned blood-feuds between them in which the

[1] Wanjare is also included, but these people separated from the Luo and were incorporated into the Bantu Kisii.

[2] There are only three considerable groups in Karachuonyo which are not agnatic descendants of Rachuonyo: Kanyadhiang' (1157), Wagwe (1754), and Kamwala (400); see Fig. 1. Tradition accounts for them as descended either from wanderers who became dependants of Karachuonyo families or from orphan castaways discovered and reared by them. In either case they married Karachuonyo girls, as is almost inevitable in a system of localized exogamous lineages. They therefore rank as sister's son's lineages to Karachuonyo.

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The won gweng is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peace-maker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jakoth* or *won koth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. The *dho keny*: 'the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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on which a *ganda*, homestead site, of one of them is situated ; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use ; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it ; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

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This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage system on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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combined with apical features in different forms of chieftainship and kingship. On the other hand the Lango appear to have a lineage system like that of the Luo and are also like them an acephalous society. Unfortunately it is not possible to judge from Driberg's account how close is the resemblance between Luo and Lango lineages or what is the political function of the Lango lineage, and further research would be required before the Lango can be placed on the basis of this feature in a typological series of the Nilotic peoples.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kiketi* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

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5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*liroya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress.

The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
FL11 Luo FL11

775 133 In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which
171 it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
755 Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and
775 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jeciendi*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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The manners and customs of the *Ja-luo*, a fragment of the Nilotic peoples which is now isolated, are very similar to those of the Alur (to the north-west of the Albert Nyanza) and the Japalua (incorrectly called "Shefalu"), who live in the northern part of Unyoro. It would seem, indeed, as though at some time or other the Ja-luo of Southern Kavirondo had not come down direct from the north-west, from the Lango country where their nearest relations reside at the present day, but that a large tribe of Nilotic people closely allied to the Acholi and Lango had formerly

[p.779]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Marngolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

[2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, esp. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 195–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. xx, 1950, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

613 Oyugi also said: 'A *dhoot* begins when the sons of one wife leave their father's *dala*, form a *dhoot*, and begin to compete.' It is this competition which sharpens the boundaries, ideological as well as physical, between *dhoudi* and strengthens their internal solidarity. Oyugi's own lineage illustrates his point with the separation of the descendants of Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

Obware-Akoko of Kamboya said of *libamba*: 'A man can produce two sons; those two usually, according to custom, leave their father's homestead and make their own near by. Each of them will produce sons and daughters; at one time there might happen a quarrel or disagreement, then one will say to the other: "Now you go away from me since now you are a *libamba* by yourself, and I am a *libamba*." So you find each multiplying and becoming a *libamba* on either side. *Libamba* is not used except when there is a quarrel. Usually a quarrel comes in dividing the bride cattle of a girl or girls when married, when in spite of the old man's distribution the sons dispute it.' Then he referred to his own *dhoot* of Kamboya and said that it had no quarrels and therefore no *libembini* within it, because it is *pacho achiel*—a single homestead (figuratively, of course, for in fact it contains several dozen homesteads, and the original homestead of Mboya himself was probably deserted a century or so ago); but informally even two uterine brothers in a household can quarrel and one say to the other, 'you are my *libamba*'. Obware is a great-great-grandson of Mboya (98). The process of segmentation in his own lineage bears out his account of *libamba*, both in the separation of the descendants of Mboya from those of Omolo (100), and at the next level in the separation between Ogembo (91) and Onyango Adhanja (Fig. 6).

Oyugi-Mboya also said of *libamba*: '*Libamba* starts with quarrels between children of one wife and children of another.' This again follows the structure of his own lineage in the separation of the descendants of his ancestress Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

These statements, though at first confusing when taken together, do embody the cardinal principles of Luo lineage structure, and present some of the striking characteristics of Luo thought. This could be confirmed by many further quotations for which there is no room here. The main points may be summarized as follows:

1. *Derivation*

The eponymous ancestor of a lineage may be either a man or a woman.[1]

● [171]

[1] Contrast the discussion of male and female eponyms among the Arabs in Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 28–38. Clearly the Arabian situation was different from that of the Luo. Female eponyms were only found among the earliest ancestors, and in every tribe which had a female eponym those of all its segments were male. By contrast, female eponyms appear at all levels in different Luo lineages, interspersed with male, and the reasons for it are deducible from a study of recent cases of lineage fission (see pp. 40 et seq.). Robertson Smith did not admit the relevance of present residential arrangements and pivotal family relationships to the development of future lineage segments, or that the relations of persons within a family may in a very significant way be mirrored by the relations of large descent groups within a territorial unit. He suggests as a law of general validity that 'where the bond of maternity is so strong that it binds together the children of the same mother as a distinct kindred group against the other children of their father, there also we may be sure that the children of one mother by different fathers will hold together and not follow their father. And this is the principle of female kinship.' Both these situations can be demonstrated over and over again in Luo lineage structure, yet the Luo lineages are strictly unilateral in descent on the father's side. The application of terms whose ety-

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

2. *Constitution*

The solidarity of the lineage (*dhoot*) is likened to that of the mother and her children in an elementary family. 613

3. *Interrelation*

The relation of one co-ordinate segment with another (*libambo*) is likened to the competition between uterine brothers, and to the competition between the sons of one co-wife and the sons of another.

4. *Personalization*

Lineage segments are so closely identified conceptually with the individuals and family nuclei from which they are descended that the latter stand for the former in linguistic idiom.

5. *Compression*

The symbolizing of lineage processes in certain relations between the members of elementary and compound families in the homestead leads to:

(*a*) Telescoping of the time sequence. Changes in lineage structure which took place a number of generations back and over a considerable period are treated as events among individuals of a family in an undifferentiated present.

(*b*) Telescoping of spatial distance. Relations between large social groups or territorial sections are treated as occurrences within single households and homesteads.

6. *Egocentricity*

Lineages are spoken of in the context of the structural position of the speaker, and utterances about them can only be interpreted in this light.

V. NORM AND DEVIATION IN THE SEGMENTARY SYSTEM

GENEALOGICAL segmentation can only be adhered to with absolute consistency as a dominant principle of social organization in situations which allow the irregularities of lineage growth and their consequences to be ignored. On the whole, ritual situations conform to this requirement, whereas political, economic, and many other general social needs frequently do not. The result of this is that in Luo lineage organization it is the *anyuola* groups of the class B system of segmentation that are able to conform most closely to the abstract principles suggested by their genealogical

mology implies derivation from females to groups derived from male ancestors is taken by Robertson Smith as conclusive evidence for a switch from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. Among the Luo the inference from both social action and traditional theory is that terms such as *dhoot* and *anyuola*, whose etymology suggests descent from a woman, are applied sometimes to groups with female and sometimes to those with male eponyms because groups of both types are identical in social function, and both alike reflect the cardinal attributes of these terms as shown in those situations which Luo adduce as symbolic demonstrations of their significance.

The *umunne* and *umunna* (mother- and father-derived groups) of the Ibo are likely to afford an important comparative example, though the data on them are at present inadequate. It will be of great interest to know the real significance, for the social structure and for the process of segmentation, of these groups when they are fully analysed.

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4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as *kiketi*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolis Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kiketi* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

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2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

613 section where are recorded some notes about the JoAlego clan of Alego
614 tribe, the JoOwila clan of Uyoma tribe, the KaNyikal clan of Seme tribe, and the KaRacuonyo clan of Karacuonyo tribe. It must be borne in mind in reference to these examples, as in regard to the rules of exogamy noted earlier, that these clans are associated with tribal territories and that there are many small lineages, many of them of Bantu origin, which have not the same spread in genealogical or physical space and have not the same depth in lineage structure ; also, that all the main clans ultimately trace their descent from the same mythological names of Podho and Ramogi so that it would be possible to place them all on a single chart of descent. Since the smaller stranger lineages have points of graft on the trees of the dominant clans it might be possible to place the whole Luo people on a single chart. The clans, as I have described them, are, however, the largest descent groups which have eponymous ancestors, who are considered by the Luo to be the points at which an exact record of ascent passes into a hazy plane of tradition where a single line of mythological ancestors is finally lost in the beginnings of the world. They are the points at which genealogical structure begins.

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173 In the Alego tribe the dominant clans are the JoAlego with its maximal
613 lineages, the JoSega and the KaDenge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory, apart from small
614 stranger groups and individuals. The two most powerful of these stranger clans are the Karuoth and Kakan (JokAnyango). Other clans or lineages of some importance are the KaLuo, JoMar, JoAgoro, JokOgelo, KaNyinek, KaRapol (JoKato), JoUmala, KaLikada, and JoUyawa. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego and their intra-tribal relations with the JoAlego are accounted for in a number of traditions or myths. These myths relate that when Alego entered the country from the west (Yimbo or Kadimo) he found there a people called Kombekombe and they and Alego's people live together in peace. Then the Kombekombe people began to disperse and were lost and the whole of the land came into possession of Alego and his sons. Then came other clans after Alego into the country but Alego fought them and compelled them to settle elsewhere. Then the elder sons of Mulijuok crossed the gulf and settled in what is now called South Kavirondo and Mulijuok was left with his younger children, Seje, Nyidenge, and three daughters, Nyiwat, Anyango, and Ajonga.

Other clans now entered the country with the permission of the Alego folk (the story is told by them). Came Ragak and married Nyiwat and Anyango and begat the clan of the Kakan, who count as *orche*, in-laws, to the JoAlego. Then came Ager (from Kadhola or Budama) and asked Mulijuok for permission to settle on the land and Mulijuok agreed that he and his people might live on hill Akara. When Mulijuok died Ager plotted to kill his sons Seje and Nyidenge to wrest the soil from them. Seje heard of this plot and summoned Nyinek, Uyawa, Agoro, Ragak, and others (the lineages are personified in the story) to make war against

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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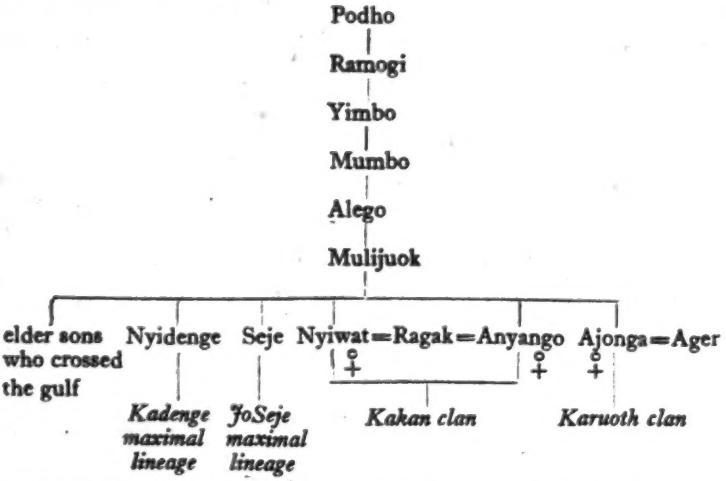
the people of Ager, whom they defeated. Ager later asked for the hand of Ajonga by whom he begat the Karuoth clan, who also stand to the Alego folk as relatives-in-law. The genealogy given below illustrates the story. From Mulijuok to the present day there are nine to ten generations. Other stories, which I do not recount here, explain the relations between the Kakan and the JoUyawa and other clans in Alego tribal territory. In these myths the tribal structure is presented in terms of lineages and the lineages are personified.



The JoAlego genealogy has been presented in its simplest form, pruned of all subsidiary branches. The JoOwila clan is shown in slightly fuller form to illustrate better the lineage structure of a typical Luo clan. The JoOwila are the dominant clan in Uyoma (pop. 11,694, density 91·3). Owila, the ancestor of the clan, came from Alego and brought with him the various clans now living in Uyoma together with the people who now occupy Asembo (where the dominant clan are the Kale) to which country the Uyoma people drove them after a quarrel. Though there are many stranger lineages living in Uyoma its population is probably less mixed than is the case in most tribal areas.

The JoOwila clan divides into four main branches or maximal lineages, as shown in the chart below, the JokOkelo or JokObong being the senior line. These four lineages do not intermarry. Each owns a distinct part of the tribal territory though the members of one lineage are frequently found living in the territory of another. The KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, having the same ancestress regard themselves as a single segment in relation to KoOkelo and KoOkwiri. Genealogical links through females with stranger lineages living with the clan are not shown on the chart.

The relativity of lineage values, to which I have given some attention in my book on the Nuer, may here be touched on, using the JoOwila

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In Seme (pop. 29,919, density 311·6) the dominant clan is the Ka-Nyikal, the main divisions of which are the Kadepir and the KaGumba, Gumba being a foundling adopted and brought up by Nyikal. I omit a genealogy of this clan for reasons of space but would draw passing attention to the common feature of lineage systems by which stranger lineages are grafted into the structure of the dominant clan of the tribe by mythological fictions. The KaGumba, to whom I have just alluded, is a very powerful lineage. Another strong lineage in Seme are the KaYila. According to the myth Yila was an Alego man who took to the bachelors' hut Amolo daughter of Nyikal and made her pregnant. He then fled the country. Amolo was an Amazon with a will of her own and she later went to fetch her lover and brought him back to Seme with his sons from whom are descended lineages, by a wife whom he had married in his exile. Another big clan in Seme are the Kolunje. Nyikal had a servant called Anam who used to take his sons to the edge of the lake to collect fodder for the calves. One day they found there a man called Onyango. Nyikal adopted this stranger together with Anam, and Kolunje is the joint name for their descendants, the KaAnam and the KoOnyango.

The last clan of the structure of which I shall give an outline are the KaRacuonyo. Jok, who appears to be the same as the Mulijuok of the Alego myth, begat two sons. One of them, Cuanya, is the ancestor of the principal lineages in the tribal areas of Kisumu, Kanyamwa, Kabwoc, Karungu, and Kadem. The other is the ancestor of the KaRacuonyo clan, who are dominant in the locations of Karacuonyo (Kaduong), Mumbo and Kabondo. According to the Alego myth there were two other brothers, Seje and Nyidenge, as has been noted, but these are not given in their genealogies by the people to the south of the gulf. According to some the ancestor of the now Bantuized Wanjare was another of Jok's sons.

The story current to the south of the gulf is that Jok was accidentally killed by his sons in an elephant hunt. A certain man called Cien took Racuonyo and made him his servant and after various adventures together adopted him as his son. When Cien died Racuonyo took one of his wives, Omiri, and by her begat Sepol, who is the ancestor of the dominant lineages in the Kabondo and Mumbo tribal divisions, the Joko-Owidi and the JokOmala. According to Luo custom Sepol was a son of the dead Cien and not of Racuonyo but the sons of Cien said they did not wish him to be known by the name of their father, so he was called after Racuonyo. The descendants of Cien by a different wife claim to be the owners of the Mumbo lands, but they are now a very small people, due it is said to their having insulted their father who haunted them after his death. The descendants of Racuonyo are shown in the chart below. Only the principal lineages are given, except in the line of descent to one man for illustration.

The man Rapemo can, according to the context, describe his lineage as KaMuma, JokOnyango, KaNdaya, KoOkoth, JokOwidi, KaSepol, and KaRacuonyo.

Each of the big lineages of the KaRacuonyo clan owns its own part of the tribal territory and within a section owned by a large lineage the

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

115 I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. Mayes, Collector of Nandi, for much information regarding that tribe, which is particularly uncommunicative on these matters.

114 I have no doubt that, as years go by, many of the matters dealt with herein may become much clearer, but I have thought it best to publish the material without further delay, as it may help to stimulate further research, and I also fear that as civilization develops, many of the strange customs and legends may become lost; in fact, there are already signs that the younger generation of natives are losing interest in the old order of things.

LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE JA-LUO RACE.

773 Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I
● 173 believe I am correct in stating that, in Africa, it is generally among those of Bantu
origin that such myths are fonnd. However, in the whole of the country in the
184 vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kadimu belief that their common ancestor was a huge python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apōdtho, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Ugada chief of Usakwa.

Apōdtho was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apōdtho descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north of Uganda, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one woman, whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters. These sons were named Ramogi and Anyango, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimu country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

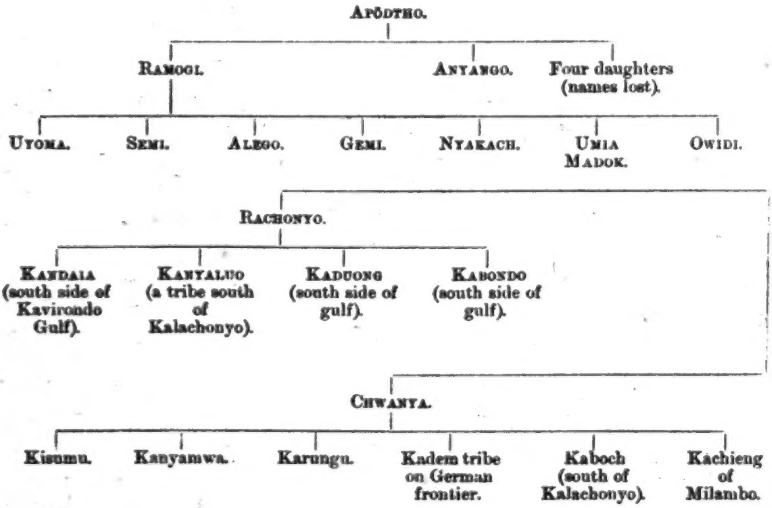
Anyango, the other son of Apōdtho, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Baganda and Banyoro. On the day that Apōdtho

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

reached the earth, among the other animals that accompanied him were a bull, a cow, and a calf; he also brought *mtama* and other food-bearing seeds and plants, and there is especially mentioned besides, a tree called "Were," and out of the wood of the Were tree he made two wooden bowls. He then milked the cow into one of the wooden bowls, and, from ignorance he caught the cow's urine into the other bowl; this done, he poured the milk into a gourd and left the bowl of cow's urine in the sun, and then rested till the evening. At sundown he churned the milk that was in the gourd, collected the butter, and put it on one side; he then brought in the bowl of urine and mixed it with the buttermilk that remained in the gourd. Then, being hungry, he took the mixture and made some gruel with *mtama* meal, cooked and drank it; after drinking it, he passed urine for the first time since he had reached the earth, and this is the origin of the Ja-Luo custom of mixing milk with the cow's urine which prevails to this day.

GENEALOGY OF JA-LUO.

Version 1 *of Ugada Ndiek of Usakwa.*



Version II. Ugada chief of Korando.

Apödtho was the ancestor of all men; he descended to the earth from above, and brought with him two head of cattle, some fowls, and seeds of *mtama*, *sem-sem*, and *wimbi*. He found the tobacco plant growing on earth; the elephant gave him the sweet potato and beans. He also brought the knowledge of making fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and he taught the Ja-Luo to mix cow's urine with the milk.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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He reached the earth in the country away to the north of the lake, and died in that country; at his death, he turned into a rock. Apōdtho had supernatural powers and possessed the power to turn into a rock at will. When he was old, the Ja-Luo conspired to kill him, but for a long time nothing came of it, because they were afraid of him; but one day sickness overcame him; the conspirators sent a girl to see if he was really sick, as they thought it would be a good opportunity to kill him. She took a small horn, used for cupping blood, in her hand, and, while talking to him, she placed the cupping horn on his shadow; to her surprise it drew blood from the shadow. She returned and told her friends that, if they wanted to kill Apōdtho, they must not touch his body, but spear his shadow; they did so, and he died and turned into a rock, which the Ja-Luo afterwards considered to possess special virtues for sharpening spears on.

Ramogi was the first member of the Ja-Luo race to come to Kavirondo, and he built in Kadimu country, near what is now the village of the chief Anam.

The Ja-Mwa (or Bantu Kavirondo) are descended from Anyango and came to Kavirondo before the Ja-Luo. They also came from the north, but belong to a different stock, the Baganda and Ba-Soga.

The Nandi came from the Ja-Lango. The Ja-Luo on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf originally lived on the north side, and crossed over by canoes.

The Koloa and various Ja-Luo clans on the Kitoto plain are the descendants of one Kanu, who is said to have come from Masai land, and to have married the sister of Rachonyo and settled down in the Kitoto plain; they are to this day often grouped together under the name Ja-Kanu.

Gemi, Lego, Sakwa, Kadimu, Ugenya, the founders of the tribes of the same name, were not sons of Ramogi, but were collaterally descended from Apōdtho.

Version III.

This version was obtained from Gori Kogalo, chief of Kanyamwa (Ja-Luo) on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf.

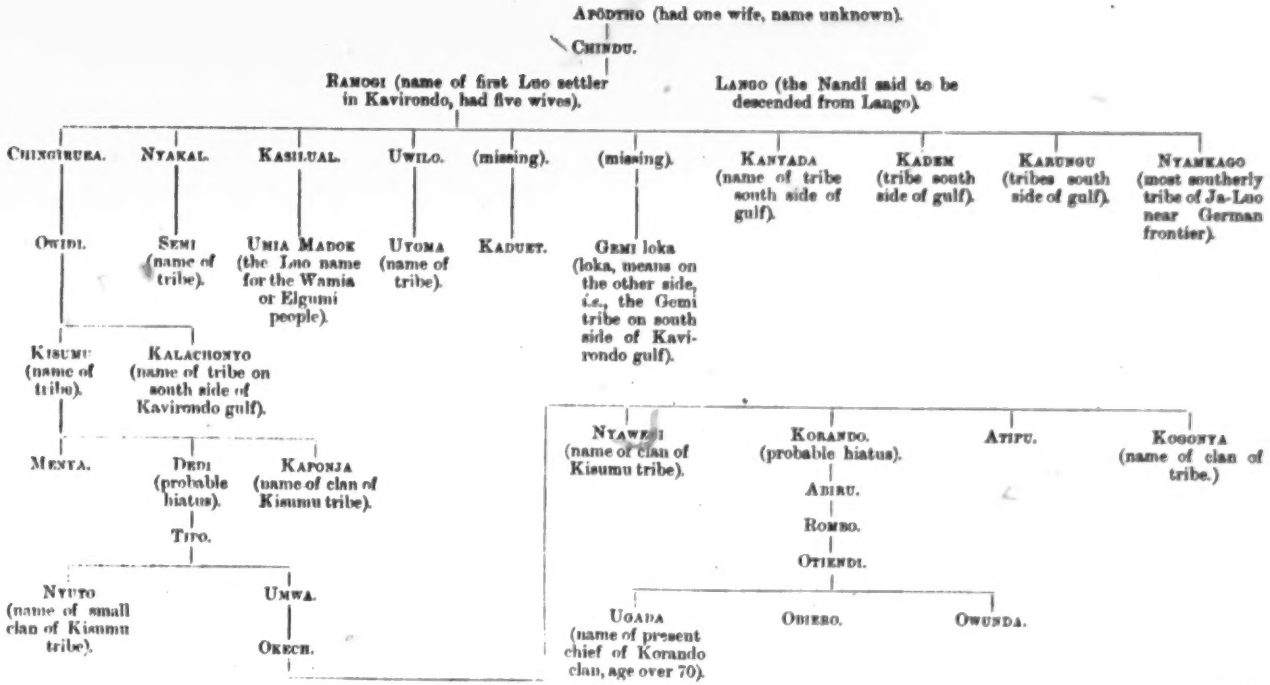
Apōdtho was the father of all mankind; and he, the sun, the wind, and the moon appeared on earth together; the father of the sun was dead. Apōdtho brought with him to the earth a spear, a shield, and fire. The buffalo and the cattle came out of the sea (probably meaning the Nyanza), and were herded by mankind, but the buffalo broke away, and took to the woods, refusing to become tame as the cattle did; he also brought *mtama* grain, the *wimbi* he found growing on earth in the grass; he found tobacco and the sweet potato growing in elephant dung.

Shortly after their arrival, Apōdtho ordered the moon to kill an ox, but the moon refused; he then told the sun, and then the wind, they also refused, so he killed the ox himself with a blow from his fist, and then ate the meat, offering some to the sun, moon, and wind, but they all refused to eat, and he was very angry, so they fled back to the heavens and have stayed there ever since. Apōdtho told his

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

Genealogy of the Ja-Luo.

Version 2 of Ugada Koranda.



in Kavirondo and Nandi.

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GENEALOGY OF THE JA-LUO.

Version 3 of Gori Kogalo.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet these people. 773 173

Ramogi, the great grandson of Apödtho, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk. 184

Mbunga, the eldest son of Ramogi, was the first member of the Ja-Luo to migrate southward into Kavirondo, and his brothers followed him; upon their arrival, they found the Bantu Kavirondo in possession of the land, but gradually drove them back.

The Bantu Kavirondo are descended from one Mugirango.

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating herbs and drinking milk to this day.

The Nandi and Lumbwa are descended from Alangu, a son of Ramogi.

Rajoki, a son of Apödtho, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

This account was given me by an old chief, living away in the hills to the south of Kavirondo Gulf, a man who has probably not seen half a dozen Europeans in the whole of his life. He told me that, in his youth, the old chiefs had many more legends, but the young men of to-day took but little interest in such things, and they were all rapidly being forgotten. He confided to me that his neighbours imputed to him the power of being able to transform himself at will into the shape of an ox and other animals, but he gravely assured me that these slanders were quite unfounded, and were a source of great embarrassment to him. 773 173 115 [773]

The version of the legend, given above, differs considerably from those previously recounted, and many new names appear. Most of the new names, however, are the names of tribes living in South Kavirondo, or Ugaya as it is often called, *e.g.*, Nyamkago, Kalachonyo, Kabondo, Kaboch, Kadem, Uchieng. As these were near neighbours of his ancestors, their names would be more likely to be remembered. 773 173 184

There is, I think, enough internal evidence to show that this is really a very ancient genealogy, brought down from the Nile valley by the people when they migrated to the south. 173

An examination of the three versions of the genealogy of the Ja-Luo just given will lay bare many discrepancies, the presence of which, to my mind, gives an air of great genuineness to the information, and is, in a way, proof of the age of the myth.

Like the genealogy of the Uganda kings given in Mr. Roscoe's paper,[1] and, for the matter of that, like many other genealogies of world-wide fame in the ancient history of more civilized countries, we have in the Ja-Luo genealogy a succession of mythical personages and demigods at one end of the line, and at the other end,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

5: Hobley. G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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working back for a certain distance of time, a genealogy of the heads of the family tribe or *gens*, which is linked, quite in good faith, on to the mythical beginnings of the tree. Where the transition from family or tribal history to myth occurs in the present example, it is impossible to state accurately, but after listening carefully to the narrative, I venture to point out where I consider a hiatus occurs.

In the Uganda genealogy, it will be remembered that the common ancestor of the Baganda was one Kinta; it is rather remarkable that, in one of the present examples, the name of the son of Apóltho is given as Chinda, especially as, in African languages, a prefixial K– often becomes changed to Ch–.

If, however, the genealogies now given possess no other interest, they at least afford, it is considered, fairly good evidence as to the way in which the various Nilotic tribes and sub-tribes or clans in Kavirondo derived their names; for there is no doubt that in olden times the chiefs were far more powerful than now, and a vigorous chief with a large number of wives could have descendants enough to form the beginning of quite a considerable clan.

I have no doubt that in the more outlying parts there is an untold wealth of legend and myth of anthropological interest awaiting record, and when the Acholi (Shuli) and Lur countries become more opened up, stories of the causes which led to the great Ja-Luo migration southwards will probably be unearthed, and it may even be that the rock, into which Apóltho is said to have become metamorphosed at his death, will be found to be looked upon as a kind of fetish stone to this day.

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I do not consider that we shall get much further with regard to unravelling the mystery of the various great migrations by research anywhere south of Mount Elgon. As an instance of this: for a long time past, I have, at intervals, made endeavours to find out from the Nandi people, some trace of a legend about their arrival in the country, without success; but a few months ago, when travelling in the vicinity of Elgon, I was talking to some members of the Lako tribe (a branch of the Nandi group who live on the mountain), and I was very much interested to find that they had a legend, relative to their migration, to the effect that they had originally lived on a mountain called Kamalinga, some forty-five miles to the north-west of Elgon, and that the Nandi lived on the east side of that mountain, and the Lako on the west, and from there they migrated south-east, the Lako and their close relatives the Sawai people settling on Elgon, and the Nandi pushing onward through to the Guasangishu plateau. Of course they really came from much further north, but this seems to be a link in the chain, and probably if the Kamalinga region were visited, further evidence would be obtained.

The Lako too had a curious legend to the effect that, in past times, a stream of fire ran down the mountain (Elgon) and burnt up the forests it encountered on its way, which looks as if the mountain had been active in historic times, for the natives could not possibly know that Elgon is an extinct volcano.

16: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waraaja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		

1: Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Mwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Seme and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174 ●

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as *wasigu*, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the inme-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

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At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations : North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 515), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo : Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,041 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Joiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jooko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Mwa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Langu*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakac, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo, and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu, Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoc, and Sakwa. The other locations on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location) and the Mohoru; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the Kasigunga, Kaksingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are fraternal to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them '*Jamwa*' or '*Langu*'. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Waholo, who speak both Luo and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokakan lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Kamageta tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulu and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in those areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Seme, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thornwood savannah plain with patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Seme takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

naturally follow the low country instead of climbing a precipitous rocky ridge 2,000 feet above the plain, added to this probably the dread of the Nandi warriors was an additional reason for avoiding the highlands.

It seemed possible that some evidence of the migration might be discovered by investigations in this plain; and such was the case, for to my great surprise I found that the ruling chief of the plain Kitoto, although he wears ornaments of the Nilotic type and is married to Ja-Luo wives, is a pure-bred native of the Kisii or Kossova nation, and that a few generations back occasional bands of Kisii people trekked northwards but were stopped in the plain, and became more or less absorbed by the Nyamoga clan. In fact odd parties of Kisii people make journeys northward even to this day. The Kisii people again have legends to the effect that they originally came from the southward, and I have no doubt that as investigations are continued it will be found that the Kisii and Ware tribes are two links in the chain of evidence in favour of an important Bantu migration from Nyamwezi country northwards.

With regard to the Awa-Ware, they do not seem to have gone inland to any extent, but to have crept along by water from island to island till they ended up in the vicinity of Nyala or Port Victoria. Their dialect is closely allied to that of the Awa-Nyala.

It is a matter for regret that it is almost impossible to arrive at even the approximate dates of these migrations, but among a people without written history and legends that rarely go back more than a few generations it will readily be understood that one's data is scanty.

Class II. Nilotic Kavirondo.—The invasion of the Nilotic Ja-Luo race (Plate III) appears, as I have previously explained, to have taken place later than that of the Bantu, and they are it is believed an off-shoot of the Acholi or Shuli stock.

Their southern advance was, I feel sure, only checked by the irruption of the Elgumi people into the country to the south-west of Mount Elgon, which movement finally closed the line of outlet against all further movements from the north.

The Elgumi people will, I think, be found to be an off-shoot of the race inhabiting the country to the north of the Salisbury and Kumama Lakes, which in the fragmentary state of our information about that area may be called the Lango group, and it may turn out that these people are intermingled with a Hamitic strain from the north-east.

To revert to Kavirondo proper, the Nilotic stock in that country, although occupying as a rule a less fertile area, appears to be more vigorous than the Bantu; and the Lakoli and other Bantu tribes on their present eastern frontier all tell me that their forefathers occupied territory some fifteen miles to the west of their original location, having been gradually driven eastward by the Ja-Luo.

The Ja-Luo settlements on the southern shore of Ugowe Bay, or Kavirondo Bay as it has been renamed, are also evidences of the persistent way the Nile people have pushed southwards in search of land, and proofs are to hand that

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

most of these people did not pass round the head of the gulf but crossed by water from Uyoma and Gemi country.

Class III. Nandi Group.—Hardly any information seems obtainable with regard to the southern migration of the Nandi-Lumbwa group, nor is their place of origin quite clear. Their word for water, *pigor*, is clearly Nilotic, and some of their numerals, including *tomon* for ten, are Hamitic: so, like the Masai, they will possibly be eventually classed as an intermixture of the negroes of the Nile valley and a representative of the Hamitic race. This seems to be the only way in which one can account for the great difference in physical appearance between the Nandi and Masai as compared with the Nilotic or Bantu negroes of Kavirondo for instance. Again, judging by appearances, one would imagine that the Nandi were more nearly allied to their negro progenitors than to the Hamitic, and *vice versâ* in the case of the Masai, or rather that the Hamitic strain was much stronger in the Masai.

That the Nandi came from the north is beyond doubt, and it is also probable that they came from a mountainous region somewhat similar to that they now inhabit, for being tribes of considerable bravery when compared with the neighbouring races, they could undoubtedly have had choice of location: and moreover every member of the group seems to have chosen a highland territory as a place of settlement.

I am inclined to date their migration at a fairly remote period owing to the large area over which the group has spread, and in this case great divergence from the original stock may be looked for in their language and habits. In a short time, however, when our information as to the mountainous area to the south-west of Abyssinia becomes more complete, it will probably be easy to follow their southern move.

The Elgeyo, Kamasia, Lako, Elgonyi, Mbai, Soré and Bumett people all belong to this group; the five latter tribes live on Mt. Elgon or Masawa, and it may be that on their way southwards a section of the migrants elected to settle on the mountain, the main body pushing on to the south and east. These tribes now consider the Nandi people as their deadly enemies, and strenuously deny all relationship.

Class IV. Masai Group.—I will not deal with the whole of the Masai nation but confine myself to the Guasangishu, as they are the only representatives of the group in the country referred to in this volume.

Their language, customs, arms and physical appearance (Pl. IV) are the same as those of the Masai of the Rift valley, but they differ from those people inasmuch as they have given up their nomadic habits and now live in scattered settlements among the Kavirondo, Nandi, etc. Their principal settlements are in Marama, some few miles south of Mumia's, at Ndui's, about seven miles west of Mumia's, at Ugema, between Ketosh and Elgumi country, and again a few odd settlements in Nandi and in the vicinity of Eldama Ravine. The Guasangishu Elkonono, or ironworkers, are also dotted about throughout Nandi and Lumbwa, and do most

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

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In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls."

795 778 231 The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about 5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo boma the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has [531] a post—called in Dholuo, "Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of the boma has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby boma.

795 778 The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all carved Loches appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

174 831 Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these Loches is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Loches in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who held parallel beliefs.

795 174 It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

795 797 The prophesies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out, especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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[171] The manners and customs of the *Ja-luo*, a fragment of the Nilotic peoples which is now isolated, are very similar to those of the Aluru (to the north-west of the Albert Nyanza) and the Japalua (incorrectly called "Shefalu"), who live in the northern part of Unyoro. It would seem, indeed, as though at some time or other the Ja-luo of Southern Kavirondo had not come down direct from the north-west, from the Lango country where their nearest relations reside at the present day, but that a large tribe of Nilotic people closely allied to the Acholi and Lango had formerly

[p. 779]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that
174 the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud
[178] or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses
[342] are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually
513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The
882 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

● 174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [626] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably [262] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the 291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [301] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[581] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

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At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations : North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 515), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo : Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,041 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Joiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jooko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Mwa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Langu*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the [343] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The [435 guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish 252] called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

291 After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known as the *dho golo onyimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them 584 he sent a new *onyimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *onyimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chieno* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chieno* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre [177] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

[689] * Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional nakedness adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtains details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel [789] apparently has maleficent properties. For if any man annoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

241 826 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the ordinary African kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, feeding in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

241 782 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called " bilo " was performed before sowing took place. If the " Jaduong' bilo " was warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. " Bilo " was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to graze. The present " Jabilo " in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of " bilo " in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1933 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

241 177 [626] When the time was ripe for sowing, the " Mikayi " or chief wife of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the " mikayi " had thus given permission. Any who were so bold as to begin before the " mikayi " were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the names of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the " mikayi " is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the sturdier crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called " kal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the weeders squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the striga weed, called by the Luo " hayongo." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women
791 who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
●177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
252 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great.
462 Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax,

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief
643 subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly
[423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A
[166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father
621 or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or
[177] sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander
423 into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia
[343] bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleansing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chira*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other factors were involved to escape detection for an act which in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kwer*, and not *chira*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar distinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

INTRODUCTION

THIS piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits —are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved, to provide a structure on which

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

I

INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Feeding

Under one year. For the first month of a baby's life its chief food is its mother's milk. But when the mother's milk is insufficient, gruel may be given as early as at two to three weeks old. Although cow's milk is now sometimes used instead of gruel, it is still chiefly regarded as a modern introduction by the missionaries in an effort to promote infant health.

Between the ages of one and three months, gruel and breast-feeding play about equal parts. When the mothers go out to work, suckling tends to be limited to mornings and evenings. The average age at which babies are given gruel is one month. From the third to the sixth month milk from the breast and gruel continue to form the child's main diet, but after this, gruel begins to prevail over breast-feeding. Although maize flour is occasionally used in the preparation of gruel, the usual flour for this purpose is obtained from sorghum and eleusine, a species of millet. Whenever possible a little sour milk is added to the mixture. Between five and six months certain children have frequent tastes of adult food given to them by their nurses.

Although nurses are allowed to give gruel to the children, difficulties in handling a baby sometimes result in under-feeding, which is often made worse by the low food-content of the gruel itself. Through training by nurses, babies are accustomed to adult food before their mothers actually give it to them, so it can happen that

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

Restrictions on the suckling of babies. It is considered a breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been abandoned. One exception to the restriction, however, is that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

In rare instances there seems to be different treatment of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

The social restriction with regard to the suckling of infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

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153 such circumstances they have to depend on their mothers' milk.

Although the time and nature of her work may force a woman to feed her child at certain hours, there is otherwise no fixed time for feeding babies. If the mother is present, the child is suckled whenever it wants to. Thus babies having such treatment grow up with a particularly strong liking for their mothers' breasts. As soon as a baby is big enough, the mother begins to limit her suckling and to increase the frequency of gruel-taking. The frequency of suckling is greater for babies between one and three months, the intervals increasing with the age of the child. Daily absence of the mother when she is working at a distance may also impose longer intervals between the successive sucklings than would be the case if the mother were nearby, or within the village. Chil-
[177] dren in more enlightened families are started on cow's milk after one or two months, and are given gruel after six months.

There is a widespread belief that gruel strengthens the bones, and therefore should be a very important article of diet just before the child begins to walk.

Cleanliness

154 There is a general slackness in the washing of children by Luo mothers, which increases as the children grow older, but sometimes, especially among the more ad-
[178] vanced people, they are kept tidy regularly. It may be of interest to know that, in the past, they were washed early every morning in cold water in the belief that this would make them strong. Whenever the children empty their bowels they are cleaned with old rags or soft leaves. The limited supply of old rags makes the use of leaves more common.

Bedding and clothes. No clothes are especially made for the babies.

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the babies. With the exception of a few children in progressive households, both pagan and Christian children go without clothes; and even when they have them their provision is meagre. There is, however, a tendency for Christian children to be better clothed than those in pagan families, and the latter continue to walk naked for a much longer time.

Bedding is scanty. Dried hides, mats, and old clothes are used, the child's bedding and the mother's being usually the same. Very rarely does the mother sleep apart from her child, and only a few modern parents form an exception in constructing small beds for their children. In the daytime, when asleep, they are generally laid in some shady place beside the house, or on hides, old rags, or mats. Those who have beds may use them, but the majority of children are placed in the open where dust not infrequently blows into their mouths.

Mental and Physical Development

According to the mothers interviewed, the earliest signs of mental and physical development in babies are smiling and lifting of the arms, actions which take place after the second month. This early smile may not be an expression of pleasure but merely an imitation of the mother, who begins to tickle her baby while smiling herself in order to induce it to smile. This induced smile is more noticeable after the third month.

During the fourth month, the child generally plays alone wherever it is put down, provided that it has no serious illness. By the fifth month the senses of hearing and seeing have so far developed that when it hears a noise, the child listens and looks in the right direction.

The period of sitting the child up begins during the sixth month, although trials are made early in the fifth month, while in the course of the seventh month, with

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857 sometimes break up at the slightest provocation or mis-
572 understanding. The lineal character of the friendship is
[613] facilitated by the social groupings of the people into lineages living side by side. This character is also assumed by the play groups which begin from the immediate family circle and widen to include other members of the lineage to which the children belong. Although there also exists a considerable degree of friendship among male children it does not seem to be organized as closely as that among the girls. Though I saw frequent examples of individual boyhood friendship I did not come across such a highly-developed arrangement.

The Cultural Pattern

857 Girls are born to a ready-made pattern of life and
858 they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. The school-age period is the one in which girls are especially trained to fit into the culture to which
[177] they have been born. A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even where civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. This conservatism is maintained through all the early training of the children and domestic activities are still carried on in almost the same traditional way.

In contrast, we find that male children between these ages have a greater degree of freedom. I noticed a larger variety of playthings among boys than among girls of the same school-going age. Day after day the girls repeated imitations of the maternal activities. It was also much more difficult to discover where a group of boys had been playing than to find the favourite playgrounds of the female children. This was perhaps due to the difference in their freedom of movement. The occupations of the girls keep them largely at home while the boys range over a much greater area.

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the older girls among whom the younger girls sleep. Male visitors from the homes of women in adjoining homesteads also provide an opportunity for learning the coquetry and customs of the more mature girls. Although girls of school-going age are inexperienced, they are not despised on these occasions, though the necessity of keeping order in the room forces the older girls to keep an eye on the younger girls to discourage unnecessary laughter.

The family and the school. Modern school education acts as a break in the continuity of education for domestic purposes. The school demands regular attendance, whereas the mother requires the labour of her daughter. For the young girl, the school provides a relief from hard and tedious work for the family, and from her mother's supervision. It also provides an unrestricted field of association with other girls, whereas at home she would rarely have time to see her girl friends. Thus the school gives a very different environment. There is a general tendency to become lazy among schoolgirls passing into adolescence.

The school forces parents to sacrifice themselves; hence there is no great keenness among mothers with regard to their daughters' education. The majority of them ignore it or are actively against it. In most quarters the desired knowledge for girls is limited to reading and writing. Beyond this, women have not been able to appreciate education for girls, and they often delay their daughters' entrance into schools. Thus in the lower Primary stages most of the girls are slightly older than the boys.

Education for girls is also distrusted because at present mothers feel that after it their daughters would not fit into the pattern of life into which they were born. There is also a feeling that the traditional education at home would suffer.

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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

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meat to be shared among the different families within the larger lineage to which the husband belongs. This is followed by a big feast at the girl's home where people spend a whole night outside, drinking, eating, and singing. When the girl returns to his home it is time for the husband to continue paying dowry as demanded by her parents.

The final ceremony marking the completion of the dowry and indicating the husband's satisfaction with his wife is called 'riso'. At this the husband slaughters an animal and gives a great feast to his relatives.

Variants of traditional marriage customs. With the introduction of modern ideas and the widening of the people's physical environment, a large number of special marriages now occur which omit various features of the traditional ceremony. This is especially true of marriages where there is a strong basis of love. In such instances a young woman may go to her suitor without ceremony after making some private arrangement.

Christian influence has greatly modified marriage. Like the traditional marriage the Christian version is characterized by many ceremonies, some new and some old. Thus in the traditional marriage the husband is required at each stage to make several payments in live animals to cover certain procedures, and in Christian marriage he can cover all of them at once by paying a live animal or some money.

The violence which characterized former marriages is absent from the Christian ceremony. In reality, what happens inside the church is purely western, but what occurs outside is a blend of modified traditional practices and certain features of western life. Christian marriage is distinguished from traditional marriage by the large expense involved. Thus, contrary to what might be expected, it is among the Christians that people exist who

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585 demand very high dowries for their daughters. Like the
● 177 traditional marriage it[1] is also accompanied by con-
[583] siderable emotional strain, felt more by the mother and
[152] female children than by the male members of the family.

[1] [i.e. Christian marriage. – Analyst]

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VI

MARRIED LIFE

WITH the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

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843 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family
262 habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to
[753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

[756] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruction of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment
[784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expec-
278 tant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for kill-
•177 ing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of
[177] Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations,
[516] such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

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843 [846] the custom which confines a female child in the hut with its mother for only three days, whereas a male child would stay with its mother for four days, thus giving her a longer rest. In reality, only those women who have given birth to two or more children seem to be able to make any successful guess as to the sex of their expected child.

The Birth of a Child

844 177 *Preparations.* Among the Christian women, customs connected with the preparation for a birth have largely been dropped; but superstition is still a very real factor in the life of every Luo woman. Hence, for example, the preparation of bedding and clothes before a birth is usually neglected on purpose, the position being even worse in families of low income. When women give birth in the maternity wards, the husbands therefore have to make a hasty preparation during the seven days spent by their wives in hospital.

843 177 [302] Among the pagans, the pain or nausea experienced during the first few months of foetal growth is mitigated by the administration of a certain medicine. When this trouble has ceased the woman is expected to grow long hair which should not be shaved until the child is born. Those pagan women who associate much with Christians, however, have abolished this custom of growing hair, though some of them still take the medicine. Among the pagans, the expectant mother takes a light purgative during the sixth month which is believed to free her from any abdominal impurity. Strong purgatives are forbidden in case they may cause abortion or premature birth.

844 *Assistance during delivery.* The assistance a woman receives when giving birth depends on the circumstances in which she finds herself. There is no ruling laid down

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844 in life. The women themselves seem to share a belief that neither their own efforts nor the assistance of others have much effect upon the actual delivery of children. They prefer to believe that it is some mysterious power of God which helps them to give birth to their children.

845 *Difficult labour.* Although difficult labour cases are now largely dealt with in the hospitals, the crude traditional methods are occasionally used in remote areas, and they indicate the extent to which people will go to save the lives of mothers. To the midwives a difficult labour was formerly a dreaded situation. The mothers could suffer for days, and many of them died before relief was given. If a woman died before the birth it was considered a very bad omen. A stranger had to be paid to cut her open and remove the dead child, but no relative of her own was allowed to touch her.

When there was any hope of saving the mother's life, a large number of people gathered about her, and many deaths may have occurred through over-manipulation. Sometimes as many as ten persons were engaged in operating, while others stood by giving confused advice. The group performing the operation included men as well as women. The men held the woman while the women pulled on the head of the child, which was hooked on an iron hoe.

When this was done, little attention was paid to the damage of the passage from the womb. If the woman suffered twice from such a difficult delivery, she and her husband were advised to cease having children. If the advice was not observed the midwives had a right to refuse their help.

[177] *Twins.* The birth of twins was an unwelcome experience in pre-Christianized society, but in these days it is rarely accompanied by its traditional ceremonies of lamentation. According to tradition, as soon as the loud

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cry of the midwives was heard announcing the birth of twins, the news had to be carried to the parents of the woman. This loud cry was intended to scare the evil spirits which had brought about the double birth. With it began a series of taboos on the couple as well as on the twins, the family being virtually isolated from society. For emptying their bowels a large pot was placed in a hidden corner at the back of the house. If either of the twins died during the early period it was thrown into this pot. In place of the usual clothing, the couple had creepers twined around them. The period of taboo closed with a large gathering at which a great deal of beer was drunk. At this final ceremony the dancing was rather obscene and was accompanied by foul language in reference to the couple. These proceedings lifted the taboo from the shoulders of the parents, but the twins continued to be affected until their deaths. Moreover, anything done to one of the twins had to be done to the other also, because they could not be treated as separate identities. Now the attitude has greatly changed and even among pagans these customs are no longer observed.

Similarly, a birth in which the baby's legs appeared first was dreaded. This was ascribed to the work of the evil spirit.

Renewal of marital relationship. Originally it was the custom for the renewal of a marital relationship to take place on the third day following the birth of a female child, and on the fourth day after a male child. No married relatives were allowed to enter the hut to see the baby before the parents of the child renewed their marital relationship.

Although none of my informants could testify that this practice still exists, it is possible that it persists in certain places. Some of the informants pointed out that

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modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

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resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

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towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing is *far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

'Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shambas* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on proper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

'This was the first deputation. Others followed. Now the whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

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telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyakoroko we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

"The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *n'guru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

"We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

would write to the papers, or sign letters written for him, saying the people were against these schemes. And so some of us became confused. In this location we still wanted to exchange land, but some of our neighbours turned against it, and we had to stop.

'At the end of 1958 the opposition became very strong and the D.C. called a meeting to decide. The opposition staged another trick. They packed the meeting with supporters from other locations, even women who knew nothing about it at all. This was a noisy and a difficult *baraza*. Even with these methods, when it came to a vote the meeting was evenly divided. The casting vote was left to the D.C. He decided against us, and so the scheme was closed.

'We who had always been in favour were greatly harmed. We wanted the Government to bring water from the river, and surveying had already started for a piped scheme. Some of the elders went to the D.C. to ask him to change his mind, but he refused. In January, he agreed to send two people to Elgon Nyanza to see what was being done there. They saw it all, and when they returned we elected *liguru* after the pattern of the Elgon people. We called everyone together in groups, men, women and children, to plant hedges round the *shambas* that had been exchanged. I myself exchanged four pieces, and in some cases I paid money and cattle to get all my land in one piece. We managed to plant hedges round two or three *shambas* a day. Then we went to the D.C. and told him what we had done and asked him to send an officer to help us plan the use of our *shambas*. When he heard what we had done, he agreed.

'Now we have enclosed all the land of our clan and we want to have it registered. We asked the D.C., but there were still six men who refused, and the D.C. would not do it until everyone agreed. In the last few days two more have agreed, so now there are only four against it. When they agree we shall have titles to our land and then no one can upset the work we have done.'

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her,

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big thing.'

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

is a big thing. When we get some money, I shall ask my husband for a better house. We are in the way of progress now, but there is another thing: the Government must help us with our water, we need a scheme to bring it—that is the biggest thing.'

It is often said that women are the most conservative, and in some ways perhaps this may be so—especially in regard to marriage customs; but it struck me, almost everywhere I went, that it is the women who are most anxious to see these basic land reforms brought in, the men who oppose—not the old men so much as the younger, educated ones who have been to cities. Africa so often seems to reverse the expected order of things.

At any rate, there was no doubt of what these women thought about land reform. It is they, after all, the cultivators, the workers, who know where the shoe pinches, and no wonder they are out of patience with those young men of the towns who, while crying for political freedom, do their best to deny to their own women that measure of relief from hard, grinding toil which land consolidation and enclosure can afford.

Among the Luo, everything is done by clans—extended families would be a more correct term. This group is called the *jokakwaru* and consists of all the descendants of one grandfather. They hold their land in common and each individual, as he marries, is allocated a *shamba* by the *liguru*, the land elders. In time he probably inherits cultivation rights over other pieces from various mothers, uncles and cousins, and that is how fragmentation arises. All grazing land is held in common, as among all other tribes.

The *jokakwaru* system is at once a strength and a weakness, from a modern point of view. Livestock improvers regard it as an unmitigated curse.

'All the members of the group must agree to any sale of stock by any individual,' a vet told me. 'That makes destocking almost impossible, if only out of bloody-mindedness.' The livestock picture generally is a gloomy one. 'We are still trying to get across one or two of the most basic principles, such as dipping or spraying against ticks. Among the Kipsigis,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

over 5,000 people are spraying; here, with sixteen times the population, not 500 are. In the whole of Nyanza, with its 300,000 families, we have only sixty-seven Sahiwal bulls. 177 232

'On cattle, most of them won't budge. For instance, a man's prestige is somehow linked with that of his bulls, and they are most reluctant to castrate anything. Pioneers who try improved methods are unpopular and their neighbours are apt to gun for them; one man, for instance, had his pigs burnt alive. Still, we plug on. We have controlled rinderpest, if not East Coast fever—every year we give about 200,000 rinderpest inoculations. We export half a million hides and skins and are trying to improve their quality.'

It is perhaps worth noting that crops, whose improvement is considerable, are grown by women, but livestock is the exclusive concern of the men.

'In the years ahead,' this rather disillusioned vet concluded, 'we have only got to get across two basic principles: that a cow wants food all the year round, and that a calf needs milk. But it will take another twenty years before we make any real dent in Nyanza.'

On the other hand, some things unexpectedly catch on. A district officer who had seen fish-ponds in Malaya made half a dozen and stocked them with tilapia. Local people observed the ponds and, without any serious propaganda, dug others like them. Now there are over a thousand in Nyanza. They cost nothing, the Government provides free fingerlings and is full of plans for fish-ponds everywhere as the basis of a small industry. 177 228

V

Maseno is a dynamo of education. It was started by the Church Missionary Society. 'The general plan of campaign was based on the model of Iona,' wrote the Rev. John Willis, later Bishop of Uganda, who with Bishop Tucker chose the site in 1904. On 14th January, 1906, the first resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Savile, moved in—there was not much to move into, merely a grass hut under a tree that housed both the Saviles and a primitive dispensary. Nearly 197 871

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

firebrands. So in a small brick room put up by Bishop Tucker in 1911, and now the secondary school's common-room, I met a bunch of schoolmasters, all fluent in English, well-informed and politically-minded.

I put to them the question that most puzzled me; land reforms are unquestionably progressive and of benefit to Africans; by raising living standards they will advance the prospect of self-government; why, then, do so many educated Africans appear to oppose them?

The answer I got was unexpected. Mr. Samwell Ayan, a history teacher, a Makerere graduate, head of the Kenya Teachers' Union and an elected member of the District Council that was embroiled in trouble, spoke impressively—and with moderation and logic.

'People are not getting justice,' he said. 'Men are losing land they are entitled to because of bribery and corruption in the African Courts. Everyone is being bribed—land elders, chiefs, witnesses. Yes, from the African Courts a man can take his case before the D.C., but what can the D.C. do? He sees only the evidence in front of him; it is all rigged; the man loses his land. I know of many cases like that. The Courts are rotten—a washout.

'I know of a case where the president of the Court altered all the evidence after it had been given and sent it up to the superior Court. When the plaintiff heard the false evidence read out, he was hopelessly confused. Clerks take bribes to keep appeal cases beyond the date when the right to appeal lapses. This is being done even in Kisumu. All the land elders can be bribed. The hunger for land is so great.

'What should be done? First, hear land cases before everyone in the location who has, or is entitled to, land—a real people's court. Then, make tape-recordings of evidence in the lower courts; if the evidence is changed, everyone will know. And let the district officer take all land cases so that he hears everything.

'It is because of this corruption and unfairness that people oppose land consolidation. All the same, it has got to come. It is progressive. But do not let it be forced.'

Mr. Ayan spoke with sincerity and even passion. This

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

662 668 question of bribery and corruption crops up everywhere and all concerned on the official side recognize it as their deepest enemy. But when I put Mr. Ayan's points to them they were a little sceptical. 'Of course there is bribery,' they said, 'but it is not as bad as that. And it is not the people who oppose land reforms, it is the politicians.' Mr. Ayan had just sent a telegram to the Governor asking for the removal of the 'reactionary D.C.' in Kisumu, so relations were naturally a bit strained.

VI

311 197 648 134 233 On the way to Maseno we had passed the ostensible *casus belli* between District Council and Government: the Kisiani hills, a barren, rocky bluff entirely denuded of vegetation and a scene of the most gruesome erosion, given over to goats browsing on boulders and any indomitable weed that had managed to germinate. This place had been leased by the District Council to the Government for the purpose of afforestation and about 800 acres of trees had been planted at a cost of £13,000.

311 648 668 197 Afforestation is unpopular. Goats were allowed to destroy the Kisiani seedlings and, when the forest department put up fences, people came and tore them down in the night. Others started to cultivate in defiance not only of the terms of the lease, but of regulations which forbid cultivation on steep hillsides. All this, in the official view, was part of a deliberate political campaign to stir up anti-Government feeling.

The Kisiani quarrel brought to a head bad feeling between the Central Nyanza District Council and the Government. All the Councillors are African save for the chairman, who is the D.C. Most of its senior technical staff are European and, in particular, it employs (as do all District Councils with large revenues) a fully qualified accountant to manage its finances.

Those elected Councillors most anxious for unrestricted freedom objected strongly to this accountant. Africans, they said, should have the spending of African money without European interference. Officials retorted that in proper,

21:Huxley Q. T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

honest accounting lies the only defence against wholesale bribery and corruption—against the sort of thing Mr. Ayan had complained about so powerfully. 311 648 668

In the midst of this controversy the Council, with its elected majority, repudiated the lease of the Kisiani afforestation area and refused to take steps to stop sabotage of the plantations. The Government retorted by demanding repayment of the £13,000 spent upon them. This would have meant raising the Council's annual rate from eighteen to twenty-one shillings on each adult male. 177

This demand to increase the rate was, of course, turned down flat by the elected Councillors, who in their anger sacked the accountant, appointed a totally unqualified African at £1,000 a year to succeed him, and threatened to dismiss other European staff on grounds of race. They also voted large increases in their own salaries and allowances. [186]

Naturally I asked Mr. Ayan's views. The Kisiani trouble, in his account, boiled down to a number of misunderstandings. The individuals who owned cultivation rights in the hills had not, he said, ever fully understood the matter, it had not been properly explained. They thought the trees would be theirs, not common property. They had never given their permission on paper, with marks or signatures. The matter was explained to them by an unpopular chief who did not wait to hear all their objections. When they grazed their goats in the plantations they thought they were on their own property and were much aggrieved when they were fined. They had no land elsewhere. Land hunger was so acute as to be a more important matter even than marriage. 'If a man should lose his wife he can buy another; but once the land is gone you cannot buy any more.' 311 177 648

It looked like one more failure in public relations. But the officials denied this. 'We explained over and over again,' they said. '*Barazas*, news-sheets, radio . . . Everyone had a chance to put his case. No, behind it is the old story—politicians spreading rumours that it's all a trick to steal the land.' [668]

[pp. 110-151 not processed]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

613
614 Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes betwen a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

613 In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land;
614 there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration.
609 People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives
578 for their sons. The strangers settled as *orce*, in-laws, and become maternal uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of exogamy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the JoSeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[178] Hence we find to-day in the overcrowed tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

613 The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal
614 territory and point to their *gundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ances-
578 tors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area in that
423 they have resided there for many generations and also can point there to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a clan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

593 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are these lads when they return to the Reserves, though some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 There is nothing in the social life of the Luo in the way of organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of ●178 the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving [166] to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax, 178 we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has 651 given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Luo. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

888 178 651 water. The young son could not find employment and was wandering about trying to scrape together the money for his poll tax. Upon the father came the demand for hut tax. He had no money and could not pay. Next year another demand was made, this time for the current year and for that of the previous year. Again he could not pay. The third year he was dunned for three hut taxes, and as he was unable to pay his hut was confiscated to Government, the door was sealed up, and his aged wife driven to seek shelter among neighbours. Homeless, the old man made a frantic effort amongst his relations, who were already liable to pay their own dues, and by dint of much supplication managed to get enough to satisfy the tax for the first of the three years, whereupon his hut was unsealed. Is it any wonder that the younger generation regard the aged as a liability as never before? Demands for hut tax upon the penurious aged is one of the greatest solvents of filial affection in the Reserves to-day, for the burden falls largely on the young.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

764 Since the Administration of the country by the "White Man" these wars
721 are a thing of the past. However, the old custom remains, in so far, that even at
178 present on the morning after a person's death his relations and tribesmen have a sham-fight, at the same places where formerly they used to fight their real wars.

764 The wailing at a person's death spreads the news in no time, and at day-break all the men of that tribe attire themselves in their wardress, after having smeared themselves with oker and mud, and go out with their shields and spears. They gather at the kraal of the deceased, and having brought some cattle they go out to the uninhabited boundary of their district for their sham-fight.

There the performance starts with the killing of a chicken as a sacrifice to the gods, that they might favour and bless their war, just as they did in the days of old. Whilst the old folks roast and eat the chicken the warriors dash forward to their imaginary enemy here and there stabbing a tuft of grass or throwing their spears in a bush, and rushing back again as if the enemy was on their heels.

When after an hour or two of fighting the enemy is defeated, they go back to the village of deceased. From the moment he gave up his ghost (and sometimes before that) the people of the village have been bewailling him, running in and out of the hut, shouting and yelling all the time. They have also taken his cattle one by one to the doorway of his hut, that they too might bewail their deceased master.

And now, after the warriors have returned, the corpse is put in front of the hut. The warriors and the people of the surrounding country (sometimes thousands of them, if deceased was a chief, a witchdoctor, a rainmaker, or other important personage) go up to the corpse, and bewail it, running in and out and round the kraal, all of them yelling like madmen.

The warriors also take their "spoils" up to the corpse, to show the spirit of deceased that his death has been revenged.

Whilst this is going on three men are digging the grave. If he was a rich man, i. e. if he had many wives, the grave is dug next to the hut in which he died, after a small temporary hut has been built over the spot. If he had only few wives then the grave is dug inside the hut in which he died. The corpse is lowered in the grave by 4 men, and the children of the village with their hands and feet scrape the earth into the grave, always with their backs towards the same. After the actual burial the wailing goes on for another half hour or so, whereupon all the outsiders return home.

In the evening the people of the kraal go to the grave with a chicken, which, held by the legs, is smitten with its head on the grave till it is dead. Then it is roasted and eaten. They also put a broken cooking pot on the grave, which they trample to pieces there. Then they kill a sheep, which is eaten by the men that night. Its skin is cut into narrow strips. These are tied round the right wrist of all the male inhabitants of the kraal, and round the left wrist of all the females. This finishes the ceremonies for the day.

765 Next morning arrangements are made in the open space outside the village for a dance. The older women beat a couple of drums, the young women and girls from the neighbourhood dance, the men and boys in their war-costume run about

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101 174 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

497. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS REEDS, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud [178] or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses [342] are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually 513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The 882 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 19[illegible] had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 194[illegible] for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me [illegible] from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I [illegible] my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makere[illegible] themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a [illegible] period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 3) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awandu, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

The most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *ebila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *ebila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dala* or *wuon pacho*; *jadong'* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Lozi family has a "house-property complex" of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often striking in detail. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more permanent rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

to his home and continue to live in the *simba*, the bride not cooking on her own, 585
but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riso* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *aliock* and his mother-in-law the goat of *aum thunda*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ataka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simba* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman 583
without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the [554]
past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simba* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when [178]
adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies 587
of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences 586
rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there 422
are clearly recognised divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

7

HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 THE LUO ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains
178 today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

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19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

614 very large degree. Their family system remains strong and
●178 largely unimpaired by the impact of Western civilization. The patriarch of the extended family unit, the *jokakuoro*, remains the local authority. Because a series of family groups together form a territorial unit, the sub-clan, the strength and solidity of the Luo family and lineage structure remain supreme. Obviously there have been changes. Basically, however, the changes are superficial.

562 The role of women in Luo society is a subordinate one. Indigenously they play no part in the major ceremonies or rituals and have never had political authority. They do not organize in age groups or societies as in other cultures, and remain primarily the property of their father and his lineage or, on marriage, the property of their husband and his clan.

595 Polygyny is still the ideal and goal of the majority of Luo men. A recent village survey showed that taking a sample of 744 homesteads, which varied between a simple monogamous family and the very large unit of the extended polygamous family, 55 per cent were monogamous units, of which 9 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives, thus making them socially polygamous units; 45 per cent were polygamous homesteads, of which 11 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives. Only 27 per cent of the total sample were found to be simple monogamous households, that is one in four of the family type associated with Western culture: a man, his wife and children. The remainder were either polygamous or had leviratic wives or were of the extended family type. Of this 27 per cent, moreover, it was the ideal of the vast majority to become polygamous later.

871 Education among the Joluo has increased rapidly in recent years, and it was found in our sample that 63 per cent of the boys of school age were either at school or had been to school for more than one year. The figure was 30 per cent for the girls. Of the adult males, however, only 28 per cent had been to school, and of the married females, only 7 per cent. The standard attained, moreover, was not high. More than half the male

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chiew* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jo-bilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

153 such circumstances they have to depend on their mothers' milk.

Although the time and nature of her work may force a woman to feed her child at certain hours, there is otherwise no fixed time for feeding babies. If the mother is present, the child is suckled whenever it wants to. Thus babies having such treatment grow up with a particularly strong liking for their mothers' breasts. As soon as a baby is big enough, the mother begins to limit her suckling and to increase the frequency of gruel-taking. The frequency of suckling is greater for babies between one and three months, the intervals increasing with the age of the child. Daily absence of the mother when she is working at a distance may also impose longer intervals between the successive sucklings than would be the case if the mother were nearby, or within the village. Chil-
[177] dren in more enlightened families are started on cow's milk after one or two months, and are given gruel after six months.

There is a widespread belief that gruel strengthens the bones, and therefore should be a very important article of diet just before the child begins to walk.

Cleanliness

154 There is a general slackness in the washing of children by Luo mothers, which increases as the children grow older, but sometimes, especially among the more ad-
[178] vanced people, they are kept tidy regularly. It may be of interest to know that, in the past, they were washed early every morning in cold water in the belief that this would make them strong. Whenever the children empty their bowels they are cleaned with old rags or soft leaves. The limited supply of old rags makes the use of leaves more common.

Bedding and clothes. No clothes are especially made for the babies.

20:Orninde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

883 On the whole, girls dislike those men whose chief object
864 is sexual satisfaction. Their caution is often the result of
881 talks on the nature of sexual relationship which girls hold in their communal sleeping places, and with older women.

When newly-married women return to their maternal homes, they freely discuss among themselves—especially during sleeping hours—their experiences with their husbands. This affords an opportunity for the unmarried adolescent girl to obtain first-hand information on the nature of relationships in married life.

883 *Opportunities for contact.* The normal first meeting between girls and those with whom they may have sexual relations, takes place by conscious or deliberate arrangements made by the parties concerned, at marriage ceremonies or in public places like market centres or towns. They first make each other's acquaintance somewhere between the girl's and the man's house, particularly when the two live in close proximity. These are distinguished from any other meetings in that they are arranged between the male friends and the older adolescent girls or those on the threshold of adolescence.

The meetings which take place during marriage ceremonies are observed with great interest by girls of the nursing age, who watch the older girls' behaviour towards their men friends with keen curiosity. In many instances introductions are managed through the brothers of the girls. Introductions resulting in marriage
894 may also come about through a girl first acquainting
889 herself with sisters who introduce their brother to her. Brothers of adolescent girls would, like all members of the family, disapprove of a prolonged friendship without any sign of betrothal and would do all they could to persuade the girl to look for another friend.

881 *Sex education of adolescent girls.* Girls in the old tradi-
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20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

883 raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to
836 be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

881 The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by
178 the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position
[584] remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could
[582] take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

882 *The social position of a girl on reaching maturity.* The
[732] social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is
[582] a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become
589 subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by
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20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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V

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Preliminary Considerations

One difference between the older traditional kind of marriage and marriage as it is conducted nowadays lies in the part played by relatives to make the venture a success. Individual initiative was formerly negligible, the greater part of the marriage negotiations being undertaken by the relatives of both parties. This had the effect of reducing the importance of the bridegroom whose initiative gave way to a dependence upon the good will of his relations to whom the task of negotiation was left.

At present the tendency in marriage is towards individualism, although it is still a matter where society plays a considerable part. But since the individual man and woman are taking a greater part in deciding whom they shall marry, there is now a greater opportunity to develop an attachment genuinely based upon love. Steps are still usually taken, however, to ensure that the man's family has sufficient wealth to pay a satisfactory dowry, and the co-operation of the society in which the girl lives is needed if the relationship is to be successfully established. Great care is also taken to see that the marriage of the couple would not go against the normal stratification of relationships already in existence.

The marriage of a member of A-B family to C-D family* excludes the children of C and H from intermarrying with any member of the lineage of the maternal grandparents. So long as connection with the

*See diagram on p. 44

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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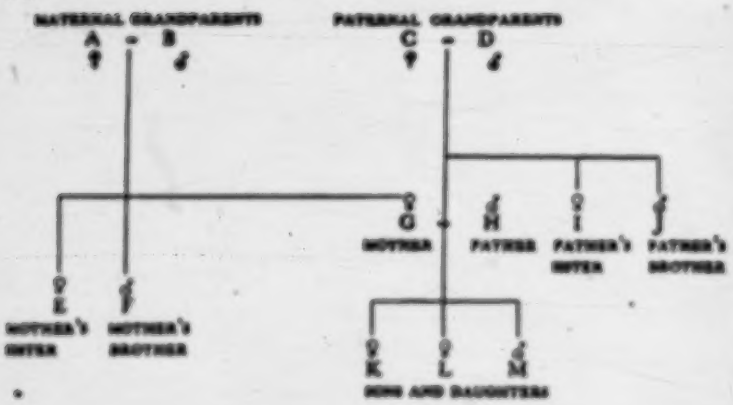

maternal grandparents can be traced, descendants of G-H family will not marry the person concerned.

But E may be married to H's brother and *I* too may marry E's brother. Should F's son wish to marry from the community in which G has been married it would be G who would take the responsibility of looking for a young woman from among the daughters of her brothers-in-law and not from among her sisters-in-law. In the same way, the sons of G's brothers-in-law cannot marry any of G's sisters or sisters by relation (daughters of her uncles). The method of acting through a relative in establishing a marriage connection is still in use, although personal initiative is increasingly taking its place.

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The Position of a Betrothed Woman

The life of a betrothed woman presents a busy time of conflicting and disturbing news. Information of much discomfort to both parties comes and goes and is forgotten. To the girl such information is of great importance, and her attitude is often affected by it. Each time a

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20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

584 on their own initiative, the object being to familiarise
881 them with the relationship between husband and wife and with the prospective husband's moods and to establish a good understanding. At this time there is no instruction on the care of babies, such knowledge being acquired after the woman has given birth.

871 The difference between the traditional training of
• 178 brides and their modern education, even in its elemen-
[881] tary stages, is tremendous. While traditional education is constantly weakening, modern education tends to develop along its own independent lines, omitting rather than assisting those elements it is intended to improve. It is likely that a stronger foundation could be built through modern education if the latter paid more heed to those features of community life which most urgently require improvement, but which in themselves provide a groundwork of practical knowledge.

The pace of progress in Luo society is bound to be slow while the sphere of women's life remains still radically conservative. It is arguable that modern education emphasizes literary theory too much, yet the traditional education which stresses practical work from early childhood, gives only a limited time for theory, even in
[881] maturity. However this may be, there is no doubt that there now exists too much ignorance of the requisite knowledge about sex, for girls and young women can be met who plainly profess ignorance on certain fundamental features of the traditional training.

It therefore seems necessary that if education is to be of real use and interest to girls, some features of practical value to society should be included. This presupposes a thorough study of the subject concerned and a wise selection of those elements which would inspire the pupils to improve themselves and the society in which they move.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arise in

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11
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[PP.4-96 not Processed]

CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing is *far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

'Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shamba* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on proper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

'This was the first deputation. Others followed. Now the whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. xx, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum xxvi, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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183 goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

783 Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleans-
683 ing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chiro*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted [77] to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other [594] factors were involved to escape detection for an act which [628] in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kuwe*, and not *chiro*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar dis-
683 tinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be
672 found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are convicted and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of thus causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried mud and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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69 Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminous in the main, as has been said, with
the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit.
682 As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and
one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No cut was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *bara*,[1] for they were aunge, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

69 In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of
strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of
682 the same clan, such as Karaouenyo tribe, compensation for homicide was
not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with
184 the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in
673 cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they
would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that cut was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to *kuma*. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

361 The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced
hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression
69 in the *thim*. The thim was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war, raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karaouenyo man killed for some private reason a Kuria man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Karaouenyo territory.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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the JoOwiło of Uyoma; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted, even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Kanyamuyo, Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwor. The young men are rebelling against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwiło marry into the fraternal clan of Omio (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *ondo* is permitted. *Ondo* is a socially recognised love-making in which the youths court the girls and bring them to the *simbo* or bachelor's hut and sleep with them there and have relations with them *intra cruro*. Thus the KoAlwadha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwiło clan of Uyoma may *ondo* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago; likewise the KoGumbo and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRachuonyo of Kanyamuyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated and are beginning to *ondo* between them it is done at first with discretion, because the elder men are opposed to the innovation, then in open affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*par*) and then the ordinary form (*nako*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the politico-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

A man may not marry a *nyakwar*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan, though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards as a *wuoi*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *wuoi*, kinsfolk, or *mangu*, enemies. A man cannot marry his and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognised between them for purposes of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Kanyamuyo man of the Kwia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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while relations of a personal kind and kinship/links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lima*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *wou gwong*, 'father of the land' the *wou gwong* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*bwor*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying pook* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJejo, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, especially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as Uyoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the KoOkwiri are matched against the KoOhong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

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MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

114 THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It
[118] does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Lunland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from
[119] the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Siwka

836 Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love
[182] to girls (*sak*) in the *siwka* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *siwka*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *vin*, the final ceremony of marriage. I
[533] was told that a girl does not usually visit the *siwka* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

[1] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Luo Tribes and Clans", *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

[2] H. Hartmann, "Some Customs of the Lovers (or Others Surrounded) Bring in Sweet Surrounds", *Anthropos*, 1936.

[3] K. C. Shaw, "Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs", *J.R.A.&U.S.R.A.*, 1950.

animals paid varies according to the circumstances of the time. From the information recorded by early authorities (Johnston, Hobley, Northcote, Stam, and Hartmann) it appears that before cattle plague had destroyed much of the Luo livestock at the end of last century, anything between twenty and forty head of cattle were paid. Since then, until recently, bridewealth has fluctuated between two or three and six or seven head of cattle. One gathers from Shaw's account that in 1931 round about twenty cattle were regarded as a suitable bridewealth. My own inquiries in 1936 led me to believe that at that time the number of cattle paid might be expected to be somewhere between fifteen and twenty.

They fall into two parts, the *dhe kwap* and the *dhe i kwap*. The *dhe kwap*, the animals the husband pays first, are those which are named and earmarked for certain relatives of the bride. They comprise the basic minimum which has to be paid if the marriage is to be concluded. These are the *dhar mare gi ayathani*, the cow of the mother and its calf, *dhar mare gi ayathani*, the cow of the father and its calf, *dhar atwa*, the cow of the bow, a female calf which goes to the father's brother, *dhar ciwa*, the cow of the fresh milk, *thwa dhok*, a bull for the father, *rach pala*, the calf of the bulls, which is paid so that if any of the bridewealth cattle die in the home of the bride's parents they may eat the meat—before it is paid they send the meat to the bridegroom and he has to replace the beast; *rach dar*, the ox provided for meat at the *dero* ceremony, and *rach riaga*, the ox of the meat, an animal killed by the bridegroom's people to provide the mother of the bride with meat—it is killed in her home but there is no special time when it has to be presented. Except for the cow, and perhaps a calf with it, which goes to the paternal uncle and the ox slain to feast the visiting girls at the *dero* ceremony, all these animals are taken by the parents. The terms by which they are described differ in different parts of Lowland.

I believe that to the south of the Kavirondo gulf no distinction is made between the named and the unnamed cattle, but it is a very important distinction in Alego, where the husband's *jagwe* and brothers are most careful, when they take the named animals to the home of the bride's father, to leave no doubt in his mind which particular animals he is receiving. He cannot then get an additional animal by claiming later that one of those which must in all marriages be paid has not been paid. The husband pays one or two of the *dhe kwap* at a time and it generally takes about two years for him to hand them all over. In addition he has to pay the *dhe i kwap*. The number of these extra cattle is not fixed and is reached by negotiation between the husband's people and his father-in-law. Nevertheless there is a conventional average, in 1936 between five and seven head of cattle. It is about the odd extra beast or two that the lengthy discussions take place. Some of the *dhe i kwap* are paid shortly after the *dhar pose* (which counts as one of them) has been handed over but the husband does not pay them, if he can avoid it, until he has settled all the named claims, as he may otherwise find that he has to give more cattle than he bargained for. In addition to cattle the husband's people pay a number of goats, between five and ten. The husband may not be able to pay all these animals for some years, and if his father-in-law is friendly he will not press him too hard to settle a small outstanding debt. The final animal perhaps will not be paid till the wife's daughter is married.

Although the father of the bride gets the bulk of the bridewealth, some of the animals will be used to marry wives for his sons, and he may give one or two to his

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115 I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. Mayes, Collector of Nandi, for much information regarding that tribe, which is particularly uncommunicative on these matters.

114 I have no doubt that, as years go by, many of the matters dealt with herein may become much clearer, but I have thought it best to publish the material without further delay, as it may help to stimulate further research, and I also fear that as civilization develops, many of the strange customs and legends may become lost; in fact, there are already signs that the younger generation of natives are losing interest in the old order of things.

Legends of the Origin of the Ja-Luo Race.

773 Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I
173 believe I am correct in stating that, in Africa, it is generally among those of Bantu origin that such myths are found. However, in the whole of the country in the
184 vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kadimu belief that their common ancestor was a huge python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apôdtho, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Ugada chief of Usakwa.

Apôdtho was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apôdtho descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north of Uganda, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one woman, whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters. These sons were named Ramogi and Anyango, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimu country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

Anyango, the other son of Apôdtho, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Bagondo and Banyoro. On the day that Apôdtho

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

reached the earth, among the other animals that accompanied him were a bull, a cow, and a calf; he also brought *mtama* and other food-bearing seeds and plants, and there is especially mentioned besides, a tree called "Were," and out of the wood of the Were tree he made two wooden bowls. He then milked the cow into one of the wooden bowls, and, from ignorance he caught the cow's urine into the other bowl; this done, he poured the milk into a gourd and left the bowl of cow's urine in the sun, and then rested till the evening. At sundown he churned the milk that was in the gourd, collected the butter, and put it on one side; he then brought in the bowl of urine and mixed it with the buttermilk that remained in the gourd. Then, being hungry, he took the mixture and made some gruel with *mtama* meal, cooked and drank it; after drinking it, he passed urine for the first time since he had reached the earth, and this is the origin of the Ja-Luo custom of mixing milk with the cow's urine which prevails to this day.

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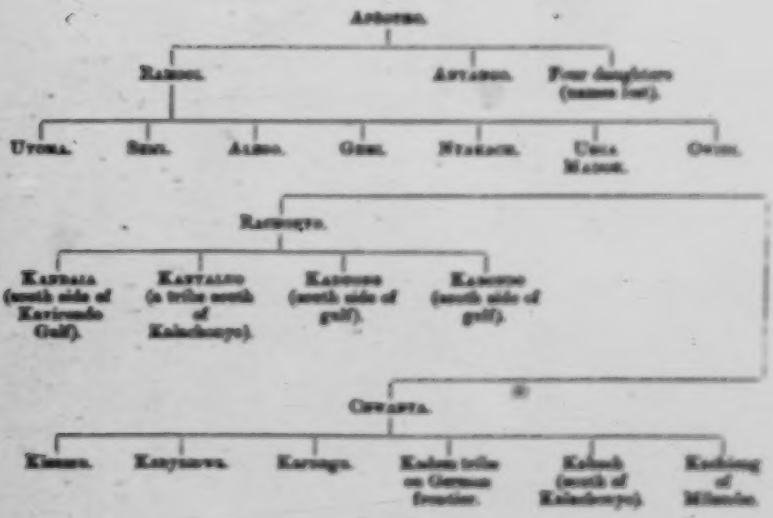
GENEALOGY OF JA-LUO.

Version 1 of Ugada Ndisk of Usakwa.



Version II. Ugada chief of Karwudo.

Apôdtho was the ancestor of all men; he descended to the earth from above, and brought with him two head of cattle, some fowls, and seeds of *mtama*, *ere-ere*, and *wimbi*. He found the tobacco plant growing on earth; the elephant gave him the sweet potato and beans. He also brought the knowledge of making fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and he taught the Ja-Luo to mix cow's urine with the milk.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Loo FL11

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He reached the earth in the country away to the north of the lake, and died in that country; at his death, he turned into a rock. Apiddito had supernatural powers and possessed the power to turn into a rock at will. When he was old, the Ja-Loo conspired to kill him, but for a long time nothing came of it, because they were afraid of him; but one day sickness overcame him; the conspirators sent a girl to see if he was really sick, as they thought it would be a good opportunity to kill him. She took a small horn, used for cupping blood, in her hand, and, while talking to him, she placed the cupping horn on his shadow; to her surprise it drew blood from the shadow. She returned and told her friends that, if they wanted to kill Apiddito, they must not touch his body, but spear his shadow; they did so, and he died and turned into a rock, which the Ja-Loo afterwards considered to possess special virtues for sharpening spears on.

Ramogi was the first member of the Ja-Loo race to come to Kavirondo, and he built in Kadimo country, near what is now the village of the chief Asara.

The Ja-Mwa (or Basira Kavirondo) are descended from Anyanga and came to Kavirondo before the Ja-Loo. They also came from the north, but belong to a different stock, the Baganda and Ba-Soga.

The Nandi came from the Ja-Lango. The Ja-Loo on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf originally lived on the north side, and crossed over by canoes.

The Kelou and various Ja-Loo clans on the Kitoto plain are the descendants of one Kaura, who is said to have come from Masai land, and to have married the sister of Rachuoyo and settled down in the Kitoto plain; they are to this day often grouped together under the name Ja-Kaura.

Gumi, Lego, Sakwa, Kadimo, Ugenya, the founders of the tribes of the same name, were not sons of Ramogi, but were collaterally descended from Apiddito.

Version III.

This version was obtained from Gori Kogalo, chief of Kanyamwea (Ja-Loo) on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf.

Apiddito was the father of all mankind; and he, the sun, the wind, and the moon appeared on earth together; the father of the sun was dead. Apiddito brought with him to the earth a spear, a shield, and fire. The buffalo and the cattle came out of the sea (probably meaning the Nyanza), and were herded by mankind, but the buffalo broke away, and took to the woods, refusing to become tame as the cattle did; he also brought various grain, the crimbi he found growing on earth in the grass; he found tobacco and the sweet potato growing in elephant dung.

Shortly after their arrival, Apiddito ordered the moon to kill an ox, but the moon refused; he then told the sun, and then the wind, they also refused, so he killed the ox himself with a blow from his fist, and then ate the meat, offering some to the sun, moon, and wind, but they all refused to eat, and he was very angry, so they fled back to the heavens and have stayed there ever since. Apiddito told his

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Genealogy of the Ju-Loo.

Version 2 of Ojada Kwenda.

in Kwenda and Beach.

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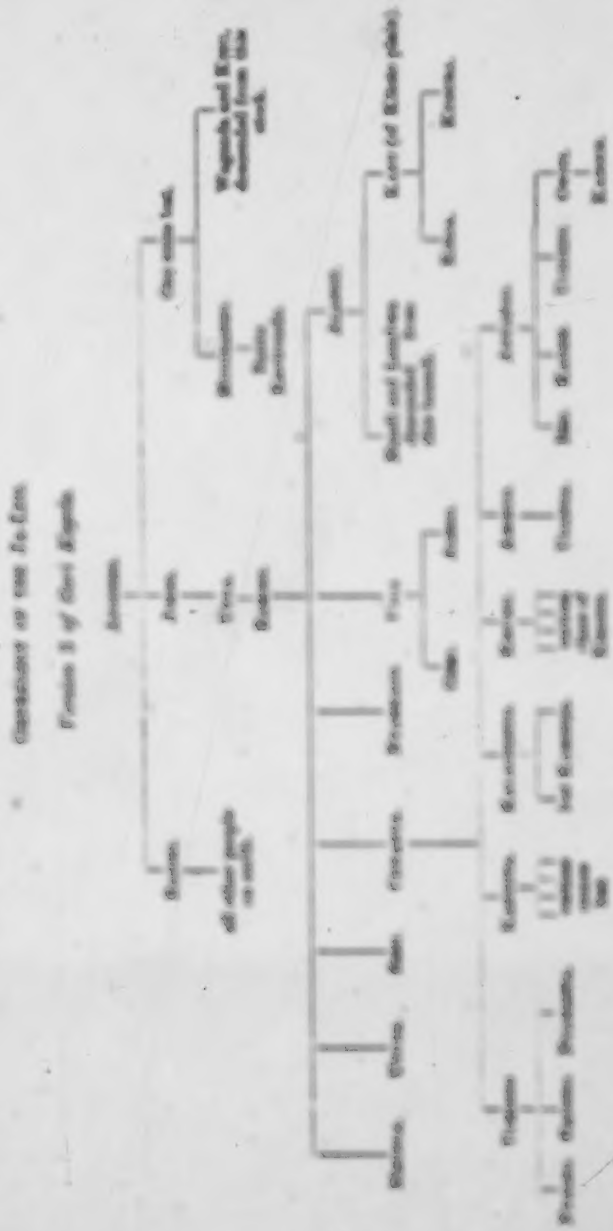

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children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet these people.

Banagi, the great grandson of Apidibbo, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk.

Mbonga, the eldest son of Banagi, was the first member of the Ja-Luo to migrate southward into Kavirondo, and his brothers followed him; upon their arrival, they found the Bantu Kavirondo in possession of the land, but gradually drove them back.

The Bantu Kavirondo are descended from one Mugirango.

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating lambs and drinking milk to this day.

The Nandi and Lumbwa are descended from Alungé, a son of Banagi.

Rajuki, a son of Apidibbo, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

This account was given me by an old chief living away in the hills to the south of Kavirondo Gulf, a man who has probably not seen half a dozen Europeans in the whole of his life. He told me that, in his youth, the old chiefs had many more legends, but the young men of to-day took but little interest in such things, and they were all rapidly being forgotten. He confided to me that his neighbours imputed to him the power of being able to transform himself at will into the shape of an ox and other animals, but he gravely assured me that these absurdities were quite unfounded, and were a source of great embarrassment to him.

The version of the legend, given above, differs considerably from those previously recounted, and many new names appear. Most of the new names, however, are the names of tribes living in South Kavirondo, or Ugoye as it is often called, *e.g.*, Nyanibago, Kelandonyo, Kalondo, Kabuch, Kadou, Uchiong. As these were once neighbours of his ancestors, their names would be more likely to be remembered.

There is, I think, enough internal evidence to show that this is really a very ancient genealogy, brought down from the Nile valley by the people when they migrated to the south.

An examination of the three versions of the genealogy of the Ja-Luo just given will lay bare many discrepancies, the presence of which, to my mind, gives an air of great genuineness to the information, and is, in a way, proof of the age of the myth.

Like the genealogy of the Uganda kings given in Mr. Roscoe's paper,[1] and, for the matter of that, like many other genealogies of world-wide fame in the ancient history of more civilized countries, we have in the Ja-Luo genealogy a succession of mythical personages and demigods at one end of the line, and at the other end,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON LUO MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

By K. C. Shaw.

I. Introductory.

This account of Luo marriage customs was given to me by half a dozen elders of the Luo tribe, living in a location called Nyakore about seven miles from Kisumu. All of them were over fifty, and two at least must have been nearing seventy, if they were not older. The question of the age of my informants may seem irrelevant, but in fact it is not. In the first place their advanced age, an age to counted among primitive people, entailed that they had been brought up, and had passed their early manhood during a period when the customs of the tribe had still not been affected by contact with European civilisation. Their view of life, and of their duties as members of the Luo tribe was the view that had been taken by their fathers and their grandfathers before them. In this they differed from their own sons and grandsons whose attitude towards tribal customs has been and continues to be profoundly modified by white influences. This falling away from the traditional ways on the part of the younger generation is not only a source of grief to the old men: it is also a source of profound annoyance. For it robs them of a large part of the prestige and authority which among the Luo, as among other primitive people, is traditionally the due of those who attain to a ripe age. In the old days this prestige and this authority carried great weight. It was the head and fount of power in the tribe, and the exercise and enjoyment of this power became the chief interest of a man's life as his years increased and his sons grew up and took from his shoulders the family duties and cares of his earlier days. It follows that the decay in the importance of the old men, which is such a marked feature in nearly all the Kenya tribes to-day, makes the elders not only resentful, but also very willing to dwell on the old days, the good days, when their word was law, and the young were still in due subjection to the old and the wise. For these two reasons then, their exact personal knowledge of the traditional mode of life of the tribe, and their interest in the days when this mode of life was still the accepted one, the advanced age of my informants was a valuable factor. Also it pleased and flattered them to be appealed to as authorities, and from the beginning to the end of our intercourse they were only too pleased to tell me all they could of the days when they were young. Apart from a natural inclination to view the past through rosy spectacles they took great pains to give me an accurate account of what the tribal customs used to be before the white man came. Long discussions used to go on over points of detail, and it was only when they were all agreed that I was allowed

115 to write down the authorized version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
221 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, placed an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *ancuor*,
685 that for a married man *jaiti*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *masoncha*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilized care to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

dowry had been paid; he was thus enabled to spread his payments of the bride-price over a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. Also the fact that the girl was with child prevented her from being carried off by any other man; apparently a not unheard of occurrence. 583

The wedding feast itself—the kiriga—took place in the bridegroom's dale. The bride arrived accompanied by her sisters, or, if her sisters were too young to go with her, by her brothers' wives. She was also attended by one older woman, perhaps a married sister, who acted as a chaperone. It was the special duty of this older woman to see that the bride was properly treated, and to make herself polite to the father and mother of the bridegroom. But with this exception older men and women were never included in the bride's party. Any man who attached himself to it would have been laughed at for mixing himself up with an affair that concerned women only. On the other hand not only did the bridegroom's sisters attend the feast but, as well, all his brothers, half brothers, and first cousins (in other words all the people he called "brother"), the wives of his brothers, and all his male friends. 585

As a rule the wedding feast lasted only one day, but if the guests had come long distances, it might last two or even three days. The feast consisted of porridge and meat. The young people were not given beer, but the bridegroom's mother usually brewed a small quantity for her husband and his brothers.

The meat provided consisted of the flesh of a bull which was cut up and apportioned according to certain definite rules. The division was the duty of the bridegroom's father, who first of all cut a small piece from the neck and sent it into the bridegroom's mother, who waited in her hut to receive it. He then cut more small pieces from the neck and scattered them outside and inside her hut. This was an offering to the ancestral spirits, and was accompanied by the following prayer:— 585 782

Dhu wasinga dhiang mar dhakonga jaopi dalo ali ochom bad jachiem abolo rik bulabe bwara pi wuara gulega ama ringere ngam chaw nalo kiringa marach chod mare gima mahor dalo dalo.

Prayer and offering were together intended to placate the ancestral spirits and to persuade them to bless the marriage. After this the right fore leg was cut off and placed in the centre of the mother's hut. This fore-leg had a special name, bodjachiem and was a gift to all the ancestral spirits. It was afterwards eaten by the bridegroom's father and mother, and part of it was dried and sent to the bride's mother.

The whole of the breast, with the exception of a small piece reserved for the bridegroom's brothers, is sent to the brothers of the 585 189

bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (paxpuepo = bachelors) may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugoma, Asembo, Kadimu and Ugenya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the older men living in the dala, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the older men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This connection was called kichuri and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadimu, and Ugenya on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts kichuri was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The hump was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as hydrocele. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

After the kitiepa was over the girl was regarded as having finally passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the sinka hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (bad jachiev) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

INTRODUCTION

This piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits—are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved, to provide a structure on which

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

CONCLUSION

121 In order that educational plans may be effective, attention should be paid to those features of social life which most nearly affect education. 'The Luo Girl' is not an attempt to record facts of exclusive interest to the sociologist nor to the psychologist, but it aims to give a picture of the factors at work in the character-building of Luo girls and in the shaping of their attitude to the society in which they live. In short, this book has been written to place certain data at the disposal of those interested in suggesting ways in which the lives of the Luo people can be improved both spiritually and materially. Plans for increased education for Luo girls will no doubt be more effective if the factors which help to shape the character and the attitude of the girls are carefully examined. The customs which have been described are [184] not static and some of them have already ceased to retain their meaning in some districts. Thus there may be wide differences in customs among the Luo people, but it is the principles underlying these customs which should be of interest to us today.

Luo society, like many African societies, is undergoing change. The educator's task is a difficult one. It is only through a careful analysis of the factors which affect its social make-up that he can make an enlightened contribution to its improvement. I have therefore endeavoured in the foregoing chapters to put forward such material as might be of some help in making a balanced plan for the new developments which will affect Luo society.

[illegible]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1934) 1949
FL11 Lee FL11

gate owned by its branches are fairly distinct. Intermarriage is the main cause of inconstancy and marriage within the clan is not permitted.

There are a number of stranger lineages in Kaeworoyo (Wagwe, Kaewein, Kabenuor, Jokadora, etc.) but they are small lineages and so much incorporated with the dominant Kaibaworoyo clan that they have no territorial and political distinctness. Some attention must now be given to the status of stranger lineages in the dominant lineage within a tribe.

We have noted that in Kaeworoyo there are few stranger lineages and that they are weak ones. By far the greater majority of the tribe are members of the dominant clan. Other tribal territories display greater clan admixture and the presence of powerful stranger lineages whose numerical importance is reflected in the tribal myths. A European may not quickly become aware of these stranger elements unless local disputes force his attention to them, for the dominant clan is generally identified linguistically with the tribe. Jo-Kinga means both the tribesmen of Kinga tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Kinga and Kaibaworoyo means both the tribesmen of Kaeworoyo tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Baroworoyo. Therefore if a man of the Jo-Nilus stranger lineage in Kinga were asked outside Kinga to what people he belongs he would reply that he belonged to the Kinga folk, but if he were asked within the tribal territory he would say that he was a Jo-Nilus, for the Jo-Nilus are a distinct agnatic group living in their own portion of country within Kinga.

Now, from the point of view of the dominant clan in a tribal area the members of this clan alone are the *jopiny or jopiwang*, the people of the land and the owners of it, and the rest are *jokidi*, the separated people, the strangers; though if they lived among them a long time they speak of them as *jokodi*, for *jokidi* is a harsh word.

These stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that through recognition of female links the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of agnatic lineages. Less numb of the affiliated lineages are known, lineages of in-laws, or as I have, lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children. As the affiliated lineages have taken wives from the dominant clan they also come into the category of *ekwa*, sister's son, to its members. In this way every lineage in a tribe, whether of the dominant clan or of stranger stock, has a structural position in the system of lineages of which a tribe is composed and of which the lineages of the dominant clan are the framework.

The lineages of the clan which owns the tribal territory and those affiliated to it seem in the past to have been on a general social equality and to have acted conjointly in matters of common tribal interest, particularly in war against other tribes. They were differentiated only in matters of ritual, marriage regulations, and, as explained earlier, in settlement of homicide. In recent years, however, some differences have arisen about land in those parts of the country where the density of population is greatest, especially in the more northern tribes of Central

THE CULT OF MUMBO IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH RAVIRONDO.

By "Nyangwese."

24 Owing to the African's habit of giving the answer he imagines to be the one required instead of the real answer to a question, it has been a little difficult to sift fact from fiction as regards the Mumbo cult. A further complication is that in this religion, as in others, there are different sects who hold their own views as to the interpretation of the teachings of the founder. I have however endeavoured, after several interviews with members of the cult, and with others in a position to give reliable information, to eliminate minor local divergences of belief, and to give a broad outline of the main beliefs and practices of the Mumbotan.

25 In 1918, there lived in the Central Kavirondo location of Alego, a man named Onyango Dondo, of the Asaje clan. One evening as he sat in his hut, a gigantic snake appeared and swallowed him up. It was so big that as it stood on end in the lake (Lake Victoria) its head reached up into the clouds. Almost immediately afterwards it vomited Onyango back again into his hut, unscathed but rather chicken. Indeed it appears that this was just the snake's method of drawing Onyango's attention to the fact that it wished to speak with him, which it proceeded at once to do. It spoke more or less as follows:—

"I am the God Mumbo whose two homes are in the Sun and in the Lake. I have chosen you to be my mouth-piece. Go out and tell all Africans—and more especially the people of Alego—that from tomorrow I am their God. Those whom I chose personally, and also those who acknowledge me, will live for ever in plenty. Their crops will grow of themselves and there will be no more need to work. I will cause cattle, sheep, and goats to come up out of the lake in great numbers to those who believe in me, but all unbelievers and their families and cattle will die out.

26 "The Christian religion is rotten (sabora) and so is its practice of making its believers wear clothes. My followers must let their hair grow—never cutting it. Their clothes shall be the skins of goats and cattle and they must never wash. All Europeans are your enemies, but the time is shortly coming when they will all disappear from our country.

"Daily sacrifice—preferably the males—of cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls shall be made to me. More especially do I prefer black bulls. Have no fear of sacrificing them as I will cause unlimited black cattle to come to you from the Lungo (Masai, Nandi, and Lumbwa).

21:Huxley O.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Lee FL11

lowest accounting fee the only defence against wholesale bribery and corruption—against the sort of thing Mr. Ayua had complained about so powerfully.

In the midst of this controversy the Council, with its elected majority, repudiated the loans of the Kisiani afforestation area and refused to take steps to stop sabotage of the plantations. The Government retorted by demanding repayment of the £15,000 spent upon them. This would have meant raising the Council's annual rate from eighteen to twenty-one shillings on each adult male.

This demand to increase the rate was, of course, turned down flat by the elected Councillors, who in their anger sacked the accountant, appointed a totally unqualified African at £1,000 a year to succeed him, and threatened to dismiss other European staff on grounds of race. They also voted large increases in their own salaries and allowances.

Naturally I asked Mr. Ayua's views. The Kisiani trouble, in his account, boiled down to a number of misunderstandings. The individuals who owned cultivation rights in the hills had not, he said, ever fully understood the matter, it had not been properly explained. They thought the trees would be theirs, not common property. They had never given their permission on paper, with marks or signatures. The matter was explained to them by an unpopular chief who did not wait to hear all their objections. When they ground their grain in the plantations they thought they were on their own property and were much aggrieved when they were fined. They had no land elsewhere. Land hunger was so acute as to be a more important matter even than marriage. 'If a man should lose his wife he can buy another; but once the land is gone you cannot buy any more.'

It looked like one more failure in public relations. But the officials denied this. 'We explained over and over again,' they said. 'Barazas, news-sheets, radio . . . Everyone had a chance to put his case. No, behind it is the old story—politicians spreading rumours that it's all a trick to steal the land.'

[pp. 110–151 not processed]

2.Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1934) 1949
FL11 Lou FL11

assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Lou in origin and who speak Lou are Kano, Nyakur, Kanuonyo, (Nkumbo, Kalondo, and Kanuonuon), Kwia, Kanyala, Gem, Kanyamon, Karuga, Kadem, Kwalwal, Kanyalwa, Kalwa, and Sakwa. The other tribes on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Lou only, like the Kager (included in the map in the Kwia location) and the Mabaa; or speak Lou as well as their own language, like the Kanyamga, Kabondgiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are immural to the Kanuonyo, a Lou tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Lou myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Lou origin, regarded more favourably by the Lou than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kanagamba and Kanyamdago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Lou to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Lou and have Lou customs are regarded as Lou and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them 'Jumma' or 'Lunga'. There is much intermarriage between Lou of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisi Bantu, though I was told that a Lou would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the sense of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Wabichi, who speak both Lou and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Lou expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Kanuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the mawodhas are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyala tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokadem lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Lou elements in the Luwoli and Kanagoma tribes of Tongonyiko are said to have come from Kajulu and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in those areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the Lou conquerors who pushed other Lou tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Sauri, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thirty-mile savannah plain with patches of swamp and useless grassland, from which Sauri takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Lou in the Sudan.

Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

CHAPTER VI.

Dictionary of the Language of Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi.

B L N 162

English.	Lu-Wanga of Ann-Rimi group.	Nife or The-Luo.	Nandi.
Able, to be	bu-roka-ngala ...	angala	kamuchi
Abolish, to	bu-busia	apil	nema
Abound with, to ...	iburi	apong	kapenyi
About, near	ahonki	chiapini	lapit
Above	ilulu	malu	berak
Abscess	lisuri	bir	kachwa
Abuse, to	bu-ngaka	aiyenyi	warimbun
Accept, to	bu-ngamari ...	aiyie	kachem
Aclio, to	bu-ndunda ...	ermo	ema
Add, to (increase) ...	bu-ilusia	atmadi	tes
Adorn, to	bu-isia	tiwari	kimunt
Adultery	utendu	pakuo	karwhor koryet
Advance money, to ...	bu-isia	ahelui	ssillenin
Afraid, to be	bu-iri	uru	oiwe
After (place)	inyuma	chiem	lit
After (time)	ndawindi ...	diari	pesist?
Again	bhendi	kendo	kwiis
Age	uwabhenge ...	iko	kwist
Air	umipeha	pama	kwisto
All	{ uwai (people) ...	1 gifuto ...	tukul
	{ uwai (things) ...	2 uwaluto	
		(No. 1 is used when referring to other people or to things; No. 2 when the speaker is included.)	
And	... ...	gin	a
Animal	inde	le	tiendo
Annoy, to	bu-ngusi	ichende	kandamaya
Answer, to	-kalusi	adenki	unichi
Ants	amanke, white ants.	bir, white ant. ...	toisk or kongnoick, white ants.
	afanoon, siafu or soldier ant.	merine, siafu.	
		along, large black.	bilok, siafu or soldier ant.
	ondubusi, small black.	ochungufu, small black.	sengok, black ants.
	tondongwayi, large black.		

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Lugo FL11
Basoga Kakwende FL9
Lugbara FL13

B
N
912

English.	Lu-Wanga of Ama-Bini group.	Nyi or Tha-Lau.	Kamba.
Ape (baboon)	*lisenguri* ...	*bim*	*mumi*
Approve, to	*ajimeri*	*ain*	*kuthoma*
Arm	*amakhono* ...	*kuda*	*auti*
Ardvark or ant bear ...	*Gimbe*, pl. *amaibe*	*mumi*	*kaiti*
Armpit	*Ghesa*	*ithia*	*kuthuthia*
Arrive, to	*-enzirira*	*ahenda*	*kuiti*
Arrow	*omo-mumu*, pl. *imi-mumu*.	*mu*	*kuviti*
Ashes	*likuhe*	*ahilo*	*muli*
Ask, to...	*-rwesa*	*apenjo*	*kuthoma*
Assemble, to	*-ekiria*	*ashuka*	*ngwama*
Assist, to	*-kunga*	*kunga*	*kuvitana*
Attempt, to	*-tema*	*pilo*	*kwesa*
Aunt	*enge*	*enya*	*kaya*
Awake, to	*-wuka*	*ashue*	*kuangwa*
Axe	*gusiwa*, pl. *tusiwa*	*le*.... ...	*ndeti*
Back	*omukongolo* ...	*dirinyuma* ...	*yuini*
Bad	*i-ghui*	*ruah*	*ya*
Baboon	*nyuchi* (*Lihuhe*, country).		
Bag	*ekuleti*	*kuvo*	*kuliti*
Bait	*omimbo*	*kipo*	*mundi*
Baking place	pl. *amaiba*, sing. *liba*.	*kundo*	*ulumbanu*
Bananas	*marumuru* ...	*kabolo*	*mukimgui*
Bare	*ekipuru*	*pili-ili*	*mutingui*
Basket...	*ekimuru* ...	*amiuru*	*kitungui*
Bat	*lisiinga*	*anyinga*	*ruvu*
Beads	pl. (*fumu*, *isiumu* (single bead).	*kipe*	*mutuli*
Beans	*isingueri*, *amasa-kunda*.	*gwar*	*mukimgili*
Bear, to bring forth ...	*-zwala*	*engili*	*kuhuthukia*
Beard	*tsindefu*, *ekidefu* (one hair).	*ter*	*kwanzi*
Beat, to	*-khanga*	*ngui*	*kuvitir*
Beautiful	*-lai*	*lair*	*kuvuvua*
Because	*fumana*	*nangwa*	*kwaisa*
Bed	*ekitali*	*ailala*	*ulili*
Bee	*omuki*	*kish*	*ngunga*
Beehive	*omulinga* ...	*kumbi*	*kundei* (natural) or *mavingui* (artificial).
Before (in front) ...	*imberi*	*wie*	*ioi*
Beg, to...	*ku-eswa*	*ahuvi*	*kwaua*
Begin, to	*-ranjirira* ...	*ahunga*	*kutoi*
Beginning	*imberi*	*timbi*	*ngutoi*
Behind...	*inyuma*	*shim*	*ili*
Believe, to	*-kwiama*	*eja*	*kwaya*

English.	Ila Bungo of Lake Bisina group.	Ila of The Lake.	French.
Belly	tumbo	ab	ventre
Below	asi	pata	dessous
Bib	ekibuba	ekipuli	bavette
Between	akati	akati	entre
Bird, a	ekinuni	ekuni	oiseau
Bird, ...	ekinuni	ekuni	oiseau
Birth	okuzaal	okuzaga	naissance
Bite	okuluma	kuluma	mordre
Black	ekiviro	kiti	noir
Blacken	okuviza	ku	noircir
Blind	omuntu	omu	aveugle
Blood	omusaayi	esaa	sang
Body	omubiri, pl. emibiri.	omubili	corps
Boil, to	okuzimba	okuzuba	bouillir
Boil (sore)	ekyoto	ekito	furoncle
Bone	ekifuba	ekipa	os
Born, to be	okuzaal	okuzagwa	naître
Bow	omuvuta	omuta	arc
Boundary	ekisaka	ekiaj	frontière
Bracelet (for)	ekyapyo (of iron).	ari, of iron	bracelet
(of beads)	ejanja	... ...	...
Brain	omunaga	ekinga	cerveau
Bran	omukuta	ekuta	son
Branch, a	ejinta	ekiti	branche
Branch, to	omunaga	ekiti	branche
Branches, to	ejinta	... ...	branches
Bread	ekyapyo	ekya	pain
Bridge	omuyimbi, ekisaka (of sugar).	ekisaka	pont or sucre
Bring, to	okuza	kuf	...
Broad	ekinenkanyifu ...	ekikuru	large
Brother	omunyifu	mukuru or omunyifu ...	frère
Build, to	okuzimba	kuf	bâtir
Bull, a	ekyeri	ekyeruvuri	taureau
Bull, to	okuzimba	gudu	...
Bull	ekyeri	ekuru	taureau
Bullet	ekisiko	ekiyegura	balle
Burn, to (wit. ex. fire) ...	okuzoka	kuka wuuk	brûler, avec
Burnt, to	omuzoka	ekuk	brûlure
Bury, to	okuzika	Gi	...
Business	ekifu or omukuba ...	gwonaga	affaire
But	okuzimbukuka ...	ada	mais
Butter	omufuta, mukiri ...	ne	...
Butterfly	omukyaakuga ...	ngoge	papillon
Buttocks	omukiiko	pikiri	fesses
Buy, to	kuda	ndaga	...
Calabash	ekisanku	... ...	...

4: Hobbey G-9 (ca. 1930) 1962 FL11 Loca FL11
Study Language 94-1
Sheet: 9L13

English	Eastern Ojibwa of Lower Rainy group	Ojibwa of Rainy Lake	French
Calf	... ...	... ...	...
Call, to	... ...	... ...	...
Camel	... ...	... ...	...
Canoe	... ...	... ...	...
Cap	... ...	... ...	...
Caterpillar	... ...	... ...	...
Carry, to	... ...	... ...	...
Cartridge, to	... ...	... ...	...
Castor oil	... ...	... ...	...
Cattle (collective) ...	... ...	... ...	...
Cat	... ...	... ...	...
Catch, to	... ...	... ...	...
Cattle-fold	... ...	... ...	...
Cave	... ...	... ...	...
Chain	... ...	... ...	...
Charcoal	... ...	... ...	...
Cheap	... ...	... ...	...
Cheat, to	... ...	... ...	...
Cheek (anatomical) ...	... ...	... ...	...
Chew, to	... ...	... ...	...
Chicken	... ...	... ...	...
Chief	... ...	... ...	...
Child	... ...	... ...	...
Circumcise, to	... ...	... ...	...
Civet cat	... ...	... ...	...
Clap of thunder	... ...	... ...	...
Clay	... ...	... ...	...
Clean, to	... ...	... ...	...
Cloth	... ...	... ...	...
Cloths man's suit, to	... ...	... ...	...
Cloud	... ...	... ...	...
Club	... ...	... ...	...
Cob of corn	... ...	... ...	...
Cock	... ...	... ...	...
Coconut	... ...	... ...	...
Collect, to	... ...	... ...	...
Colour	... ...	... ...	...
Comb	... ...	... ...	...
Come, to	... ...	... ...	...
Compassion	... ...	... ...	...
Complete	... ...	... ...	...
Convulsion	... ...	... ...	...
Convert, to	... ...	... ...	...
Consider, to	... ...	... ...	...
Council, to	... ...	... ...	...
Conversation	... ...	... ...	...
Cook	... ...	... ...	...
Cook, to	... ...	... ...	...

English	In Pygmy of some Bantu group	Pygmy	Bantu
Clothing, pl.			
Cloth			
Cloth			
Cloth, s.			
Cloth, s.			
Cloth, s.			
Coat, s.			
Cob			
Cock			
Cock (female)			
Cock, s.			
Crocodile			
Cross (a cross), s.			
Cross-eyed			
Crow			
Cry, to			
Cultivate, to			
Curse, to			
Custom			
Cut, to			
Dance, to			
Dance (s.)			
Dead			
Deaf, s.			
Death			
Debt			
Deceive, to			
Deep			
Deer			
Defecate, to			
Demon			
Descend, to			
Desire, to			
Devil			
Die, to			
Dig, to			
Dirty			
Disease			
Dish			
Dive, to			
Divine, to			
Divorce, to			
Dog			
Dog, s.			
Dog, s.			
Dog, s.

Locality	Ore Deposit or Area Mineralogy	Age of Mineralization	Remarks
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

FL.11 Lam FL.11
Bwaito Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B
A.J.
1912

English.	In Kinga of Jinja District group	Kiga of Kigezi Dist.	French.
Ground, to (turf)	...	...	...
Knee, to	...	...	...
Land, to	...	...	...
Lie	...	...	...
Lion	...	...	...
Lip, to	...	...	...
Lips, to	...	...	...
Liver	...	...	...
Lizard	...	...	...
Locust, to	...	...	...
Lot (sell.)	...	...	...
Louse	...	...	...
Maize	...	...	...
Maize, to	...	...	...
Maize, to	...	...	...
Maize, to

4: Holiday G-S (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Lee FL11
Bath, Emanuel Hill
Hawk. Rd

English.	In Tongue of Ama-Bini group.	Ibibio of Ibo-Ibo.	Remarks.
Foot, ...	...	...	...
Forth, ...	...	...	...
Fowl, male of the ...	...	...	...
Frogs, to	...	...	...
Friend	...	...	...
Fright, to	...	...	...
Fruits, to	...	...	...
Fruits (great) ...	...	...	...
Full, ...	...	...	...
Funeral	...	...	...
Fighters, to	...	...	...
Frog	...	...	...
Fruit	{ ... different kinds.	...	{ ... different kinds.
Fry, to	...	...	...
Fill	...	...	...
Fan	...	...	...
Gone	...	...	...
Gallant, to	...	...	...
Gesticulate, to ...	...	...	...
Get, to	...	...	...
Glass	...	...	...
Gift	...	...	...
Giraffe	...	...	...
Girdle	...	...	...
God	...	...	...
Gum, to	...	...	...
Go, to	...	...	...
Go in, to	...	...	...
Go out, to	...	...	...
Goat	...	...	...
Cod	...	...	...
Grasshopper	...	...	...
Grass	...	...	...
Guide	...	...	...
Govern, to	...	...	...
Grasp, to	...	...	...
Green	...	...	...
Gradually	...	...	...
Grave	...	...	...
Grow upside, to ...	...	...	...
Great	...	...	...
Green	...	...	...
Grind, to	...	...	...
Ground	...	...	...
Ground-nuts	...	...	...
Gruel	...	...	...

4: Stebbey C-9 (ca. 1948) 1952 FL11 Lwo FL11
Gbaafu Kheenyuudu FL4
Ebadi: FL/3

English.	Ba Nyoro of Kiro-Bukoli group.	Ba Nyoro of Mpororo.	Kumi.
Guard, to	-kuda	-wuli	-kung
Guide	omuhuzizire ; omu-gisizire.	jakuda	ngakuwa
Guinea-fowl	Ek-kanga	enamuda	kwakalyani
Gums (of teeth)	kaiswa	enyo	gwaiky kaiki
Gun	omuwundu	kwanda	ekuli
Hair	Ewoi	ee	amwoli
Hair (coat), fur	-tuha	kanga	kyeswangi
Hammer	ekyuundu	dhi	kwagili
Hand	omukono	dhiny	owi
Handkerchief	ekirowoi or kitoni	ngwala	
Handle (of knife, etc.)	ekirongo	ndagwala	kwagili ali nakuwi
Hard	ekaringa	lilli	ni
Hare	gwitikana or omwoo	ayulu	awuli
Hat	kingiko or ekikoro	kwada	ekikoko
He or she	iye	en	ekye
Head	omutwe	wiuli	mukii
Health	omuguisi	ekirwa	ga-i
Hear	omuliko	gwili-di	wuking
Heart, to	-kira	wagili	kagwa
Heart	omwoyo	ndhwala	wuskiuka
Heaven		ligulu	gwuli
Heavy	eki-ziro, omwo-ziro	gwi	wigwa
Heel	ekiwero	ayiwa	ekiwagulu
Helper	omuki	kang	wuka
Help, to	-kuya	kuya	wuwa
Hen	ekikoko	wa	wakwuli
Herb	omuko	wa-di	ngwuli
Here	kuno	kwa-di	ekwi
Herdsman	omuisi	ya kwuli	kingkwuka
Hero	eza	ka	gwuli
Hide, to	-fwa	gwuli	kuwuka
High	-rumbi	kia	kuli
Hill	ekihuko	lilli	kukwi
Hippopotamus	ejwa	wa	wakwuka
Hit, to	-kuya	ga	gwa
Hoe	ekikoko	ka kwa	wuguwuka
Hold, to	-kira	wuli	kwiwa
Hole	omwa	kia	kyeriagwi
Hoof	omuki	kia	kwiwuli
How many	ki-ngwa, omu-ngwa?	wili	wiki
Hunger	nzara	ni—	kili
How often	kiwanga	ngwalili	kwuliwi
Hump (of cow)	kiruuka	kwara	wiliu
Hunger	nzaala	kwili	wukii

* ki-ngwa, how many, referring to things.
omu-ngwa, how many, referring to people.

† Kuruka, How many cows; Pikola or Pikinda, How many are; Bwe ne, How many hands.

G. Stebbing G-5 (ca. 1961) 1962 PTL11 Loan PTL11

English	Zia Pueblo of San Felipe group	Zia of Peña Blanca	Keresan
About, to			
Alarm, to			
Alcohol			
Alcoholic			
Alive			
Alone			
Although, by myself			
Ankle			
Arm			
Arrowweed (wild)			
Ash, to be			
Ask			
Ask the middle of			
Awesome			
Awful-mother			
Awful-sorry			
Awful			
Awfully			
Awful, to			
Awfulness			
Awful, to			
Axe			
Axehead			
Axe (metal)			
Axe			
Axehead			
Axes, to			
Axesary			
Axe			
Axehead			
Axehead			
Axing, to			
Axy			
Axle, to			
Axlebary			
Axle, to			
Axle (for load), to			
Axelle, to			
Axles, to			
Axleless			
Axle			
Axel, to			
Axle			

* Zuwa is the verb, but it is usually used in conjunction with Zuwa, which is a word meaning love.

Name	Site of Pottery	Use Ranges of Vessels in each group	Remarks
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

6: Bickley G-9 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Lees FL11
Bayle, Emmanuel FL9
Ward FL13

English.	In Wenge of Aran Mawr group.	Ffin of Pen Llyn.	French.
Mad	cwnsela	cala	folichon
Maggot	magwall	bullard	vermine
Maple	cwnsela	fusil	grenade
Market, to	dodi	fire	aller
Mat	cwnsela	dinne	chute or dé
Measure	dimma	grai	fusée
Meet	cwnsela-cwnsela ...	ajuro	chasse
Merit	fwnsela	fille	grenade
Market	dimma	ara	fête
Marriage	cwnsela	arbrale	fusant
Married, to be	fwnsela	angarre	laisse
Marrow	cwnsela-cwnsela ...	ralbrale	ramollissement
Marry, to	dwa	ajuro	laisse
Mat (sleeping)	fwnsa (a bide, dimma on bides)	fille	une mouche (a bide)
Matter (pus)	cwnsela	bale	grenade
Measure, to	dimma	fale	fer
Me	mige	ce	ce
Meat	cwnsela	ringale	grenade
Medicine	cwnsela	grai-ch	fusil
Medicine man	cwnsela	grai-ch	
Middle	dimma	dinne	fusée
Midwife	cwnsela-cwnsela ...	grailale	grenadier
Mockery	fidera	angare	raisé (fusée)
			fusant (fusible)
Milk	cwnsela	chal	éclair
Milk, to	dimma	cwalle	fer
Million	cwnsela	fill	cramoisi
Mimicry, to	cwnsela	chalbare	fulmine
Mist	fwnsa-cwnsela ...	fish	fulminant
Mistake	fwnsa	fwi	fusible
Mistress	cwnsela	chrasbare	fusiforme
Month	cwnsela	chal	cramoisi
Moon	cwnsela	chal	cramoisi
Morning	cwnsela	chingal	fusion
Mother, to, (by other ...	cwnsela, cwnsela-cwnsela.	fille, cwal ...	maisé, fusion
Mountain	dwa	cwa		
Mouth	fidwyndwga ...	cwalage	fulminant
Mother	cwnsela	cwnsela	ogre
Mound	fwnsa	grai-ch	fulmé
Mountain	chilwla	grai	fulminage
Month	cwnsela	fish	fulmé
Move, to	-wila	cwil	cuisse
Mud	fidwi	chwilla	cuisine
Murder (wantik)	cwnsela	chwa	viol
Murder, to	-wira	angi	fulmé
My	(dwnsh or cwnsh ...		
Nail, finger	fidwra	fingwa	sing. cwi, pl. cwi

FT-11 Loan FT-11

English.	Ba Mpopo of Bane Bane group.	Ba Mpo of Ba-Ban.	Pondo.
Eyebrow	... ...	... ...	...
Face	... ...	... ...	...
Finger of hand	... ...	... ...	...
Forehead	... ...	... ...	...
Hair	... ...	... ...	...
Hand	... ...	... ...	...
Head	... ...	... ...	...
Knee	... ...	... ...	...
Leg	... ...	... ...	...
Mouth	... ...	... ...	...
Neck	... ...	... ...	...
Nose	... ...	... ...	...
Shoulder	... ...	... ...	...
Tooth	... ...	... ...	...
Tongue	... ...	... ...	...
Ear	... ...	... ...	...
Eye	... ...	... ...	...
Arm	... ...	... ...	...
Belly	... ...	... ...	...
Breast	... ...	... ...	...
Child	... ...	... ...	...
Father	... ...	... ...	...
Foot	... ...	... ...	...
Mother	... ...	... ...	...
Name	... ...	... ...	...
Navel	... ...	... ...	...
Penis	... ...	... ...	...
Vagina	... ...	... ...	...
Bad	... ...	... ...	...
Big	... ...	... ...	...
Black	... ...	... ...	...
Blood	... ...	... ...	...
Bone	... ...	... ...	...
Breast, to suck	... ...	... ...	...
Brother	... ...	... ...	...
Brother, younger	... ...	... ...	...
Brother, elder	... ...	... ...	...
Brother, to (a child) ...	... ...	... ...	...
Cattle	... ...	... ...	...
Chief	... ...	... ...	...
Child	... ...	... ...	...
Clothes	... ...	... ...	...
Cold	... ...	... ...	...
Come	... ...	... ...	...
Cook	... ...	... ...	...
Cow	... ...	... ...	...
Dance	... ...	... ...	...
Day	... ...	... ...	...
Die	... ...	... ...	...
Dog	... ...	... ...	...
Drink	... ...	... ...	...
Eat	... ...	... ...	...
Egg	... ...	... ...	...
Fall	... ...	... ...	...
Fat	... ...	... ...	...
Fear	... ...	... ...	...
Fire	... ...	... ...	...
Fish	... ...	... ...	...
Fly	... ...	... ...	...
Food	... ...	... ...	...
Forget	... ...	... ...	...
Fowl	... ...	... ...	...
Friend	... ...	... ...	...
Give	... ...	... ...	...
Go	... ...	... ...	...
Good	... ...	... ...	...
Grass	... ...	... ...	...
Hear	... ...	... ...	...
Hill	... ...	... ...	...
Hoe	... ...	... ...	...
Hot	... ...	... ...	...
House	... ...	... ...	...
Hunger	... ...	... ...	...
Husband	... ...	... ...	...
I	... ...	... ...	...
Iron	... ...	... ...	...
Kill	... ...	... ...	...
Know	... ...	... ...	...
Laugh	... ...	... ...	...
Lie down	... ...	... ...	...
Light	... ...	... ...	...
Lightning	... ...	... ...	...
Little	... ...	... ...	...
Live	... ...	... ...	...
Look	... ...	... ...	...
Love	... ...	... ...	...
Man	... ...	... ...	...
Many	... ...	... ...	...
Milk	... ...	... ...	...
Moon	... ...	... ...	...
Mother	... ...	... ...	...
Mountain	... ...	... ...	...
Name	... ...	... ...	...
Navel	... ...	... ...	...
Night	... ...	... ...	...
Nose	... ...	... ...	...
Old	... ...	... ...	...
Old age	... ...	... ...	...
One	... ...	... ...	...
Open	... ...	... ...	...
Open, to	... ...	... ...	...
Opportunity	... ...	... ...	...
Out	... ...	... ...	...
Overcome, to	... ...	... ...	...
Overturn, to	... ...	... ...	...

English	An Wanga of Ama Bini group	Nyi of Pin Lus	French
Owe, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oz	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pad, grass, for the head	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Paddle(s)	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Pain, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Paint	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Palm of hand	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pardon, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Parent			
Partridge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pass, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pail	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Patient, to be	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pay, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Peace	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Peel	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pepper (chillies)	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Perhaps	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Perspiration	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pig	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pigeon	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pillar	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pillow	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pimple	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pinch, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pipe, tobacco	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pit	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Place	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Place, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plait, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plant, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plantain	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plaster, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plate	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Play, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plenty	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pluck feather, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plug up, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plunder, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Point	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Poison	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Pole for punting	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Pool	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Poor	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Porcupine	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Porridge	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Porter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Possession	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

French	Old Provençal	English
...	...	...
...	...	...
...	...	...

South Europeans A.V
Nigel FJ.12

English.	Bushman Dialect of Auen-Nosi group	Bushman Dialect of Hei-kum	Bushman Dialect of Kora
Salutations	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Supply	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Supply, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Spot, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Spoons, to (prob.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Spoons, to (prob.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stammer	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Star	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Strike	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sight (land), of	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sightseeing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sipon, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun, east of the sea	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sand	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Search, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Salt, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sack	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sand	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sweet	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sleep	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sick, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stomach	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Star	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Star (noun)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stab, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stalk, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stun, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stand	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sunshine	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Salt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Saliva	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Salt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Salutation	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Salute, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sand	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sandals	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Satan	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Satisfied, to be	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Savage (n.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Say, to	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Scissors	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Scripture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Scratch, to (softly)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Remarks	Age of Pre-Con.	Size Groups of Associated Group	English

a: Statistics G-6 (ex. 1900) 1904 FL11 Lan FL11
Bach. Research FL4
Lond. FL13

English.	Ila Group of Bantu languages.	Ila of Pallas.	French.
Skin, to ...	-sala ...	pinga ...	tirer
Sky ...	likula ...	pula ...	pluie
Slave ...	mupanda ...	mupanda ...	esclave
Sleep ...	kunaka ...	sipa ...	manger
Sleep, to ...	kona ...	sinda ...	être
Sleeping place ...	mwalasi ...	kala ...	repos
Sling ...	kilinga-mupanza ...	mpiki ...	
Slip, to ...	-wira ...	wira ...	glisser
Slowly ...	kubula ...	sula ...	vouloir
Small ...	-bula ...	bu ...	mince
Small-pox ...	kwanda ...	wanda ...	longue
Smart, to ...	-kuba ...	kat-ti ...	laisser
Smell, to ...	-wuya ...	wuni ...	mordre
Snake ...	kaulila ...	nyoo ...	lorsque
Snake ...	nwoni ...	no ...	ete
Snake (tobacco), to ...	-nywa ...	matiki mbila ...	fil tendre
Sneeze ...	ku-tuba ...	pit-ti ...	dedans
Snail ...	kinwanga ...	nong ...	mauvaise
Snake ...	mwaka ...	tual ...	avant
Snare, to ...	-sila ...	shili ...	toit
Soap ...			
Sob ...	kuwa ...	pum ...	chaux
Sod ...	kuwa or kiwa ...	lu ...	sauvage
Soldier ...	mudiri ...	pwo ...	avenir
Sole (of foot) ...	kwali ...	pata ...	lui tuer
Son ...	mutoni ...	mulu ...	laisser (general), envoyer (une ou)
Son-in-law ...	mukyalala ...	siwala ...	amitié
Song ...	ulimba ...	wee ...	laisser
Sorcerer ...	mulaka ...	pyisali ...	pensable
Sore ...	kilowa ...	ulkala ...	mal
Sorry, to be ...	-shidwi ...	shwila ...	heureux
Soul ...	mwaya ...	dumali ...	manquable
Ground ...	mulaka ...	lala ...	palais
Bow ...	lala ...	gla ...	aqueux
South ...	ulwi ...	wa ...	laisser ! or mort
Sow, to ...	-kala ...	kwa ...	laisse
Speak, to ...	-amya ...	wuli ...	gradé
Spear ...	lifwa ...	kwa ...	grand
Spider ...	ulalabi ...	mbwi ...	tâtonnable
Spill, to ...	-kubba ...	ti ...	tarde
Spirit ...	shikwalalila ...	mwanya ...	
Spit, to ...	-fulla ...	gwil ...	grande
Spittle ...	mwwe ...	shu ...	ché
Split, to ...	-shwia ...	kwa ...	pt
Spoil, to ...	mwai ...	kat-thi ...	longue
Spoon ...	mwala or kwala ...	ulatha ...	mayenne
Spotted ...	mukwala ...	mulwi ...	mauvaise

English.	In Dialects of Zulu-Kafir group.	Nyasa of Rev. Lea.	Ronga.
Spitting	tema	ukuhla	kupsel
Spreader, to	ukuga	ku	ku
Staff	umkomazi ...	umukongo ...	kumako
Stand, to	ema	ukuimy	kuima
Star	(morning star) inkwezi, inkanyezi, inyonti,	inkwezi	kukwezi
Start, to (on journey) ...	qalekila	uku-ka	kuya
Starve, to	ukwa-nzala	kufa	kufa nzala
Stand, to	ima	kuma	kuima
Steal (of time)	ukuiba	kuiba	kuiba
Step-father	baba	mumbo yakwawo ...	baba
Stick	umkomazi ...	kuti	kumako
Stone	itshoka	kala	kaka
Stool	isitulo	kiti	mukwal
Story, to	ukuxoxa	kungeli	kuvoka
Stop, to (self)	ukuhlala	gimi	kuyima
Story	izingxoxo	mukanai	kulyuli
Promighten, to	ukuloya	ku	ku kwaka
Stranger	umuzwelwi	mulo	kwaki
Stronglish	amandi	ndu	ku
Strike, to	kuya	ukwa	ku pa
String, to	ukuqa	uti	kuka
Supine with, to	ukuhlwa	pikwanah	kukwatana
Such, to	ukuna	kuhiha	kal
Suffice, to	ukwa	ngulu	kuyakwa
Sugar cane	umnyonga ...	ukuny	
Sun	umsinsi	ukuky	uku
Sunset	ilanga	mua	kuiwa
Surprise, to	ukuhla	ngaka	kuka
Surround, to	ukuzikhona ...	kiki	ukuka
Swang, to	ukwa	ku	kuka
Sweet	ukuti	uti	ukuka
Sweetheart	umuntu wami ...	ukuka	kuyakulya
Sweet potato	ilawu	mukwa	mukwa
Swell, to	ukuba	kuki	kukwa
Swim, to	ukwa	ukuk	kuvuka
Swine	ingulube	mbulu	kuvuk
Sword (slow)	ukuhlonga	kyangulu	mukwa
Sword (sheath of) ...	ukuta	uti	ukuka
Syrup (honey)	umuthi	kiki	kwaka
Tail	umshologo	ki	mwaka
Take, to	-kuhola	ku	kuya
Talk, to	-ngqa	uku	kukwa
Tamarind	umkuhu	mkongo	mwaka
Tame, to	-ukuka	pi-ih	kuka
Taste, to	-duma	ki	ukwakwa
Teach, to	ukuyisa	pwaji	kuka
Tear	-ilisa	pisuay	pukuka

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Teat	*luweri*	*thuno*	*kutitabkinet*
Tell, to...	*-sungira*	*kone*	*moche*
Thanks...	*unyanziri* ...	*aiye*	*achome*
That	*shiria* or *ulia* ...	*incha*	*irogin*
Thatch, to	*-fimba*	*um*	*siep*
Their	*viao* or *wao* ...	*gin*	*kinyi*
Thick, to be	*kali* or *mukhongo*	*nangno*	*yigis*
They	*awa-no* (they have).	*ma-gi*	*inyo*
Thief	*umwivi*	*yakuo*	*chorindet*
Thin	*-nyerere*	*pōt*	*tenden*
Thing	*-shindu*	*gimoro*	*ke*
Thirst	*owōlo*	*tēk*	*melen*
This	*ishi* or *uyu* ...	*-kn*	*ronyi*
Thorn	*liwa*	*kudtho*	*katet*
Those	*viria* or *walia* ...	*gi-ka*	*lo*
Thread...	*olusa*	*tōl*	*inet*
Thou	*ewe*	*in*	*inwe*
Thresh, to	*-ula*	*dīn*	*utwi*
Throat	*ulimera*	*lūkūro*	*sindo*
Thumb...	*oluala lukali* ...	*fuoni*	*morenenio*
Thunder, to	*likulu* (no verb)...	*polo* (no verb) ...	*ilat* (no verb)
Tie, to	*-who*	*tue*	*irat*
Till	*izo-kalushia* (no proper word.)	*katta*	*kawe*
Time	... ...	*kare*	*kaietita*
Tipsy, to be	*-mera*	*mer*	*kabogit*
Toad	*-ukusheri* ...	*ogwal*	*kiptuang*
Tobacco	*indawa*	*ndawa*	*tumotet*
Toe	*oluala*	*kuguno*	*mori kalkelto*
Toe (big)	*oluala likali* ...	*matthon*	*mornenyu*
Toll	*ukho fia*	*giripenyi*... ...	*kigonigi*
Tongue	*ololimi*	*lep*	*nelebta*
Tooth	*rino*, pl. *ameno* ...	*lak*	*keldet*
Tortoise	*likut-ho*	*ŋpūk*	*chekogochet*
Town	*litala*	*dala*	*kaita*
Trade, to	*-kūla*	*nyco*	*keiolisi*
Trap	*umuwero* ...	*chik*	*mostet*
Trap, to	*-reka*	*mak*	*tech*
Tread, to	*-seno*	*nyon*	*tiech*
Tree	*umsala*	*olua*	*ketit*
Tremble, to	*-renga*	*kirni*	*abotoni*
Tribe	*ulia* or *ikoro* (clan) or *inono*.	*kosi*	*pororiet*
Trust, to	use *-manya* ...	*wāāt*	*koichamun*
Turn, to (neut.) ...	*kalukhana* ...	*loki*	*weike*
Turn over, to	*kolukasia* ...	*wichi*	*iweeh*
Tweezers	*amaweki*	*ndemu*	
Twins	*ama-kwhano* ...	*kaiyo*	*saremek*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL3

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Udder	*shiweri*	*thuno*	*kinet*
Ulcer	*likonzo*	*athola*	*moiet*
Uncle	*baba* or *tata* ...	*wadi gu baba* (father's brother); *nera* (mother's brother). ...	*mamanyu*
Under	*hasi*	*peng*	*ungnwin*
Undo, to	*-owolula*	*going*	*itiack*
Undress, to	*volula*	*loing*	*nimu*
Up above	*mukulu* (up a hill); *mwi-kulu* (on top of house).	*malu*	*barak*
Uproar...	*ukuhuma* ...	*koko*	*kimwe*
Urinate, to	*-inyala*	*laiyo*	*sukus*
Urine	*amanyi*	*lach*	*sukusek*
Use, to...	*-lia*	*tich*	*kioltoi*
Useless	*nefwi*	*hukaimano* ...	*momie*
Vagina...	*shinyi*	*thēr*	*mugulet*
Valley	*iwanda*	*oura*	*kereroot*
Very	*muno*	*ruok*	*mising*
Vex, to...	*-nyasi*	*chandere*	*kanereeh*
Village...	*lukala*	*dala*	*korīt*
Violence	*umuwi*	*kwen*	*cholwoorgin*
Voice	*umoyo*	*duol*	*tulunkta*
Vomit, to	*-tsala*	*gnōk*	*kangnōn*
Vulture	*ingosia*	*achut-th*	*motonda* (very large kind); *chebsongwet* (ordinary)
Wages	*ukupokea* ...	*yirichinge* ...	*kotiek*
Wait, to	*-linda*	*riti*	*kanya*
Walk, to	*-chenda*	*baio*	*kowendoti*
Wall	*ulikowa*	*pala*	*keringet*
Want, to	*-enya* or *-sawa* ...	*oduaro*	*kamoche*
War	*lie*	*lucnyi*	*luget*
Wart	*isundo*	*sundu*	*kamionet*
Wash, to	*-osia*	*loki*	*iun*
Wash clothes, to ...	*-osia*	*loki*	
Wash one's self, to ...	*-isawa*	*loki*	*iunge*
Water	*-amadzi*	*pi*	*pēk*
Way	*injira*	*iyo*	*oret*
Wax	*isula*	*hūla*	*teminyet*
We	*efue*	*wan*	*achek*
Weapon	*ifimanalua* ...	*tong*	*karek*
Wear, to	*-imvala*	*iruak*	*kalach*
Weep, to	*-lira*	*iwak*	*kariri*
Weigh, to	*-chera*	*poruare*	*kīr*
Well (n.)	*iseweri*	*bur*	*oinet*
West	*mumbo*	*othiambo*... ...	*kaimen*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Wet	*-nifu*	*yum yum*	*nyanyawa*
What	*shina*	*angno*	*machine*
When	*liina*	*karangno*	*aou*
Where	*kena*	*ere*	*anu*
Whetstone	*linknlo*	*pagi*	*liteito*
White	*-lafu, -pala*	*rachar*	*lel*
Which	*ulihena* or *shirihena.*	*mane*	*ronyo*
Whore	*umutamba*	*jabayo*	*chiwaigeya*
Why	*shina*	*nangno*	*umne*
Wide	*-wambalifu*	*uyarere*	*teves*
Widow	*umukumba*	*uthier*	*musoget*
Wife	*umukassi*	*chi*	*kikitun*
Wilderness	*shivala shumu*	*pāp*	*soi*
Wind	*umieka*	*yamu*	*koristo*
Window	*umuluo*	*utuich*	*korikonda?*
Witchcraft	*nfira*	*ijuok*	*ponindet*
Witness	*ulutsi*	*yakōn*	*kimii*
Woman	*umukhano* (young woman) or *umukassi.*	*thako*	*koriket*
Wood	*msala*	*motuo*	*chebtamiat*
Work	*emirimo*	*tich*	*kapoyisi*
World	*shivala*	*penyi*	*emet*
Wound	*lifumera*	*bala*	*moiet*
Wrist	*amakhono* (no special name).	*fuoni*	*mongwet*
Write, to		*keo*	*kisiri*
Yam	*ifukwa*		*yakanyat, yakanek*
Yard (enclosure)	*uluanyi*	*dipo*	*sang*
Year	*umiika*	*hega*	*kenyit*
Yellow	*rabori*	*mununia*	
Yes	*nifio*	*ero*	*we*
Yesterday	*ekulo*	*inyoro*	*yatkonye*
" day before	*ekulululia*	*urue*	*oiin*
You	*enyue*	*in*	*agwek* or *ogwek*
Your	*shishio* or *o*	*mari*	*neng(n)u*
Young	*-toro*	*numu*	*gnarinari*
Zebra	*sishiamakondo*	*magwar*	*sigiriet ni serat*
I gave him	*namwerisia*	*namie*	*kiogorje*
I go	*ninzia*	*adthio*	*awendi*
I went	*nadzia*	*nadthio*	*kikworgen*
I know	*ndamanya*	*angneo*	*anget* or *onget*
I do not know	*sindamanya*	*akia*	*monget*
I say	*ndasungiri*	*awacho*	*angalal*
We say	*ifukusungiri*	*wawacho*	*kongololi*
They say	*wasungiri*	*giwacho*	*kangalal*
What do you say?	*usungiroric*	*iwachangno*	*kengalal kingo*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
When are you going?...	*utziahena* ...	*ithikanyi* ...	*iwenjeno*
Give me food ? ...	*imberini shiriwa*...	*miachemu* ...	*unogiam*
When are you coming?	*nawitze*	*ibirakarangno* ...	*inyunao*
When will you come?	*nawitzeri* ...	*nibi karangno* ...	*inyunao*
I want to build a house	*nienya kumbakha-inzu.*	*aduaro gero ot-th*	*amoch ategot*
Give me that stick ? ...	*be indaoushi ire*	*mialodthino* ... stick	*kuno kirukto*
Which goat will you give me ?	*imbuzi irihena enaombe.*	*diel mani mani* goat which *mia.* give me	*kulekunoiko nartet* will you give goat *ingiro* which
Who comes in ? ...	*wina wakaingira*	*gna modonjo* ...	*kulengong(n)onyo miso*
Cook the food ! ...	*teeka shiriwo* ...	*tedi chemu* ...	*ikwain kimiet*
Go to fetch water ...	*tzitea madzi* ...	*thi itwompi* ... go fetch water	*kuleeh ui pek* to fetch go water
I am going to hoe the garden.	*ninzia, kulima, umugunda.*	*athi puru putho* ...	*awendi kiboti mbaret*
How many strings (of beads) is that fowl ?	*ingokho eviuma, finga.*	*tigadi ageno -no*	*kioli soniekata ngokiet*
How many children has your father ?	*isoalinenda wana wanga*	*wuruno ginya* your father has he *tendo adi.* children how many	*kichoelatalakok chelechang*
Do you see those people ?	*ulutzi wantu walia*	*inena joka* ...	*kule keropicho*
When are they going ?	*wali watsiahena* ...	*githio kanyi* ...	*kule kakora*
That cow is mine ...	*ingonbe inianje* ...	*thenicha mara* ...	*tenyu nianyunet*
Is this gun yours ? ...	*mirondo uno kukwo.*	*bundi ni mari* ...	*kuli nianyunet*
We make hoes from iron.	*kweranya tzim-bakho eviwia.*	*wathidtho kuweyi ninyo.*	*kulechaitor magom benyu*
Why art thou sleeping?	*ukhono ?*	*cninda nangno* ...	*kalasiru*
This man	*mundu uyu* ...	*gnatini*	*chele chiji*
That man	*mundu ulia* ...	*gnaticha*	*chele chichio*
This tree	*msala uko* ...	*yathini*	*ketit iyo*
That tree	*msala kulia* ...	*yathicha*	*ketin*
This thing	*eshindishi* ...	*gine*	*ronyi kio*
That thing	*eshinduahiria* ...	*ginicha*	*ronyin kin*
My house	*inzu yangi* ...	*oda*	*kōnyu*
Thy house	*inzio*	*odi*	*kōnyunyo*
His house	*inzu iyo*	*ode*	*kōbchi*
Our town	*litala liefu* ...	*dalawa*	*korikio*
Your country	*lilowa lienyo* ...	*pinyo*	*orengwo*
Their children... ...	*awana wenyo* or *wawo.*	*nyitindigi* ...	*lakokwa*
Their cattle	*tzingombe tziao* ...	*thogi*	*rochundowa*
Their things	*evintu viao* ...	*gigi*	*kingwa*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
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English.	*Lu-Wanga of Awa-Rimi group.*	*Nife or Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
The birds flew away ...	*amanuni kapalushie,*	*winyo odum ...*	*kotarerin*
Can you see me? or Are you able to see me?	*ukundala kua ...*	*dinya neno ...*	*ichele maiero*
I am unable to see you	*sinyala kulalakuha.*	*okanyal neni ...*	*maiero*
Go (imperative) ...	*tsia ... ...*	*thiq ... ...*	*ooi*
Come „ ...	*itsa ... ...*	*bi ... ...*	*inyo*
Two trees	*misala kiviri ...*	*yen ario ... ...*	*ketik aieng*
Two cows	*tzingombe tziviri*	*tho kario... ...*	*tuk aieng*
The men want poles to build with.	*awandu wenya misala chokumbeshira.*	*giduaro ien magigedo.*	*mechio keb ketik*
Many people were with the chief.	*awandu awangi walino mwami.*	*yamangnen kanyachel guruot-th.*	*chelipichomitelai toriat*
Who is there?... ...	*wina ulio ...*	*gnanantie ...*	*o(n)g(n)onyo*
He is at the shamba ...	*alina na mugunda*	*mano nikapotho ...*	*chelelo embar*
One	*endala* and *shilala.*	*achiel ... ...*	*agengi*
Two	*wa-wiri vi-wiri ...* / *ki-viri tzi-viri ...*	*ario ... ...*	*aieng*
Three	*wa-taru tzi-taru* / *ki-taru vi-taru ...*	*adek ... ...*	*somok*
Four	*-nne ... ...*	*angwen ... ...*	*angwan*
Five	*-ranu ... ...*	*abich ... ...*	*moot*
Six	*sasuba ... ...*	*auchiel ... ...*	*moot akakengi* or *lo*
Seven	*-ranu na-wili ...*	*abichigario* or *abirio.*	*moot akaien* or *tisap*
Eight	*munane* (does not change), or *-ranu na-taru.*	*abichi gadek* or *aboru.*	*moot akangwan* or *sesit*
Nine	*-ranu na-nne,* or *shienda* (does not change).	*abichi gangwen ...*	*sokol*
Ten	*ekumi ... ...*	*apar ... ...*	*taman*
Eleven...	*ekumi na ndala ... shi-lala*	*apare gachiel ...*	*taman akagengi*
Twelve...	*ekumi na wa-wiri* „ *vi-wiri*	„ *gario ...*	„ *akaien*
Thirteen	„ *wa-taru* „ *vi-taru*	„ *gadek ...*	
Twenty	*makum kawiri ...*	*piario ... ...*	*tiptem*
Thirty	*kataru ...*	*piro adek ...*	*sosom*
Hundred	*esha kumira ...*	*aga* or *gana ...*	40-*arataun*
		200 *agario* or *ganario.*	50-*konom*
			60-*taman akolo*
			70 „ *tisap*
			100-*pokol*

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

§ 2. Nilotic Kavirondo.

101 The generic name of the Nilotic Kavironda is Ja-Luo. By the Bantu Kavirondo they are called Awa-Nife or Nyife, also Awa-Nyoro.

193 *Ja*, *Ka*, and *Yaka* are all prefixes signifying "clan" or "tribe" among the Nile tribes.

The prefix *Tho* signifies language among these people.

Kami or Gemi (call themselves *Gemi*).

101 619 131 Situated to south of River Nzoia between Mumia's and Ugowe Bay. Tribe second in importance in Kavirondo. Nilotic origin; belong to Ja-Luo family. Head chief, Odera Ulalo, son of Umoli. Chief next in importance, Odera Sandei, son of Ulo. Other chiefs: Ilari Atanda (son of Lochi), Wayoti Aratieri.

Subdivisions:—

-Juothi—Odera, Ulalo, Odera Sandei, Atanda Agura.
-Karareo—Ogwel.
-Kagelo—Serua.
-Katumo—Ngaga.
-Kanyadeti—Siwa.
-Kanikwaya—Njwang Kiliko, Ilari, Aratieri.

Lego.

Situate to south of River Nzoia and south-west of Mumia's Nilotic tribe. Part of the tribe acknowledges suzerainty of Mumia. Important chiefs: Ukola Ndonya or Ndong, Ngonga.

Subdivisions:—

-Lafu—Unyango.
-Kukwiri—Othiambo.
-Anyango—Ngonga.
-Kaluo—Ndonya.
-Karuothi—Ukola, Ukelo, Aponyo.
-Yanyujuok—Odero.
-Jamoro—Ogoti, Tao Mwana Uguto.
-Yasiji—Udongo.
-Yakadengi—Otwera.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

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CONJUGATION OF THE VERBS "COME" AND "WANT" IN *Lu-Wanga, Tho-Luo, and Nandi.*

Mood and Tense.	English.	*Lu-Wanga.*	*Tho-Luo.*	*Nandi.*
Imperative ...	Come ...	*idza*	*bi*	*nyoo*
Indicative present	I come ...	*nzidza*... ...	*abiro*	*ainiuni* or *nioni*
	Thou comest	(*ewe*) *widza* ...	*inibiro* or *ibiro*	*kenyo*
	He comes ...	*iedza*	*obiro*	*neninyoni*
	We come ...	*twidza*... ...	*wanowabiro* or *wabiro.*	*kibwoni*
	Ye come ...	*inyu mwidza* ...	*unubiro* ...	*kobwa*
	They come...	(*inabu*) *wed..a*	*gi-biro*... ...	*kabwa*
Indicative future	I shall come	*nanzidze* ...	*angaanabi* ...	*kanyoni*
	Thou wilt come.	*winawidze*		
	He will come	*nayedze*		
	We will come	*watwidze*		
	Ye will come	*inyu namwidze*		
	They will come.	*awanamwidze*		
Indicative past	I came ...	*ndalimwidziri*	*nabiro*... ...	*kianyo*
Negative present	I come not...	*sinanzidza* ...	*ungekabi* ...	*menyoni* or *monyuni.*
Infinitive ...	To come ...	*okwidza* or *kuwidza.*	*obiro*	
Imperative ...	Want ...	*enya*		
Indicative present	I want ...	*nienya*... ...	*aduaro* ...	*amoche* (*anyo*)
	Thou wantest	*wenya*	*iniduaro* or *iduaro.*	*imoche*
	He wants ...	*inyenya* ...	*oduaro* or *enouaro.*	*omocheawe*
	We want ...	*twenya* or *kwenya.*	*wanuwaduaro*...	*kimoche*
	Ye want ...	*inyumwenya* ...	*unuduaro* ...	*neomoche*
	They want...	*wenya* or *awawenya.*	*giduaro* ...	*omoche*
Future... ...	I shall want	*nanyenyi* ...	*anganaduari* ...	*kamachamach*
Past	I wanted ...	*nenya* or *nalienyiri.*	*naduaro* ...	*kikaamach*
Infinitive ...	To want ...	*okwenya* ...	*oduaro*	
Negative present	I do not want	*sinyienya* ...	*adayi*	*momoche*

Substantives.

It is instructive to examine the various methods of forming the plurals of the nouns in the languages dealt with in this work.

In the Bantu group the plurals are made by variations of the prefix; in the Nilotic and Nandi group by the addition of suffixes or by alteration of the final syllable.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13
Nyamwezi FU18

L 193

The methods of constructing the plurals in the Nilotic Tho-Luo are quite distinct from the Bantu forms; they are as follows:—

			Examples. Singular.	Plural.
Class	I.	Plural formed by addition of suffix *tot*.	*sere*	*seretot*
			le	*letot*
„	II.	Plural formed by addition of suffix *ngnen*. The middle *n* sometimes becomes *w* for euphony.	*winyo*...	*winyongnen*
			tong	*tongwen*
„	III.	Prefix *e* becomes *gi*.	*enuwadu*	*ginuwadu* or *ginuwadwa*
„	IV.	Terminal *l* becomes *k*.	*diel*	*diek*
Class	V.	Plural formed by the addition of *iji*; if there is a final vowel in the word it is usually dropped.	*chong* or *chonga* ...	*chongiji*
			lak	*lakiji*
„	VI.	Terminal vowel, usually *u* or *o*, becomes i.	*wer* or *weru*	*weri*
			rombo...	*rombi*
„	VII.	No change	*lueta*	*lueta*
„	VIII.	Irregular plurals, a few examples are:—		

Singular.	Plural.
Awang (an eye)... ...	*wanga*
Diang (cow)	*dok*, possibly a variation of Class IV.
Ot (house)	*udi*
hega (year)	*hegini*

NA 193

In the Nandi language there is really only one method of forming the plural, and that is by cutting off the last syllable and adding *ik*, *ek* or *ok*; if this procedure renders the word not euphonious the penultimate syllable is freely adjusted to suit.

Examples.

Singular.	Plural.
Ape ... ... *moset*	*mosonik*
Arm... ... ... *eoot*	*euek*
House ... ... *kōt*	*koriek*
Axe ... ... *aiwet*	*aonek*
Banana ... ... *makomyet*	*makomek*
Bow ... ... *kwanget*	*kwangok*
Cat ... ... *duswet*	*duswok*
Hippopotamus ... *makasta*	*mokuswek*
Egg... ... ... *kwita*	*kwiek*
Devil ... ... *masambonin*	*masambwan*

This last form of plural appears to be unique.

B Ny 193 197

The supposed Nyamwezi Relationship.

On page 8 I advanced the theory that the Bantu Kavirondo originally came from the southward through the Kossova highlands, and following up this line of argument I have made some comparisons of the Nyamwezi language with the Lu-Wanga and Kisii, and the resemblances are in many cases most striking.

8: Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala*=homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource. 582 583

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family. 582 835 584 626 583 577

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilised, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian 584 [201]

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thuñgo* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[201] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut *(Kor amach* = lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor attung* = the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

852 After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, *simsim* is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with *simsim* seeds, seedballs of a wild plant *(ochok)* are strung on plaited grass *(oganga)* and creeping grass *(modhono)* and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of smallcircular pieces of ostrich eggs *(rek)* and big iron beads.

[262] When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *awinja* (= pounded *simsim* mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneeds a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(othwonyo otonge)* which she fills with *awinja*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

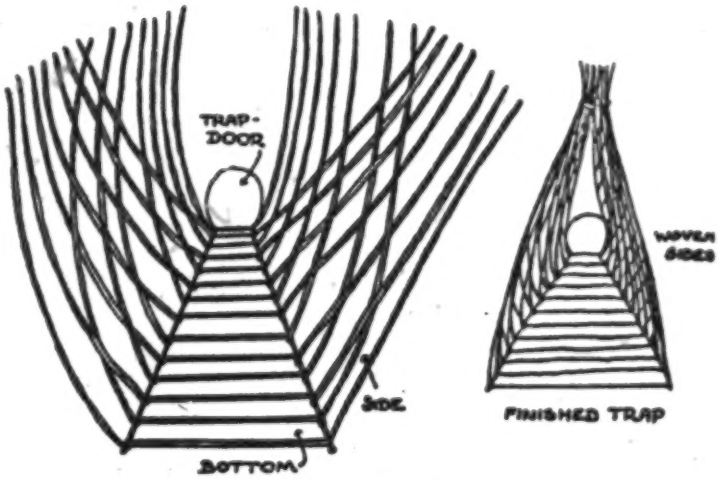
Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(iñgado imbo nyathi)*.

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

A SELECTION OF PATTERNS WOVEN

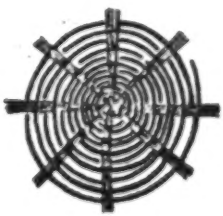
285
[222]



(*a*) A Grasshopper trap

[301]

(*b*) A Wrist Band



(*c*) Pattern for the bottom of a basket

857 both at and after birth, the younger being instructed and guided by the older ones. Boys of about five are usually found in the play groups of the school-going age, but as they grow older they are drawn away to male play groups.

The groups themselves vary in size from two members upwards, though occasionally a girl of this age may

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

231 241 361 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch [824] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly [439] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 601 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

441 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop.
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a "medicine" is employed called 'migalo magalo pe." This consists of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high, which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms. In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
136 monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
● [224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in, organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like
136 Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts. This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp.* Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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[pp. 11-25 not processed]

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

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226

Two Rafts and one Fish Trap and Weir at mouth of Kibos River.

Fish Traps (Musathi) near mouth of Kibos River.

[p.98C.]

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

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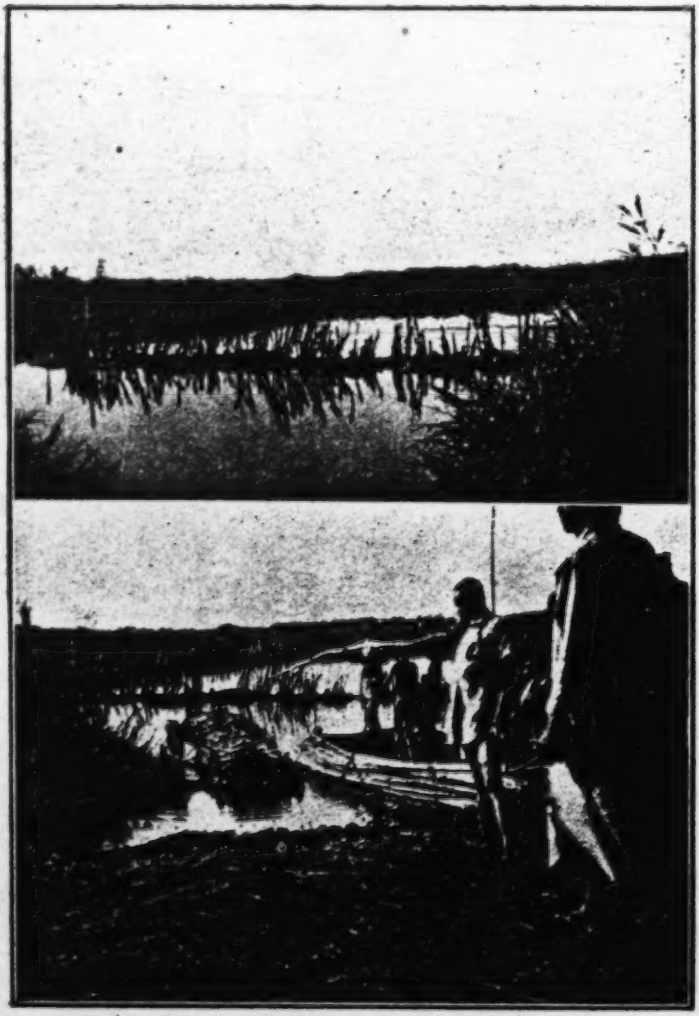
226



Fish Weir (Kew) at mouth of Kibos River.

Kavirondo raft near fish weir at mouth of Kibos River.

[p. 98 D]

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR DECLINE:

228 The decline in the industry appears to be due to three main factors:—

(a) Fewer fish in the Kavirondo Gulf than formerly.
(b) Decline in retail prices giving less profit.
(c) Poverty of the fishermen.

In regard to (c) it may be remarked that during the years of high retail prices many wealthy merchants, Goans and Europeans, were engaged in fishing. These have since withdrawn and the class now H26 carrying on the work usually have to buy nets and boats on credit or pay heavy interest on borrowed money, destroying the fishers' small profit and causing more and more to abandon fishing"

It is generally admitted that the catches of fish are less than they were. In the early years the average catch is estimated to have been over 25 fish per 100 yards of net while the boats operated at only about a mile from shore. In later years the catch fell to 5 per net and to get these the boats have to go from 12 to 15 miles out. The number of boats has also fallen off. At the height of the industry's prosperity there were 150 boats working on an average 10 nets per boat. Some boats worked as much as 20 to 25 nets.

NATIVE METHODS OF CAPTURE: NETS.

226 Turning now to the methods employed by the ordinary natives
227 living along the Lake shores we find that fish are caught by drag nets, weirs, traps, harpoons, long lines and to a very small extent with fishing rods. The drag nets used are made of papyrus stems fastened close together and are about 5 ft. deep. They are made in two sizes, the larger size being called by the Jaluo " Gogo " and the smaller " Ogoda." One end of the net is towed out by men in canoes some distance into the Lake and is taken round in a half circle so as to enclose a considerable area of water. The two ends are then drawn towards the shore so that the net brings in with it any fish that have been enclosed. When it is fairly close in men wade into the water with long baskets (Dholuo, Aunga) and capture the fish in these. These baskets ae a form of trap made on much the same principle as a lobster pot and consist of a large cone of basket work about 6 ft. long with a smaller cone inside it pointing in the same direction. The inner cone is open at the end so that when a fish enters at the wide mouth of the basket it swims through the hole at the end of the inner cone and gets imprisoned in the space between the two cones.

BASKET TRAPS, PORTABLE AND STATIONARY.

227 A smaller form of Aunga is used by women, called Aunga Ketenga. There are two varieties of this, one with the double cone and one with only a single cone. When using the double cone ones they place three

227 or four in a line on the bottom. They then go some distance in front and frighten the fish into the traps. The single cone traps are used by the women in a different way. They hold the baskets in both hands with the wide part facing towards them and wade backwards in shallow water drawing the backets along the bottom towards them. When the fish enter the basket they raise it out of the water in a perpendicular position. The following fish are caught by this means: Nyawino, Ndera, Ningu, and Akunga (eels). The Ningu is not caught in rivers during May, June and July as it goes to the Lake then presumably to spawn.

BASKET TRAPS USED AT WEIRS.

226 Enormous fish weirs (Dholuo, Kek) are a feature of the rivers of
227 Kavirondo. Some of these are built of wood and some of stones and extend right across the rivers from bank to bank. At intervals in the weir there are gaps and basket traps (Dholuo, Musathi) are used on the upper side of these holes to catch the fish as they pass through up stream. The Musathi are similar in principle to the double coned Aunga, gut are made of reeds fastened together longitudinally, while all types of Aunga are plaited.

PORTABLE TRAPS.

Another form of basket fish trap is the Sienyu. This is also a conical basket with a hole at the top or narrow end. The native using it wades along in shallow water pushing it down at intervals on to the bottom of the lake or river. If a fish happens to be imprisoned it is heard splashing inside and the native puts his arm through the top hole and pulls it out. The Sienyu is also made of reeds fastened together longitudinally.

STATIONARY TRAPS, BAITED.

In addition to the foregoing there is another kind of basket trap used called Omuongo, which is almost identical with a European lobster pot and used with bait and in the same way.

FISHING SPEARS.

226 Fish are sometimes harpooned by natives wading in the water.
411 The harpoon used is narrow and has no barb and is called by the Jaluo Bedthi. Mumi and Kamongo are speared in this way.

The natives of Mohuru are said to go out in canoes on moonlight nights with grass torches and harpoon the fish.

FISHING WITH ROD AND LINES.

226 Fishing with rod and line is indulged in principally as an amuse-
227 ment and by juveniles. Long rods made from a tree called Poo are used by men. Hooks (Dholuo, Oloo) are bought in the bazaar. The bait used is a sort of worm (Dholuo, Oniambo) found in the mud. Mumi (barbel) are caught in this way. The line is made from

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up.

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:—

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,387

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Yiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai).

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mohuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:—

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	33,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	18,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

361
162

SOUTH KAVIRONDO.

Karachonya	21,105
Kochia	7,327
Kaniada	9,579
Kasigunga	2,442
Kaksingiri	1,463
Gwasi	5,390
Karungu	2,569
Kadem	11,145
Mohuru	771
Rusinga (Island)	2,099
Mfwangano (Island)	1,792
	65,682

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF VISIT TO KACH BAY.

226 The following short account of a trip round Kach Bay and up the Miriu river may be of interest as showing different methods of fishing followed by the Lake shore Jaluo. I had arranged with the son of Chief Amimo of Kanu to go and see the fish being taken out of the basket traps at the weirs at the mouth of the Kibos river and at 6-30 a.m. on May the 29th started off from the Dhow Pier with B. in the Government Motor Boat. It took us about one hour to get to the mouth of the river and on the way we saw the fishing fleet coming back with the night's catch to Nanga fishing station. We ran the motor boat a few yards up the river mouth and landed and the boy lit a fire and prepared breakfast. While waiting we watched the various fish-eating birds which were very numerous. The ordinary
136 Darter Anhinja rufa (Dholuo, Osoo) was there in large numbers. This bird goes right down under the water after the fish. It is said to capture the Fulu, Adel, and Osoga. An occasional cormorant (Dholui, Kwasi) was to be seen and one or two storks (Dholuo, Okol) while numerous birds like seagulls and teons (Dholuo, Sialo) were flying about and occasionally dipping down into the water to capture a small fish.

The most remarkable birds however were the pelicans, *Pelicanus onocrotalus* (Dholuo, Mbuzi) which were floating quietly about and occasionally dipping their enormous beaks into the water and then raising them skyward to allow the unfortunate victim to slip down their throat more easily. Large numbers of kingfishers, *Ceryle rudis* and *Corythornis cristatus* (Dholuo, Kalamendi) were also seen. The empty shells of numerous fresh water snails (Dholuo, Ogongolo) strewed the shore, which was very sandy. While we were waiting a native brought up a small fish trap (Dholuo, Musathi) which he had just taken out of a ditch running into the Lake. This contained five

small fish: two Adel about four inches long, two Sire and one Ningu. We were also shown two small eels (Akunga). When breakfast was finished we walked up to see the big weir across the river. It was about 50 yards from the mouth and stretched from bank to bank in a zig-zag line. It was made of rough poles driven into the sandy bottom of the river which was very sluggish at this point. Numerous gaps had been left in the barrier and above every gap facing down stream was fastened a fish trap (Musathi) of which there were about 30 or 40 in all. By this time numerous natives had collected together and several rafts had been brought down to assist in lifting up the traps. These rafts were of several kinds. One kind consisted of long thin poles of very light ambatch (Dholuo, Mburi) wood fastened together. This wood, when dry, is as light as cork and is used for floats for the Mugondo, or stationary lines, and also by the Mohuru natives for floating their hippopotami harpoons. The second raft was a large square frame about 12 ft. by 5 ft. made of poles fastened together three deep by iron rods. The floor appeared to be made of some sort of matting. This raft, as it appeared to be the safest, we chose to stand on while watching the fish traps being taken up. The raft was tied up to the top side of the weir while two natives went into the water which was up to their shoulders and unfastened the traps one by one. When they were undone the native who was with us on the raft pulled the trap out of the water with the mouth up and the fish that were inside slipped to the end of the cone. When he got it on the raft he turned it the other way up and the fish could then be pulled out where the inner basket was fastened to the outer one at the mouth. The fish were then put into a receptacle of matting work for safe keeping called Ngaha. We watched 20 of these baskets being taken out and the following is a record of the catch in each basket. I was informed that these catches were very very small compared with what is usually taken in the months when fish are plentiful.

136 226 226 501 226

It is noteworthy that only one of the 20 baskets drew a complete blank and in one other both the fish Ngege were dead.

1st trap	1 Mumi	11th trap	5 Ngege
2nd ,, ...	2 Ngege	12th ,, ...	1 Ngege
3rd ,, ...	1 Ngege	13th ,, ...	9 Ngege
4th ,, ...	1 Ngege	14th ,, ...	8 Ngege
5th ,, ...	1 Ngege	15th ,, ...	1 Ngege
6th ,, ...	1 Mbiru	16th ,, ...	8 Ngege
	1 Ningu	17th ,, ...	Empty
7th ,, ...	1 Ngege	18th ,, ...	2 Ngege
8th ,, ...	1 Sire		1 Mbiru
	8 Ngege	19th ,, ...	1 Ngege
9th ,, ...	1 Ngege	20th ,, ...	1 Ngege
10th ,, ...	2 Ngege		

226 The total catch of the 20 traps was therefore 38 Ngege, 1 Mumi, 2 Mbiru, 1 Ningu, and 1 Sire, *i.e.*, 43 fish in all.

We left the Kibos river at 9-30 and went on towards the end of Kach Bay seeing numerous fish eating birds on the way.

LINE WITH MULTIPLE HOOKS.

There were also quite a number of natives in canoes and one of these to whom we spoke was working a long line called by the Jaluo Mugondo. This is a very long line weighted at one end with a stone. At intervals along it are hooks fastened to the main line by short lengths of thinner line and baited with pieces of fish mostly Fulu. It is also buoyed at intervals by floats of ambatch (Mburi) wood. The native in the canoe holds the other end. The hooks of some of these lines we saw were the ordinary barbed variety bought in the shops but one man had barbless hooks evidently locally made.

[139]

They were very sharp and curved almost into a complete circle, while the point was slightly bent to one side. I tried to buy this line from the owner but he refused to part with it.

WEIRS AND TRAPS, NOT IN RIVERS.

Along the shore and end of Kach Bay, near the mouth of the Nyando river, we saw two other varieties of fish weirs called by the Jaluo Osageru and Bwanza, something on the principle of the river weir (Kek).

The Osageru resembles a maze and is made of papyrus stalks (Dholuo, Togo) driven into the bottom of the Lake and fastened together and forming a barrier through which the fish cannot pass. As far as I can discover the fish in the course of their peregrinations meet this barrier and move along it until they get caught in a suitably placed basket trap (Musathi). The Osageru is as often as not entirely below the surface of the water and just outside the mouth of the Miriu River we came across a canoe and a raft containing two and one man respectively engaged in building this form of trap. We were informed that a fourth man was working on the Lake bottom pushing in the papyrus stalks. He eventually came up for air and it was amazing the amount of time he spent underneath.

[147]

TRAPS AND ARTIFICIAL RUNS.

The Bwanza is also made of papyrus stalks. It is a small barrier built across little channels cut into the papyrus swamps or scooped out of the sandy shore either on the side of the Lake or on the river bank.

A small gap is left in the barrier, and basket traps are placed on the side away from the Lake or river as the case may be. The fish

226 trying to work their way into these channels get caught in the traps. On leaving the end of Kach Bay we made for the mouth of the Miriu river. On the way we were much interested in the performances of
136 a kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) which flew for some time parallel to the boat and a considerable height above the water. At intervals it would spot a fish, poise itself for a second or two, then drop like a stone perpendicularly into the Lake beak first with a splash, to rise again almost immediately and continue its flight. The Miriu is known
133 higher up as the Kipsonoi and Sondo, but is called the Miriu when it passes through the gorge in the escarpment and comes out into the Lake plain. From there it runs through the level country at first between high solid banks, but as it nears the Lake these disappear and are succeeded by dense papyrus swamps. The channel is exceedingly tortuous, in some cases nearly doubling back on itself, and the total distance from the gorge to the Lake is about seven miles. We took the boat about five or six miles up till we grounded on a sandy spot
136 after which we returned down stream. Several crocodiles (Dholuo, Nuang) were sighted on the way up and one varanus (Kalaguena) which is said to eat fish. When we started to float down with the engine running very quietly, we saw more crocodiles lying out on the mud banks, especially on the higher reaches of the river.

These reptiles must destroy vast quantities of fish and as very few of them are shot they are presumably increasing. It took about an hour to get back to the mouth of the river and two hours from there to Kisumu. I saw no otters (Dholuo, Mandoholo) on this trip. Some years ago I saw two swimming in the Miriu river.

The following are the names of the various fish found in the Lake, with a brief description of each of those I have seen. The list has no claim to be exhaustive.

(1) Suma. A big fish with a nose and mouth like a trunk. Inhabits the Lake. It is not very popular as food. It is rarely taken in nets or on hooks. A few are taken in traps.
[753] Scales very small. Has firm flesh. The natives think that they get itch from eating it. —*Mormyrus sp.*

(2) Ngege. A carp-like fish. Firm flesh which lasts well. This is the principal food fish of the Kavirondo Gulf and is sent to Nairobi in considerable quantities. It is extremely like the Mbiru. —*Tilapia sp.*

(3) Mbiru. A good eating fish and very difficult to distinguish from the Ngege. The only difference appears to be that it is a bit darker and the tops of the spine are reddish. It does not keep fresh so long. A small variety of this fish, possibly its fry, is called Obudi. —*Tilapia variabilis.*

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp*. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

strips makes this arrangement into a kind of pliable fence. This, by means of canoes, is brought round through the water back to the shore till it describes rather more than a semi-circle. The bringing round of the rope serves to chase all the fish that are between it and the shore towards the mouths of the big wickerwork traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water. The women, at the same time, walk up and down dragging traps of smaller mesh, in which they collect numbers of small fish. A good deal of fish-spearing takes place at night by torch-

435. JA-LUO OUT FISHING IN KAVIRONDO BAY WITH SKINES OF PAPYRUS STALKS

light. The Ja-luo fishermen state that they get the best hauls of fish after a downpour of rain. *Rafts* of ambatch wood similar to those in use on the Nile are employed in laying out the nets. The Nyakach people of the south shore of Kavirondo Bay fish to a great extent with hook and line. The Ja-luo *canoes* are small dug-outs of poor appearance. Large quantities of fish are split and dried in the sun and sent inland to exchange for game.

Both sexes smoke and chew *tobacco*, but only old men smoke *hemp* through water-pipes. Boys and young men in the prime of life are not allowed to smoke hemp, as it is thought injurious to their manhood.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

231 241 361 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they got the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch [824] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly [438] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 501 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

491 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

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5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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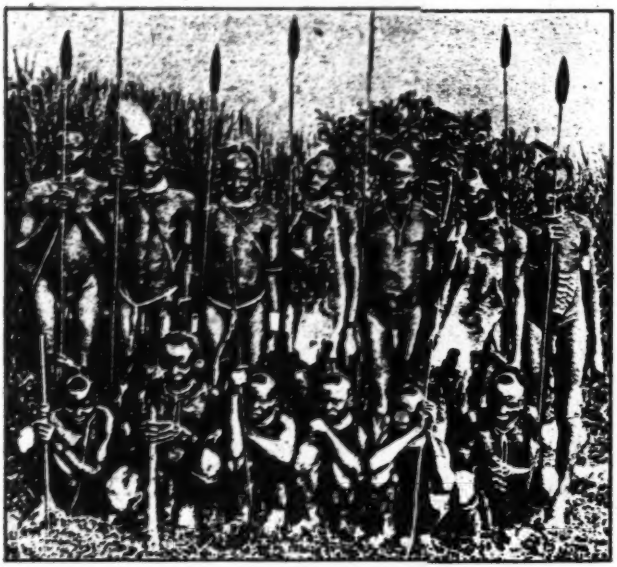

Koromojo Warriors.

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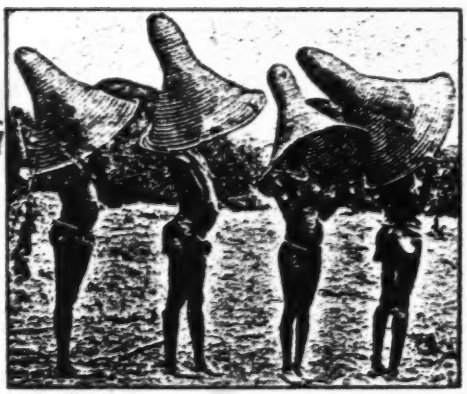

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karungu Warriors (Ja-Luo).

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

FISHING IN THE KAVIRONDO GULF, LAKE VICTORIA.

By C. M. Dobbs.

History of the Industry.

228 Although fishing by natives along the shores of the Gulf has been carried on from time immemorial, it was only in 1905 that the fishing industry proper was started by Mr. Aarup, a Norwegian, who found by experience the best size and kind of nets to use.

227 Mr. Aarup, who was almost blind, appears to have done a lot of pioneer work in the industry, and definitely proved that the best mesh was what is known as the 5 inch. This gives a mesh of about 2 inches square. At first shoemakers' twine was made into nets locally, but this was not successful partly owing to the inferior lasting qualities of the twine and partly owing to the slipping of the knots which allowed the fish to escape. Trials were also made with cotton nets of thicker thread. These nets however took no Carp (Ngege and 227 Mbiru) but caught Kisinga (Fwani). Subsequently nets were obtained 439 from Messrs. Wm. Barbour, Lisbourn, Ireland, and these were found so successful that they ousted all the locally made articles and are the only sort used at present. *These nets are sold in the Kisumu Bazaar at a price of Shs. 17/- to 18/- and are 100 yards long, 5 inch mesh and 26 mesh deep, 35 twine three ply. They are of a drab colour and the thread is very fine. White and tanned nets are useless. Trials were made with thicker twine (No. 20) but the catches were small.

The average life of a net is said to be about 20 days, but in the hands of Europeans they have a longer life and sometimes last up to two or three months unless they meet with accidents as when a crocodile gets entangled in them.

In 1921 when the industry was more flourishing than it is to-day up to 20,000 nets were imported annually from Ireland.

Restrictions:

228 The use of nets with a mesh of under 1 inch square is forbidden by law. Trawling is also forbidden except in water of 16 feet and over, and at a distance of not less than a quarter of a mile from the shore; this means that trawlers cannot be used in the Gulf as it is all very shallow.

* A large number of nets are also supplied to the Kisumu Bazaar by Messrs. Joseph Gundry & Co., Bridport. There is also a certain demand for White Nets.—*Editor.*

228 Kadimu, and Karachonya are the best fishing grounds. Fewer fish are said to be caught during the full moon and the takes are greater when the nights are dark and rainy.

The boats put out 10 to 20 nets each, *i.e.*, 1,000 to 2,000 yards. During the building of the Eldoret Railway one European who supplied fish to the labourers manipulated up to 8,000 yards of nets.

227 The 5 to 5½ inch mesh takes the Ngege, Mbiru, Mumi, Kamongo, Seu, Suma, and sometimes Sira. Occasionally a net of a 3 inch mesh 228 is used and this takes the Ningu, Sira, and Osoga.

These nets run on a coir rope top and bottom. The top is supported by corks and the bottom weighted with iron rings. They only catch fish while drifting and any check through catching on an obstruction will render them useless. The nets are often damaged by floating islands, boats, and crocodiles.

FISHING CENTRES:

There are three Indian fishing villages in the Gulf, at Seme, Asembo, and Nanga The last is only three miles south of Kisumu and is the only one near enough to supply fish for the Nairobi market.

MARKETING AND COST:

228 The fish for the Nairobi market are brought in by natives in sacks on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. They are cleaned 435 by Kavirondo women under a tree on the Lae shore near the station and are packed in ice and despatched to Nairobi by the 2-25 p.m. train. The Kavirondo women obtain the entrails as their perquisites and the Indian who superintends takes the gills which appear to be regarded as a delicacy and are extracted before the fish are packed. The fish are packed in ice in large chests The ice costs 18 cents a pound and one pound is required for each fish. The freight to Nairobi is Shs 3/50 per 100 lbs. Together with the other incidental expenses it costs about 25 cents to send a fish to Nairobi. When the fish are plentiful the usual price is 25 cents a fish in Kisumu market.

ADVERSE TIMES FOR FISHING.

228 The months April to August are not good fishing months and during these months the natives entirely give up fishing in the Lake with drag nets and confine themselves almost entirely to catching fish in the river weirs (Kek).

SPAWNING:

136 Most of the Lake fish spawn in May, June and July. Carp (Ngege and Mbiru) are plentiful during the other nine months. The carp (Kavirondo Ngege) spawn in shallow water with sandy bottom at a depth of 3 to 5 ft., and are thus immune from capture by nets which cannot be used in such shallow spots. They do not spawn in the Gulf except in rare cases but choose the spawning

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BASKET TRAPS.

1. Angu, used by women.
2. Angu, used by men.
3. Musati.
4. Sienyu.

[p. 100A]

Possible Reasons for Decline:

228 The decline in the industry appears to be due to three main factors:—

(a) Fewer fish in the Kaviscndo Gulf than formerly.
(b) Decline in retail prices giving less profit.
(c) Poverty of the fishermen.

In regard to (c) it may be remarked that during the years of high retail prices many wealthy merchants, Goans and Europeans, were engaged in fishing. These have since withdrawn and the class now carrying on the work usually have to buy nets and boats on credit or pay heavy interest on borrowed money, destroying the fishers' small profit and causing more and more to abandon fishing"

It is generally admitted that the catches of fish are less than they were. In the early years the average catch is estimated to have been over 25 fish per 100 yards of net while the boats operated at only about a mile from shore. In later years the catch fell to 5 per net and to get these the boats have to go from 12 to 15 miles out. The number of boats has also fallen off. At the height of the industry's prosperity there were 150 boats working on an average 10 nets per boat. Some boats worked as much as 20 to 25 nets.

Native Methods of Capture: Nets.

226 Turning now to the methods employed by the ordinary natives
227 living along the Lake shores we find that fish are caught by drag nets, weirs, traps, harpoons, long lines and to a very small extent with fishing rods. The drag nets used are made of papyrus stems fastened close together and are about 5 ft. deep. They are made in two sizes, the larger size being called by the Jaluo "Gogo" and the smaller "Ogoda." One end of the net is towed out by men in canoes some distance into the Lake and is taken round in a half circle so as to enclose a considerable area of water. The two ends are then drawn towards the shore so that the net brings in with it any fish that have been enclosed. When it is fairly close in men wade into the water with long baskets (Dholuo, Aungs) and capture the fish in these. These baskets as a form of trap made on much the same principle as a lobster pot and consist of a large cone of basket work about 6 ft. long with a smaller cone inside it pointing in the same direction. The inner cone is open at the end so that when a fish enters at the wide mouth of the basket it swims through the hole at the end of the inner cone and gets imprisoned in the space between the two cones.

Basket Traps, Portable and Stationary.

227 A smaller form of Aungs is used by women, called Aungs Ketenge. There are two varieties of this, one with the double cone and one with only a single cone. When using the double cone ones they place three

227 or four in a line on the bottom. They then go some distance in front and frighten the fish into the traps. The single cone traps are used by the women in a different way. They hold the baskets in both hands with the wide part facing towards them and wade backwards in shallow water drawing the baskets along the bottom towards them. When the fish enter the basket they raise it out of the water in a perpendicular position. The following fish are caught by this means: Nyawino, Nders, Ningu, and Akungu (eels). The Ningu is not caught in rivers during May, June and July as it goes to the Lake then presumably to spawn.

BASKET TRAPS USED AT WEIRS.

226 227 Enormous fish weirs (Dholuo, Kek) are a feature of the rivers of Kavirondo. Some of these are built of wood and some of stones and extend right across the rivers from bank to bank. At intervals in the weir there are gaps and basket traps (Dholuo, Musathi) are used on the upper side of these holes to catch the fish as they pass through upstream. The Musathi are similar in principle to the double coned Aungs, gut are made of reeds fastened together longitudinally, while all types of Aungs are plaited.

PORTABLE TRAPS.

Another form of basket fish trap is the Sienyu. This is also a conical basket with a hole at the top or narrow end. The native using it wades along in shallow water pushing it down at intervals on to the bottom of the lake or river. If a fish happens to be imprisoned it is heard splashing inside and the native puts his arm through the top hole and pulls it out. The Sienyu is also made of reeds fastened together longitudinally.

STATIONARY TRAPS, BAITED.

In addition to the foregoing there is another kind of basket trap used called Omuongo, which is almost identical with a European lobster pot and used with bait and in the same way.

FISHING SPEARS.

226 411 Fish are sometimes harpooned by natives wading in the water. The harpoon used is narrow and has no barb and is called by the Jaluo Bodthi. Mumi and Kamongo are speared in this way.

The natives of Mohuru are said to go out in canoes on moonlight nights with grass torches and harpoon the fish.

FISHING WITH ROD AND LINES.

226 227 Fishing with rod and line is indulged in principally as an amusement and by juveniles. Long rods made from a tree called Poo are used by men. Hooks (Dholuo, Oloo) are bought in the bazaar. The bait used is a sort of worm (Dholuo, Oniambo) found in the mud. Mumi (barbel) are caught in this way. The line is made from

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up.

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:—

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,387

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both thes Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Yiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai).

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mohuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:—

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	33,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	18,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

[p. 188]

434. JA-LUO FISHERWOMEN AND THEIR BASKETS

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

FISHING IN THE KAVIRONDO GULF, LAKE VICTORIA.

By C. M. Dobbs.

History of the Industry.

228 Although fishing by natives along the shores of the Gulf has been carried on from time immemorial, it was only in 1905 that the fishing industry proper was started by Mr. Aarup, a Norwegian, who found by experience the best size and kind of nets to use.

227 Mr. Aarup, who was almost blind, appears to have done a lot of pioneer work in the industry, and definitely proved that the best mesh was what is known as the 5 inch. This gives a mesh of about 2 inches square. At first shoemakers' twine was made into nets locally, but this was not successful partly owing to the inferior lasting qualities of the twine and partly owing to the slipping of the knots which allowed the fish to escape. Trials were also made with cotton nets of thicker thread. These nets however took no Carp (Ngege and 227 Mbiru) but caught Kisinga (Fwani). Subsequently nets were obtained 439 from Messrs. Wm. Barbour, Lisbourn, Ireland, and these were found so successful that they ousted all the locally made articles and are the only sort used at present. *These nets are sold in the Kisumu Bazaar at a price of Shs. 17/- to 18/- and are 100 yards long, 5 inch mesh and 26 mesh deep, 35 twine three ply. They are of a drab colour and the thread is very fine. White and tanned nets are useless. Trials were made with thicker twine (No. 20) but the catches were small.

The average life of a net is said to be about 20 days, but in the hands of Europeans they have a longer life and sometimes last up to two or three months unless they meet with accidents as when a crocodile gets entangled in them.

In 1921 when the industry was more flourishing than it is to-day up to 20,000 nets were imported annually from Ireland.

Restrictions:

228 The use of nets with a mesh of under 1 inch square is forbidden by law. Trawling is also forbidden except in water of 16 feet and over, and at a distance of not less than a quarter of a mile from the shore; this means that trawlers cannot be used in the Gulf as it is all very shallow.

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* A large number of nets are also supplied to the Kisumu Bazaar by Messrs. Joseph Gundry & Co., Bridport. There is also a certain demand for White Nets.—*Editor.*

LAWS AND REGULATIONS:

228 The law in regard to fishing in Lake Victoria is contained in an enabling Ordinance entitled The Fish Protection Ordinance, 1908 (Caps. 163 Laws of Kenya) and regulations promulgated at various times by His Excellency the Governor. This Ordinance gave the Governor power to regulate fishing, impose fees and registration of boats, issue licences and determine times of fishing. The first rules published under the Ordinance were the Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Rules, 1914, Government Notice No. 123, page 682 of the *Official Gazette* for 1914. These rules were applied to all that part of the Lake Victorial lying within the then East Africa Protectorate and to the mouth of every river. It contained the following Regulations:

(1) All persons fishing for sale or barter were required to register yearly. The fee was 300/- for all non-natives of Africa. No fee was charged for natives.
(2) All registered fishermen were required to register all boats, nets and stakes.
(3) No mesh was to be less than 1 inch square.
(4) Trawling was prohibited nearer than quarter of a mile from the shore and in water less than 16 ft. deep.
(5) No nets or stakes were to be placed in a fairway.
(6) Fishing grounds with nets to be buoyed.

Later in the year the Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Amendment Rules were promulgated (Government Notice No. 181 of 3/8/14 *Official Gazette*, page 864). These defined " natives " as being South Kavirondo, Kisumu, and North Kavirondo natives and any other natives of African not of European or Asiatic origin who are in the employment of a non-native who is duly registered.

Further rules were published on 14/2/19 (Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Rules, Govt. Notice No. 50, *Official Gazette*, page 103). These provided tha any person other than a native—who is exempt from registration under other rules—who employs natives to catch fish, shall be liable to registration and to other provisions as if he were himself a person employed in catching fish, and any person buying or bartering fish for resale or barter either by wholesale or retail shall be registered as if he were employed in catching fish.

METHODS OF CAPTURE:

[471] The fishing industry is in the hands of Indians who own the boats which are manned by natives. These natives in addition to their pay get a few of the fish caught. The vessels used are locally built flat bottomed boats 25 ft. long, 6 ft. beam and 2 ft. deep and cost about £50 each. They carry a lateen sail and the crew is generally five. They go out in the afternoon and lay the nets at sunset taking up the catch before daybreak and returning in the morning. Asembo Bay,

228 Kadimu, and Karachonya are the best fishing grounds. Fewer fish are said to be caught during the full moon and the takes are greater when the nights are dark and rainy.

The boats put out 10 to 20 nets each, *i.e.*, 1,000 to 2,000 yards. During the building of the Eldoret Railway one European who supplied fish to the labourers manipulated up to 8,000 yards of nets.

227 The 5 to 5½ inch mesh takes the Ngege, Mbiru, Mumi, Kamongo,
228 Seu, Suma, and sometimes Sira. Occasionally a net of a 3 inch mesh is used and this takes the Ningu, Sira, and Osoga.

These nets run on a coir rope top and bottom. The top is supported by corks and the bottom weighted with iron rings. They only catch fish while drifting and any check through catching on an obstruction will render them useless. The nets are often damaged by floating islands, boats, and crocodiles.

FISHING CENTRES:

050 There are three Indian fishing villages in the Gulf, at Seme, Asembo, and Nanga The last is only three miles south of Kisumu and is the only one near enough to supply fish for the Nairobi market.

MARKETING AND COST:

228 The fish for the Nairobi market are brought in by natives in sacks
435 on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. They are cleaned by Kavirondo women under a tree on the Lae shore near the station and are packed in ice and despatched to Nairobi by the 2-25 p.m. train. The Kavirondo women obtain the entrails as their perquisites and the Indian who superintends takes the gills which appear to be regarded as a delicacy and are extracted before the fish are packed. The fish are packed in ice in large chests The ice costs 18 cents a pound and one pound is required for each fish. The freight to Nairobi is Shs 3/50 per 100 lbs. Together with the other incidental expenses it costs about 25 cents to send a fish to Nairobi. When the fish are plentiful the usual price is 25 cents a fish in Kisumu market.

ADVERSE TIMES FOR FISHING.

228 The months April to August are not good fishing months and during these months the natives entirely give up fishing in the Lake with drag nets and confine themselves almost entirely to catching fish in the river weirs (Kek).

SPAWNING:

136 Most of the Lake fish spawn in May, June and July. Carp (Ngege and Mbiru) are plentiful during the other nine months. The carp (Kavirondo Ngege) spawn in shallow water with sandy bottom at a depth of 3 to 5 ft., and are thus immune from capture by nets which cannot be used in such shallow spots. They do not spawn in the Gulf except in rare cases but choose the spawning

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

136 beds near the Islands where the bottom is sandy. The female scoops out a circular hole and deposits the eggs and the male then fertilises them and takes charge hanging over the nest and keeping away sediment by the action of the fins and tail till the young hatch out. This fanning motion keeps fresh water passing over the eggs.

It seems probable that the fish come up the Gulf to spawn and are then caught. A continuance of this year after year may be exterminating the Gulf fish. There is not any close season under the Ordinance. It is possible that the natives catch fry near to the shore under the impression that they are full-grown fish of a small type.

It will be noted that there is a certain amount of divergence of opinion as to where the fish spawn. My authority for stating that they do not spawn in the Gulf is Mr. Oorloff, ex-Government Assistant Surgeon, who is a local authority on Lake Victoria fish.

DECLINE OF INDUSTRY: DIMINISHING CATCHES.

228 433 There appears to be no doubt whatever that fish taken in the Lake are decreasing and various reasons have been brought forward to account for this. Mr. Acton, Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy, dealt with this in his annual report report for 1923 and the figures he gave are of interest and worth quoting:

Year.	Sum collected for licences.	Average retail price of fish.
	Shs.	Cents.
1917-18	16,350 ...	60
1918-19	14,530 ...	70 to Shs. 1/-
1919-20	19,350 ...	50 to 75
1920-21	19,200 ...	50
1921 (9 months) ...	16,300 ...	40 to 25
1922	9,900 ...	25
1923	8,120 ...	25

The following are the corresponding figures for the subsequent years:

1924	8,700
1925	10,500
1926	8,250
1927 to 31/5/27 ...	5,700

He states as follows: " During 1923 the fishermen appeared to have great difficulty in paying the annual licence of Shs. 300/- and although given a good deal of time in which to pay most of them had to be summoned to force payment.

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR DECLINE:

228 The decline in the industry appears to be due to three main factors:—

(a) Fewer fish in the Kavirondo Gulf than formerly.
(b) Decline in retail prices giving less profit.
(c) Poverty of the fishermen.

In regard to (c) it may be remarked that during the years of high retail prices many wealthy merchants, Goans and Europeans, were engaged in fishing. These have since withdrawn and the class now carrying on the work usually have to buy nets and boats on credit or pay heavy interest on borrowed money, destroying the fishers' small profit and causing more and more to abandon fishing"

It is generally admitted that the catches of fish are less than they were. In the early years the average catch is estimated to have been over 25 fish per 100 yards of net while the boats operated at only about a mile from shore. In later years the catch fell to 5 per net and to get these the boats have to go from 12 to 15 miles out. The number of boats has also fallen off. At the height of the industry's prosperity there were 150 boats working on an average 10 nets per boat. Some boats worked as much as 20 to 25 nets.

NATIVE METHODS OF CAPTURE: NETS.

226 227 Turning now to the methods employed by the ordinary natives living along the Lake shores we find that fish are caught by drag nets, weirs, traps, harpoons, long lines and to a very small extent with fishing rods. The drag nets used are made of papyrus stems fastened close together and are about 5 ft. deep. They are made in two sizes, the larger size being called by the Jaluo " Gogo " and the smaller " Ogoda." One end of the net is towed out by men in canoes some distance into the Lake and is taken round in a half circle so as to enclose a considerable area of water. The two ends are then drawn towards the shore so that the net brings in with it any fish that have been enclosed. When it is fairly close in men wade into the water with long baskets (Dholuo, Aunga) and capture the fish in these. These baskets ae a form of trap made on much the same principle as a lobster pot and consist of a large cone of basket work about 6 ft. long with a smaller cone inside it pointing in the same direction. The inner cone is open at the end so that when a fish enters at the wide mouth of the basket it swims through the hole at the end of the inner cone and gets imprisoned in the space between the two cones.

BASKET TRAPS, PORTABLE AND STATIONARY.

227 A smaller form of Aunga is used by women, called Aunga Ketenga. There are two varieties of this, one with the double cone and one with only a single cone. When using the double cone ones they place three

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

over 5,000 people are spraying; here, with sixteen times the population, not 500 are. In the whole of Nyanza, with its 300,000 families, we have only sixty-seven Sahiwal bulls.

'On cattle, most of them won't budge. For instance, a man's prestige is somehow linked with that of his bulls, and they are most reluctant to castrate anything. Pioneers who try improved methods are unpopular and their neighbours are apt to gun for them; one man, for instance, had his pigs burnt alive. Still, we plug on. We have controlled rinderpest, if not East Coast fever—every year we give about 200,000 rinderpest inoculations. We export half a million hides and skins and are trying to improve their quality.'

It is perhaps worth noting that crops, whose improvement is considerable, are grown by women, but livestock is the exclusive concern of the men.

'In the years ahead,' this rather disillusioned vet concluded, 'we have only got to get across two basic principles: that a cow wants food all the year round, and that a calf needs milk. But it will take another twenty years before we make any real dent in Nyanza.'

On the other hand, some things unexpectedly catch on. A district officer who had seen fish-ponds in Malaya made half a dozen and stocked them with tilapia. Local people observed the ponds and, without any serious propaganda, dug others like them. Now there are over a thousand in Nyanza. They cost nothing, the Government provides free fingerlings and is full of plans for fish-ponds everywhere as the basis of a small industry.

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Maseno is a dynamo of education. It was started by the Church Missionary Society. 'The general plan of campaign was based on the model of Iona,' wrote the Rev. John Willis, later Bishop of Uganda, who with Bishop Tucker chose the site in 1904. On 14th January, 1906, the first resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Savile, moved in—there was not much to move into, merely a grass hut under a tree that housed both the Saviles and a primitive dispensary. Nearly

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

231 241 361 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema.*" The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch [824] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly [439] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 501 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

491 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Games.—They play a kind of *bau* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

Food, etc.—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balaerica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

Medicine, etc.—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

Peace ceremonies.—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

Killing animals for food.—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

Succession customs, etc.—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomœa palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

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In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls."

795 778 231 The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about 5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo boma the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has a post—called in Dholuo, "Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of [531] the boma has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby boma.

795 778 The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all carved Loches appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

174 831 Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these Loches is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Loches in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who held parallel beliefs.

795 174 It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

795 797 The prophesies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out, especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop.
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a " medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high, which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms. In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on
136 the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs, monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in, organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
136 disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts. This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When [302] the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious [687] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the 234 people. The numbers vary in a village according to the pros- perity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article [262] of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. [462] Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side. 234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family.

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk.

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind.

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans.

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the

13: Odedɛ I-5 (no date) 1942 FL11 Luo FL11

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

Veterinary Department, Maseno.

The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

231 521 The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome [753] than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that [511] women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

231 The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

262 Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo [272] unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which [753] has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

*Mr. Walter Odede is a Jaluo who has passed through Makerere College and the Entebbe Veterinary School.—*Editor.*

262 buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by
both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking
[252] vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption.
The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for
some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special
feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have
[251] died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak
of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made
into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such
[583] biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with
ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

281 Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields,
291 drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers
are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

435 Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time,
i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to
437 refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This
is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders
who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats
and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six
to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight
fowls.

231 The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell
438 heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers
for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the
mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars,
oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The
237 horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for
keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps
and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry
dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above
makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The
scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other
domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for
[232 running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and
824] animal patients, e.g., an infusion of a plant known in Luo as
*jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east
coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds.
The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

231 Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after
animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the
262 fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is
ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and
women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the
animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers
and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Korrow.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects. 231 242

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers. 231 583 [554] [431]

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers. 583

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked 583 585

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed
[837] and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn
is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if
764 necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen
although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock.
A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special
oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend
funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered
when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a
tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a
special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the
ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions"
are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather
straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so
honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop
hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals
when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are
usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them
believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a
[842] polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely
to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or
those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking
parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their
arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the
horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth
[556] because the average man does not possess a number of oxen
with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of
special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to
reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by
some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only
method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle,
especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however,
[232] also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this
disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from
headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood
from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours,
but there are some colours which are considered objectionable.
822 Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually
susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to
marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently
conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark,
dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted
for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagree-
ment during the arrangement of the marriage or between the
wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because
it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug.

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes.

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

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*See footnote to page 128.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp*. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[587] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[231] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main *a healthy people*.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (Dholuo *jopidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would sustain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 133.

262 buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking [252] vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have [251] died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such [583] biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

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†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—EDITOR.

MANAGEMENT OF ANIMALS.

Rich people do not keep all their stock together in their own kraal. Usually they give some of them to their friends
233 or relations to look after. The latter take the milk as a reward for their trouble. Owners of animals when visiting those friends or relations who are responsible for them, take careful notice of the colour of the offspring in order to check any mischief on the part of an untrustworthy friend or relation. Keen cattle-owners rarely give their animals to doubtful friends or to those living in remote places where frequent visits would be difficult. During dry seasons when grazing becomes scanty some owners remove their herds to better pastures and return them only when their own pastures have improved. This is not, however, the usual custom and it is more usual to take the cattle to better pastures early in the morning and return them late in the evening. The former practice is adopted during a general dry season when wide areas of veld become useless for herding. The length of time that the animals are allowed to remain out grazing each day varies with the quality of the pasture. The quality of the grazing around the Kavirondo Gulf depends upon the season of the year. In winter when there is much rain, cattle remain on the pastures for a very short time, roughly about seven hours; whereas in summer, they may remain as long as twelve hours. Sheep and goats remain on the pasture for about five to six hours in winter and in summer for about seven hours a day. These animals are usually herded together with the unweaned calves. Weaned calves go with the main herd of cattle unless owing to climatic conditions or disease they are somewhat debilitated.

During the night cattle are brought in and tied up with ropes inside the kraal. Bulls, oxen and strong cows are tied near the gate while young beasts are tied in the centre. Goats, sheep and young calves are stabled in a stable where a smouldering fire made from dry cow or goat dung is kept every night. At sunrise they are brought out and tied in the sun in front of the stable until herding time.

● 232 An intelligent cattle-owner usually castrates all the bulls that he thinks are useless for stud purposes and keeps only one good one for breeding. The effect of this good bull on the herd is often spoilt by casual services from bad bulls belonging to less progressive people in the village who think they will be noticed and honoured when their bulls run after cows. As a rule a bull is not allowed to serve its mother or sisters, although this may happen when there is no unrelated bull in the herd. Expert owners usually castrate bulls before they are allowed to run with their mothers and arrange the services of their female stock so that they calve at the beginning of the long rains. Unfortunately only a few people think of these methods of improving their herds.

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed
[837] and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn
is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if
764 necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen
although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock.
A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special
oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend
funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered
when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a
tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a
special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the
ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions"
are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather
straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so
honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop
hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals
when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are
usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them
believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a
[842] polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely
to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or
those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking
parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their
arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the
[556] horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth
because the average man does not possess a number of oxen
with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of
special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to
reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by
some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only
method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle,
especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however,
● [232] also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this
disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from
headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood
from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours,
but there are some colours which are considered objectionable.
822 Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually
susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to
marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently
conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark,
dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted
for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagree-
ment during the arrangement of the marriage or between the
wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because
it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug.

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes.

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

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*See footnote to page 128.

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is a big thing. When we get some money, I shall ask my husband for a better house. We are in the way of progress now, but there is another thing: the Government must help us with our water, we need a scheme to bring it—that is the biggest thing.'

It is often said that women are the most conservative, and in some ways perhaps this may be so—especially in regard to marriage customs; but it struck me, almost everywhere I went, that it is the women who are most anxious to see these basic land reforms brought in, the men who oppose—not the old men so much as the younger, educated ones who have been to cities. Africa so often seems to reverse the expected order of things.

At any rate, there was no doubt of what these women thought about land reform. It is they, after all, the cultivators, the workers, who know where the shoe pinches, and no wonder they are out of patience with those young men of the towns who, while crying for political freedom, do their best to deny to their own women that measure of relief from hard, grinding toil which land consolidation and enclosure can afford.

Among the Luo, everything is done by clans—extended families would be a more correct term. This group is called the *jokokwaru* and consists of all the descendants of one grandfather. They hold their land in common and each individual, as he marries, is allocated a *shamba* by the *liguru*, the land elders. In time he probably inherits cultivation rights over other pieces from various mothers, uncles and cousins, and that is how fragmentation arises. All grazing land is held in common, as among all other tribes.

The *jokokwaru* system is at once a strength and a weakness, from a modern point of view. Livestock improvers regard it as an unmitigated curse.

'All the members of the group must agree to any sale of stock by any individual,' a vet told me. 'That makes destocking almost impossible, if only out of bloody-mindedness.' The livestock picture generally is a gloomy one. 'We are still trying to get across one or two of the most basic principles, such as dipping or spraying against ticks. Among the Kipsigis,

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over 5,000 people are spraying; here, with sixteen times the population, not 500 are. In the whole of Nyanza, with its 300,000 families, we have only sixty-seven Sahiwal bulls.

'On cattle, most of them won't budge. For instance, a man's prestige is somehow linked with that of his bulls, and they are most reluctant to castrate anything. Pioneers who try improved methods are unpopular and their neighbours are apt to gun for them; one man, for instance, had his pigs burnt alive. Still, we plug on. We have controlled rinderpest, if not East Coast fever—every year we give about 200,000 rinderpest inoculations. We export half a million hides and skins and are trying to improve their quality.'

It is perhaps worth noting that crops, whose improvement is considerable, are grown by women, but livestock is the exclusive concern of the men.

'In the years ahead,' this rather disillusioned vet concluded, 'we have only got to get across two basic principles: that a cow wants food all the year round, and that a calf needs milk. But it will take another twenty years before we make any real dent in Nyanza.'

On the other hand, some things unexpectedly catch on. A district officer who had seen fish-ponds in Malaya made half a dozen and stocked them with tilapia. Local people observed the ponds and, without any serious propaganda, dug others like them. Now there are over a thousand in Nyanza. They cost nothing, the Government provides free fingerlings and is full of plans for fish-ponds everywhere as the basis of a small industry.

V

Maseno is a dynamo of education. It was started by the Church Missionary Society. 'The general plan of campaign was based on the model of Iona,' wrote the Rev. John Willis, later Bishop of Uganda, who with Bishop Tucker chose the site in 1904. On 14th January, 1906, the first resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Savile, moved in—there was not much to move into, merely a grass hut under a tree that housed both the Saviles and a primitive dispensary. Nearly

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When a cow calves about two days are allowed to pass while the calf is suckled before milking commences. The milk obtained from the cow during the first two weeks or until the umbilical cord of the calf drops, is all drunk by young men in the village. This milk is stored in a pot in which a little buttermilk, which has been treated with urine, has been placed. As mentioned before the Luo believe that drinking fresh whole milk is the cause of tapeworm infestation, and the buttermilk is added to the fresh milk so as to eliminate this danger. When the umbilical cord of the calf has dropped the woman who owns the cow is allowed to use the milk for churning butter. The roots of a plant known in Luo as *obuwo* is added to the churning calabash as a preserving agent because fresh milk is stored in the calabash for about twelve to twenty-four hours before churning. During the churning process a little bovine urine, which has been stored for a few days, is added to the milk to accelerate the formation and facilitate the separation of the butter. This urine is also believed to be a good preservative for both the butter and the buttermilk, which will be stored for use in cooking various kinds of food. On the day the first butter is made into ghee, a little of the ghee is fed to the calf and the rest eaten by a group of people in the house. The reason why a sample of the first ghee is given to the calf is not very clear; but some people say that it protects the calf from developing diarrhoea and indigestion when the later butter of the dam is boiled and made into ghee. They believe that otherwise the boiling of the butter during ghee-making would cause diarrhoea in the calf.

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If a cow is slow to wean her calf a method used for drying her off is to fix a muzzle (*osembo*) on which strong thorns are fixed around the mouth of the calf so that when it tries to suck, the thorns prick the dam and cause her to kick the calf away. Another device is to smear the teats of the dam with cow dung, the taste of which stops the calf from sucking.

If the calf dies, its hide is dried, folded properly and a little salt solution is sprinkled on it to make it taste pleasant when licked by the dam while being milked. Before milking, the teats are washed or cleaned with warm water to stimulate the milk flow.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

question of bribery and corruption crops up everywhere and all concerned on the official side recognize it as their deepest enemy. But when I put Mr. Ayan's points to them they were a little sceptical. 'Of course there is bribery,' they said, 'but it is not as bad as that. And it is not the people who oppose land reforms, it is the politicians.' Mr. Ayan had just sent a telegram to the Governor asking for the removal of the 'reactionary D.C.' in Kisumu, so relations were naturally a bit strained.

VI

On the way to Maseno we had passed the ostensible *casus belli* between District Council and Government: the Kisiani hills, a barren, rocky bluff entirely denuded of vegetation and a scene of the most gruesome erosion, given over to goats browsing on boulders and any indomitable weed that had managed to germinate. This place had been leased by the District Council to the Government for the purpose of afforestation and about 800 acres of trees had been planted at a cost of £13,000.

Afforestation is unpopular. Goats were allowed to destroy the Kisiani seedlings and, when the forest department put up fences, people came and tore them down in the night. Others started to cultivate in defiance not only of the terms of the lease, but of regulations which forbid cultivation on steep hillsides. All this, in the official view, was part of a deliberate political campaign to stir up anti-Government feeling.

The Kisiani quarrel brought to a head bad feeling between the Central Nyanza District Council and the Government. All the Councillors are African save for the chairman, who is the D.C. Most of its senior technical staff are European and, in particular, it employs (as do all District Councils with large revenues) a fully qualified accountant to manage its finances.

Those elected Councillors most anxious for unrestricted freedom objected strongly to this accountant. Africans, they said, should have the spending of African money without European interference. Officials retorted that in proper,

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call [302] savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect [68] this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the
● 234 people. The numbers vary in a village according to the pros-
[262] perity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and [462] young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side.
234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family.

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk.

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind.

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs. They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans.

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her. 764

On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies. 765

If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attemp is made to save the child. 763

P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood. 764 234

After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept. 765 241

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.

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14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g.. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Editor.

When a cow calves about two days are allowed to pass while the calf is suckled before milking commences. The milk obtained from the cow during the first two weeks or until the umbilical cord of the calf drops, is all drunk by young men in the village. This milk is stored in a pot in which a little buttermilk, which has been treated with urine, has been placed. As mentioned before the Luo believe that drinking fresh whole milk is the cause of tapeworm infestation, and the buttermilk is added to the fresh milk so as to eliminate this danger. When the umbilical cord of the calf has dropped the woman who owns the cow is allowed to use the milk for churning butter. The roots of a plant known in Luo as *obuwo* is added to the churning calabash as a preserving agent because fresh milk is stored in the calabash for about twelve to twenty-four hours before churning. During the churning process a little bovine urine, which has been stored for a few days, is added to the milk to accelerate the formation and facilitate the separation of the butter. This urine is also believed to be a good preservative for both the butter and the buttermilk, which will be stored for use in cooking various kinds of food. On the day the first butter is made into ghee, a little of the ghee is fed to the calf and the rest eaten by a group of people in the house. The reason why a sample of the first ghee is given to the calf is not very clear; but some people say that it protects the calf from developing diarrhoea and indigestion when the later butter of the dam is boiled and made into ghee. They believe that otherwise the boiling of the butter during ghee-making would cause diarrhoea in the calf.

Milking is done twice a day, in the morning and evening, by the boys and young men. Girls, women and old men are only allowed to milk in homes where there are no young men. Before commencing milking, the calf is allowed to suck its dam for a minute. It is then tied in front of the dam while she is milked. After some milk has been drawn the calf is allowed to suck for another minute and then re-tied while more milk is taken. Finally, the calf is allowed to suck and stay with the dam for about an hour, after which it is separated from the mother for at least ten hours before the next milking.

If a cow is slow to wean her calf a method used for drying her off is to fix a muzzle (*osembo*) on which strong thorns are fixed around the mouth of the calf so that when it tries to suck, the thorns prick the dam and cause her to kick the calf away. Another device is to smear the teats of the dam with cow dung, the taste of which stops the calf from sucking.

If the calf dies, its hide is dried, folded properly and a little salt solution is sprinkled on it to make it taste pleasant when licked by the dam while being milked. Before milking, the teats are washed or cleaned with warm water to stimulate the milk flow.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp.* Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

231 241 361 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch [824] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly [439] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 601 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

441 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembo*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

695

Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*.

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crushed up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

787

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign.

[777]

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*.

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

[241]

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, and some chiefs are said to be able to foretel whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri.

551

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name.

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
776 entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches
[782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no
[609] earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were "of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
791 without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

241 791 " Jabilo " or leading medicine-man of the community concerned performed a sacrifice or " misango " the purpose of which was to render ineffectual any harmful magic left behind in the soil by those from whom it had been taken. It occasionally happens even to-day that a cultivator will suspect that an enemy has buried " yath " or harmful medicine in a field. In this case no preparation of the soil of this field for a crop is begun until a diviner has been consulted in order to find out the enemy. The Luo have a great faith in the power of the diviner to discover an enemy. That the diviner denounces people, and that he is oft times right, cannot be denied. Sometimes it may be guess work, as when there has been a notorious quarrel and it is simple to suspect the other party in the quarrel, but at times the medicine man has more certain sources of information. In the year 1910 I had the good fortune to get into rather friendly relationships with a medicine man who had become a Christian. In one of our conversations I asked him how it was possible to divine a wrongdoer. He told me that it was generally very easy. If a man wished to put down medicine, he had to procure it from a medicine man. Or, if he proposed to rob his neighbour he applied to the medicine man for protective medicine. Following upon the injury or the robbery, the injured party applied to the local medicine man in order to find out the enemy. If the injured person was prepared to pay a fee exceeding that paid by the enemy, the medicine man had no scruples about giving his client away. But I do not say that this is a complete explanation of all the powers of divination exercised by medicine men. Still, there can be no doubt that often both parties consult the same diviner, just as at times in our own social life both parties to a lawsuit will approach the same lawyer. Perhaps I had better safeguard myself. I am not, please, to be understood as implying that a lawyer will give his client away.

241 In the preparation of the soil for the crop, all members of the family who are fit, take their share. Only in bush country, where there is heavy clearing to be done, is the work left to the men. This operation is called " beto." In all other types of land there is no discrimination between the sexes, even where tall grass, called " olenge," has to be dug up. But there is a certain amount of discrimination amongst the age groups. When a man has advanced in years, and younger members of his family are sufficient for food production, he leaves it to them, while he devotes himself to less arduous tasks, possibly herding, or some form of social service such as the elders perform in settling the lawsuits of the clan.

241 887

241 The next operation after "beto " is " puro," the turning over of the soil. Where weeds or grass have been heavy, this is followed by " wang'o " or burning. In sandy, stony or red soil, sowing the seed

241 comes next, but in cotton soil, there is further preparation by breaking up the clods, getting a fine tilth. This is called " buso." I well remember my surprise, and critical attitude, when first I noticed that sowing was done without any attempt being made to break up the rough grass-matted clods. However, the crop, which happened to be " bel " or millet, which resulted from these primitive methods, was, a heavy one. I was told that the clods afforded protection to the young seedlings.

With regard to the sowing or planting [redacted] terms are used. Broadcast sowing, as of millet, simsim and [redacted] called " chwoyo " or " ludo." The planting of each seed individually, as with maize, is termed " komo," while the planting of cassava and sweet potatoes is known as " pidho."

24 805 821 Under the system now fast dying out, sowing was surrounded by many taboos. First of all, was the knowing the time to sow. In a normal year there are two sowings, one in the early part of the year, February or March, and one during the shorter rains about September-October. The slower growing crops were put down in the spring, and the quicker crops in the autumn. For the spring sowing guidance was sought from the stars. Amongst a people who had no names for the months of the year, natural phenomena had to be relied upon. These the stars supplied, and especially the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades. These two constellations are called by one name " Yugini " by the Luo. They further differentiate by calling the three stars of Orion's belt, the " chuo " or " men," and the cluster of the Pleiades the " mon " or " women." (The men are obviously polygamists.) When the time of the year comes round during which these stars are observed shortly after nightfall, to be about midway between the zenith and the horizon, then they know that sowing time has arrived. No matter how good the rains may have been before these stars reach the traditional position none must sow, and, conversely, if rains do not come by the time the stars say that sowing ought to be done, there are dismal forebodings about the crop. The Luo say that if the millet (their main food crop), has not flowered by the month when these stars dip below the horizon shortly after nightfall, then there will be a poor harvest and scarcity of food.

241 825 Other natural phenomena which guide them are birds. There is a bird called by the Luo " Ondiek ti oyieng " (" the wild beasts are well fed ") which has a very monotonous three note cry. Some Europeans call it the brain fever bird, from the deadly monotony of this call. The Luo have given words to this cry " Dak tu kom " meaning " Aren't you going to sow to-day." There is another bird, called " Oliech ga apol " which follows behind the digger for the insects turned up with the soil. The presence of these birds is held to

241 826 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the ordinary African kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, feeding in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

241 782 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called " bilo " was performed before sowing took place. If the " Jaduong' bilo " was warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. " Bilo " was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to graze. The present " Jabilo " in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of " bilo " in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1933 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

241 177 [626] When the time was ripe for sowing, the " Mikayi " or chief wife of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the " mikayi " had thus given permission. Any who were so bold as to begin before the " mikayi " were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the names of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the " mikayi " is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the sturdier crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called " kal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the weeders squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the striga weed, called by the Luo " hayongo." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

241 [788] Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop. Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a " medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high, which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this [231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top [674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms. In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But 241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities. 417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs, 136 monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard [224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in, organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have 136 disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts. This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop 136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a 857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds are most troublesome, and their harsh [illegible] are quite a part of the

241 life of the countryside. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from
136 which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or
857 into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in
136 their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our
789 civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied
[837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

578 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry
685 passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task
[462 of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets
857] and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 5718 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 285 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the [931] custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the 791 Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 462 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year. Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

422 583 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultivation was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

584 the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this
feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When
the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the
[273] beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow
beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a
few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invita-
tion to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two
families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment
[675] to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invita-
tion and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a
contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young
that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a
child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so
pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as "nyar
oseke," "the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger
matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties,
584 mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the
781 parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts
is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate
marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join
his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature
of which is the drinking of "medicine" called "manyasi." This
is supposed to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall
them.

Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands
781 as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger
593 position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in.
Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can
bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, some-
thing like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted
to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into
play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabita-
tion. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open
palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh
is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and
children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The
fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with
his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her "manyasi," the
medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this
241 stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of
841 women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with
agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses
no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives
dare not approach the "mikayi" or chief wife to share in the labour
at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of "SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means widespread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the "Colonist" type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or women may be seen herding. With the opening up of avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecunious parents to make his contribution to the family but [illegible].

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When [302] the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious [68] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 234 [262] **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the people. The numbers vary in a village according to the prosperity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and [462] young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side. 234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

11:Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

764 has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her.

765 On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies.

763 If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attemp is made to save the child.

764 P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at 234 night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood.

765 After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death 241 of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept.

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum*, *sweet potatoes*, *peas*, *beans*, *elewine*, *pumpkins*, *tobacco*, *and hemp*. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing *cows'* urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by *sticking* a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "*dema*." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] [252] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big thing.'

422 case of the main store being depleted. Grown up unmarried sons
543 and also daughters could have each his or her own " mondo." In case of necessity their grain went into the family store, but from it they were allowed to barter grain for the personal ornaments which were common in the tribe. Grain which was still in store when the new crop came in was at the disposal of the woman, who frequently
[437] used it in barter for domestic animals. This custom is called " rundo," and the beast procured, if a cow or heifer is called " dher tekre." It was the woman's own property, subject to the limitations of absolute ownership which pertain to all notions of property among primitive peoples. It could not be bequeathed away from her by her husband. In case of famine she could take of its offspring and barter it for grain. Once having acquired the beast she did not readily part with it, but kept it for her children.

731 As at the present day so also in days gone by, there was no tribal organization of food supplies as a provision against famine. During the last two or three years when crops have been short through damage by locusts there has been one word which was heard very frequently. The word is " kisuma." It means to journey away from the home locality in search of food for the family. In days gone by domestic animals were taken to those who had food to dispose of, and bartered for grain. A man without stock would marry off his girl child, and with the cattle get food. This was the only way in which famine conditions were met. Needless to say when famine was widespread, very much suffering was entailed.

● 242 Rotation of crops is practised to a limited extent. The order of rotation is decided largely, by the period of the year in which the first crop is put down. If virgin or fallow land is prepared for the autumn sowing, then the first crop is one which ripens quickly, such as simsim or beans. When this is harvested, the land will be put under a slower growing crop, like millet or maize. Before being allowed to revert to fallow land, it may be put under sweet potatoes. If the land is first prepared for the spring sowing then the order is reversed. But it must not be taken that what has been written above is the invariable rule. I have known a field to be put down first in sweet potatoes and then followed by a second crop of potatoes before being planted with maize. Also where the land is very rich, as in certain valleys, year after year maize or millet may be put down until the land shows signs of exhaustion. It then reverts to fallow. There is no strict rule governing the length of time it rests. Some allow a rest of three, some of five, years. It depends upon the amount of land available and the pressure of population upon it.

The names used by the Luo for the different phases are as follow:— Virgin soil, " Okapg." Land under rotation, " Tiang." Fallow

242 land, "Mbora." A piece of land weed infested in the middle of cultivation is called "sino," and the Luo are alive to the menace [578] this neglected patch is to the crops surrounding it. A man who allows "sino" to endanger his neighbours' crops is very unpopular.

STATUS OF WOMEN:

562 773 The position of women amongst the Luo is one of great influence, in spite of many things which show that they are not regarded as the equal of the men. While they have nothing in their creation stories which gives the male such pre-eminence as is given in the Hebrew account of creation in the second chapter of Genesis, yet even in their stories it is the male which is created first. The origin of the female is surrounded with mystery, none have any clear account of her origin. But it is significant that the name by which the first woman is known to many of the Luo is ALOO. LOO or LOWO is the stem meaning earth or soil, and there is undoubtedly some connection in their minds between the fruitful soil and woman. But though her origin is surrounded in mystery, she soon is made to carry the responsibility for the act that the sons of men have got to work. Lest the story should be unknown to some it is worth while repeating it here. According to the creation story, the first man to be created was one called Podho. To him the Creator (called Nyasaye) gave a magic hoe, which worked by itself, requiring no arm to wield it. With the hoe Nyasaye gave Podho a command that he was never to attempt to do any work with it himself. If he should disobey this command then the hoe would lose its virtue and cease to work unaided. This happened before the advent of ALOO (sometimes called also MIHAHA). When eventually Podho was given ALOO, he gave the hoe over to her care, telling her at the same time of the command which Nyasaye had laid down. For a time all went well. When they wanted any digging to be done all they had to do was to take the hoe out to the site, show it what they wanted it to dig and leave it to do the work. In the evening it was brought in again. But one day curiosity was too much for ALOO. She felt that she must feel what it was like to turn up a few sods. So she picked up the hoe and with it turned up a little soil. Then becoming suddenly afraid she dropped the hoe and went home, but did not tell her husband, Podho. However she was unable to hide what she had done, for in the evening when they went to bring in the hoe, it lay where she had dropped it, and had done no work. Then the voice of Nyasaye said that as they were now so clever that they knew how to dig, never more would the hoe dig for them. So to this day woman is blamed as the one through whose wrongdoing the curse of work came to men.

562 However the tradition came into existence it reflects the common tendency of many creation stories to put the blame on the woman,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing *is far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

'Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shambas* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on proper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

'This was the first deputation. Others followed. Now the whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

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would write to the papers, or sign letters written for him, saying the people were against these schemes. And so some of us became confused. In this location we still wanted to exchange land, but some of our neighbours turned against it, and we had to stop.

'At the end of 1958 the opposition became very strong and the D.C. called a meeting to decide. The opposition staged another trick. They packed the meeting with supporters from other locations, even women who knew nothing about it at all. This was a noisy and a difficult *baraza*. Even with these methods, when it came to a vote the meeting was evenly divided. The casting vote was left to the D.C. He decided against it, and so the scheme was closed.

'We who had always been in favour were greatly harmed. We wanted the Government to bring water from the river, and surveying had already started for a piped scheme. Some of the elders went to the D.C. to ask him to change his mind, but he refused. In January, he agreed to send two people to Elgon Nyanza to see what was being done here. They saw it all, and when they returned we elected *ligwa* after the pattern of the Elgon people. We called everyone together in groups, men, women and children, to plant hedges around the *shambas* that had been exchanged. I myself exchanged four pieces, and in some cases I paid money and cattle to get all my land in one piece. We managed to plant hedges round two or three *shambas* a day. Then we went to the D.C. and told him what we had done and asked him to send an officer to help us plan the use of our *shambas*. When he heard what we had done, he agreed.

'Now we have enclosed all the land of our clan and we want to have it registered. We asked the D.C., but there were still six men who refused, and the D.C. would not do it until everyone agreed. In the last few days two more have agreed, so now there are only four against it. When they agree we shall have titles to our land and then no one can upset the work we have done.'

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by 226
children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, 227
Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up.

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, 251
the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish 262
is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:— [161]

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,887

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza 226
Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Tiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about [501]
1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai).

The following are the names and population of the Locations in 361
these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mehuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:—

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	30,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	18,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	21,000
	163,000

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and
give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a
result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
978 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or
supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It
is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that
there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply.
Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores
until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting it so doing the patience
of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired,
rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women
would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain
should be imperilled.

251 The stores varies in size according to the grain for which it is
265 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the
small millet and simsim. The Lwo name for them is " dero." The
large stores run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The
small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds
built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with
a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision
for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section
from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the
931 custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the
940 Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died
out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
962 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the
branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller
grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure
their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty
the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular
flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean,
that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting
dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged
from neighbours more fortunate.

962 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
963 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members
of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the
fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition
individual members had their own plots which are called " monde."
The head of the family would have his own " monde," and the grain
from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

262 buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by
[253] both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have
[251] died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such
[252] biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

281 Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields,
291 drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

425 Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time,
437 i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

231 The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell
434 heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The
287 horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for
[232] running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and
434 animal patients, e.g., an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *yondorum** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

231 Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the
242 fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Indicates sp. probably D. Maidendii.
†Solanum sp. probably S. nocturnum, Sodom apple.—Ferrus.

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deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road.

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive.

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda.

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognised to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of

CHAPTER III.

Relative Tribes or Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyore. A very common term for them is Wa-Nilo.

231 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed 238 villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by 241 euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "dema." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller hooped traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of sesbania wood are used for laying out the net (sesbania is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). [238] They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 229 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Busoga.

[4] *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

247 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

[72] *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 27-35 not preserved]

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero opako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the
[343] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *sisundka*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the dala was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *sisundka* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The
[435 guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that
before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish
● 252] called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lapo* then took place in the bridegroom's dala, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

After the *tero opako* and the *lapo* had taken place a bull known
291 as the *dho gelo cupiaka* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them
584 he sent a new *cupiaka*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *cupiaka* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chiene* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chiene* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre
[177] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

[6[illegible]] * Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the dala sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional embellishment adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtain details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel apparently has malefacent properties. For if any man enjoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a dale.

[7[illegible]]

Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of "SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means widespread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the "Colonist" type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats to count years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

Child Labour:

Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in other forms of employment, the male child is being made by economic [illegible] to make [illegible] contribution to the family [illegible].

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*Dolichos sp. probably D. Mattiendii.
†Solanum sp. probably S. [illegible], Sodom apple.—Eurico.

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blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The teeth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot opposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by agriculture. They cultivate sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, *eleusine*, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically all kinds of meat except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill cows by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not hunt much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to assure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

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855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this [252] time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

Relationship with elder children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

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[157]

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a 342
trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 10 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior.

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated 354
about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo.

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an 373
old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages 361
are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the 383
huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle.

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of 361
the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village.

Food products.—Mimma, sweet potatoes, a little wimbi, Indian corn, and also 341
pumpkins, sesamum, and pulse (*pepi*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state.

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which 325
are all imported from Gamia. They however forge spears, knives, hill hooks, ones, 437
etc., from Gamia iron. Among the Gomi tribe only people belonging to a clan 258
called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yetkeh-ih. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri.

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the 764
house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days.

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours 768
then meet and drink tends, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife be assented is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died.

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for 765
the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at down for fifteen days.

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of beasons fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bao* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyena. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the
[272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica pilleriaga*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for abuse and for purging, but not for diarrhoea. They also have medicine to avert
[164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.* Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Leo.

781 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and pressed to sweep up the cattle home; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

* After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca dioecica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomoea palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discuss the physiological action of these plants.

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and fire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugundo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up. 226 227

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:— 251 262 [161]

Central Kavirondo	[illegible]
South Kavirondo (Luo)	[illegible]

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dhulue, Tipi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai). 226 [501]

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mokuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:— 361

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	[illegible]
Kadima	[illegible]
Sakwa	[illegible]
Upoma	[illegible]
Asembo	[illegible]
Sone	[illegible]
Kisumu	[illegible]
West Kano	[illegible]
Nyakach	[illegible]
	[illegible]

grandmother then hung the bird, still alive, round the neck of the girl. 584
Hanging there it was then killed, and immediately afterwards removed by cutting away the lower part of the beak through which the string was passed, leaving this portion still hanging round the girl's neck. The bird was afterwards roasted and eaten by the men in the dala.* After the fowl had been removed the girl put on a small apron about 584
six inches square made of strips of leather hanging free from a sup- 242
porting strip decorated with beads and cowrie shells. Aprons of this [463]
kind were manufactured by a man whose special trade it was. The beads on it were made of *wakonge* and the apron itself of cow-hide. The apron given to the bride was not a new one. It was borrowed for her from one of the bridegroom's married sisters, and she took it away with her and wore it until he sent her a new one of her own. At the same time she put on a small "tail" of cactus fibre. This tail, like the larger one worn by married women, was known as *chiene*, and the plant from which it was made was called *tauro*. If there was no fibre ready in the dala from which the *chiene* could be made, a fresh supply was gathered after the girl's arrival, and the *chiene* was constructed by a woman married either to one of the bridegroom's full brothers, half brothers, or to one of his first cousins, i.e. to any of the men whom he called "brother." The small *chiene* was presented to the bride by the bridegroom, who first, however, gave her a goat. This goat (*dized chiene*) was in turn presented by the girl to her best friend who had accompanied her from her home and who was expected to remain close to her side until she returned to her mother's care. The bride wore the small tail until certain cattle, known as the *dhe gale engindo* (the cattle of the casting away of the engindo) were paid to her father. She then took off both the *chiene* and the *engindo*, and they were burnt. I did not, as the time, 584
enquire into the motives and beliefs underlying this ceremony, as enquiries of this kind made through an interpreter seldom have any satisfactory results, but the ceremony is obviously a *rite de passage* marking a stage in the girl's progress from the virgin state to that of a married woman. After the night in the *sinha* hut she was no longer entitled to the name of *epaka*—a maiden—but was referred to as *miaka*—a bride—a designation that was applied to her until she finally left her father's dala for that of her husband.

After these ceremonies she was sent back to her home with her companions and to the accompaniment of the songs and rejoicings I have already described (*ema aor*), taking with her a goat given her by her father-in-law. This goat was called the *dized baowdace* because it was decorated for the journey with festoons of the creeper called *baowdace*, which was also used in this way on other occasions of rejoicing. The goat was given by the girl to her father who could

* Women were forbidden to eat fowls (or sheep) for fear that if they did so they would contract *chiedam-pen* (*fever*). [262]

8: Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Lee FL11

585 bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (youngmen-bachelors) may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gum, Alago, Sumo, Ugoma, Amonde, Kadima and Ugonya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kasa, Kasama, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the elder men living in the dala, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the elder men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This concoction was called kothori and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the bride's father. [84]

Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alago, Gum, Sumo, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadima, and Ugonya on the one hand, and those of Kasama, Kasa, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts kothori was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The lungs was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as kydrocele. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy. [Dei 753]

585 591 After the lungs was over the girl was regarded as having finally passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the cow-hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut, and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the hind fore-leg of the bull (*had pachuru*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

585 [84]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwonda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugonya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyatto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwogi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadebi	3. Waranja
4. Ratong	5. Wango	6. Monya
7. Nyamoda		

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When [302] the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious [687] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the people. The numbers vary in a village according to the pros-
234 perity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article
[262] of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. [462] Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side. When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first
234 ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but some of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family. 234

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk. 242

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African [illegible], fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind. 231 243

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs. They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is roughly carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans. 342 344

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the [771] 776 782

[949] couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thurgiz* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women ran out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kalliveeru stalk, which a split having a sharp edge. This is used to cut the baby's navel after it has been tied off.

If the baby is a boy the Kalliveeru stalk is pulled out of the roof on the side of the fire place of the hut *(Kor anuch* — leftward side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor ulang* — the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, while somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise *sarap vaikuvanil* — which the child has to drink. Nor until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

[94] Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the baby is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

After 10 days a hut and a kolsi are tied, meat and fish is cooked, smoke is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then also the woman is smeared [952] with butter and sprinkled with smoke seeds, seedbells of a wild plant *(ochal)* are strung on plaited grass *(vayaqu)* and creeping grass *(marthan)* and hung [953] crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with coconutshells, ordinary beads, beads of seashell-water pieces of ostrich eggs *(vel)* and big iron beads.

When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called [954] to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *avvaiu* (= pounded smoke mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *avvalu*. She kneads a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(ulthuvaiyu alungu)* which she fills with *avvaiu*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, it comes to the mouth of the mother. The bit now she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. Then night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(illyalo ondu nyatti)*.

If the baby is a girl the women stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

13: Odede 1-5 (no date) 1942 FL11 Luo FL11

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

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THE IMPORTANCE OF STOCK TO THE LUO.

The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up fitter and more handsome than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo unless it is mixed with a little soumuk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

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buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *ponderum** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Gallichum sp. probably *D. Maldivarii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Errors.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects. 231 262

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers. 231 583 [554] [431]

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers. 583

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miahe* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked 583 585

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Loc FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The teeth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot opposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live mainly by agriculture. They cultivate sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, ground-nuts, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically all kinds of meat except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill cows by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

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THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Alur and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadelai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they again became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftainships. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding

[134] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use sorcery as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

192 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat flashy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably

•[245] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1892, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the

241 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on

[30] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[51] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

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583 injured and not subsequently death results. Indigenously the
642 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue these arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Wherever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

642 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
● [249] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Lau women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

584 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

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INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Feeding

Under one year. For the first month of a baby's life its chief food is its mother's milk. But when the mother's milk is insufficient, gruel may be given as early as at two to three weeks old. Although cow's milk is now sometimes used instead of gruel, it is still chiefly regarded as a modern introduction by the missionaries in an effort to promote infant health. [153] [177] [197]

Between the ages of one and three months, gruel and breast-feeding play about equal parts. When the mothers go out to work, suckling tends to be limited to mornings and evenings. The average age at which babies are given gruel is one month. From the third to the sixth month milk from the breast and gruel continue to form the child's main diet, but after this, gruel begins to prevail over breast-feeding. Although maize flour is occasionally used in the preparation of gruel, the usual flour for this purpose is obtained from sorghum and eleusine, a species of millet. Whenever possible a little sour milk is added to the mixture. Between five and six months certain children have frequent tastes of adult food given to them by their nurses. [262]

Although nurses are allowed to give gruel to the children, difficulties in handling a baby sometimes result in under-feeding, which is often made worse by the low food-content of the gruel itself. Through training by nurses, babies are accustomed to adult food before their mothers actually give it to them, so it can happen that [154]

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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of this causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried meat and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

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843 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family
•262 habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children
while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to
[753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction
may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases,
generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family
group. The restriction does not apply to others who are
free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives
birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not
change.

[764] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruc-
tion of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who
has had no child for a long time. During his treatment
[784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and com-
pulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food
during pregnancy may also result from personal dis-
agreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to
the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well
as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired
from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to
than the traditional restrictions.

843 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expec-
278 tant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from
177 the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for kill-
ing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong Euro-
pean laxatives are eliminated, such measures being
designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant
[177] mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of
Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations,
[516] such as those connected with sitting, still observed by
women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a
straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on
top of another, because it is believed that the expected
child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

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Childless marriage. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children. §42 [516]

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up. [516]

Woman's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby. §46 262 [272] [853]

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

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The Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are lofty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

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blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot applied to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by agriculture. They cultivate sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, simsim, groundnuts, tobacco, and hemp. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically all kinds of meat except the hyæna. Young men eat the heart in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill cows by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not hunt much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "doma." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with one another, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

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CHAPTER III.

NORTH TRIBES OF KAVIRONDO.

The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is *Ja-Luo*. The Nandi Kavirondo people call them *Awa-Nyore*. A very common term for them is *Wa-Viti*.

Modes of subsistence.—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

Hunting and fishing.—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "dogos." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes, one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller mouthed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of sudatch wood are used for laying out the net (sudatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Buganda or Busoga.

Bridges.—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

Cooking, etc.—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

Fire.—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

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The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name. §47

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot. §24 §55

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life. [§57]

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together. §57 §72

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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857 consider nursing beneath their dignity, and their revolt
856 is encouraged by increasing association with members of the opposite sex who would disdain talking to a child-nurse.

855 *Feeding.* The girls of this age group eat normal adult
264 food, at the same time as adults, but the younger members of the group occasionally have a little food kept for them by their mothers. The consideration shown them as children depends on whether there are others younger

[i.e. From six to eleven years old – Analyst.]

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than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

Female education at school-going age. The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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512 462 264 [853] [956] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

868 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [892] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bau* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola.*

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomœa palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

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The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

231 521 The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome [753] than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the [511] Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

231 The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

262 Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo [272 753] unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

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When a cow calves about two days are allowed to pass while the calf is suckled before milking commences. The milk obtained from the cow during the first two weeks or until the umbilical cord of the calf drops, is all drunk by young men in the village. This milk is stored in a pot in which a little buttermilk, which has been treated with urine, has been placed. As mentioned before the Luo believe that drinking fresh whole milk is the cause of tapeworm infestation, and the buttermilk is added to the fresh milk so as to eliminate this danger. When the umbilical cord of the calf has dropped the woman who owns the cow is allowed to use the milk for churning butter. The roots of a plant known in Luo as *obuwo* is added to the churning calabash as a preserving agent because fresh milk is stored in the calabash for about twelve to twenty-four hours before churning. During the churning process a little bovine urine, which has been stored for a few days, is added to the milk to accelerate the formation and facilitate the separation of the butter. This urine is also believed to be a good preservative for both the butter and the buttermilk, which will be stored for use in cooking various kinds of food. On the day the first butter is made into ghee, a little of the ghee is fed to the calf and the rest eaten by a group of people in the house. The reason why a sample of the first ghee is given to the calf is not very clear; but some people say that it protects the calf from developing diarrhoea and indigestion when the later butter of the dam is boiled and made into ghee. They believe that otherwise the boiling of the butter during ghee-making would cause diarrhoea in the calf. 233 [272] 234 [824] [237]

Milking is done twice a day, in the morning and evening, by the boys and young men. Girls, women and old men are only allowed to milk in homes where there are no young men. Before commencing milking, the calf is allowed to suck its dam for a minute. It is then tied in front of the dam while she is milked. After some milk has been drawn the calf is allowed to suck for another minute and then re-tied while more milk is taken. Finally, the calf is allowed to suck and stay with the dam for about an hour, after which it is separated from the mother for at least ten hours before the next milking.

If a cow is slow to wean her calf a method used for drying her off is to fix a muzzle (*osembo*) on which strong thorns are fixed around the mouth of the calf so that when it tries to suck, the thorns prick the dam and cause her to kick the calf away. Another device is to smear the teats of the dam with cow dung, the taste of which stops the calf from sucking.

If the calf dies, its hide is dried, folded properly and a little salt solution is sprinkled on it to make it taste pleasant when licked by the dam while being milked. Before milking, the teats are washed or cleaned with warm water to stimulate the milk flow.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp*. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

Childless marriages. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children. 842 [586]

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up. [586]

Women's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby. 846 262 [272] [853]

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a 291 481 single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as 534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thém*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bûl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

[292] [301]

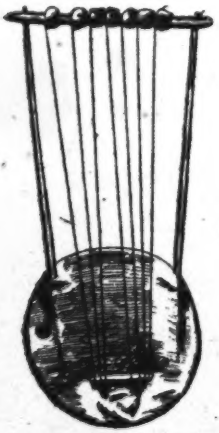

FIG. 8.—HARP: NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LUO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAKUMEGA.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 888 562 *Tembo or pombe.*—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

584 the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the
[273] beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment
[675] to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar oseke," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties,
584 mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the
789 parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposd to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

789 Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger
593 position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this
241 stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of
841 women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid 583 off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass [301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over ●273 with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from [533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparations

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yeath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him, 769 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway 753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

769 On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special 782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs, ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of ●273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the [824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant 301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*. These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormous earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a [754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die; and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch. No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

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14: Johnston G-4. 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *riro*. 613 782 769

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage. 613 574 273 [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index 613 574 576

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a 291 481 single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as 534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thûm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bûl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

[292] [301]

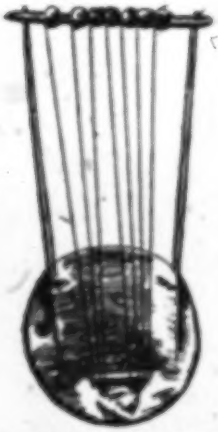

FIG. 8.—HARP: TYLOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LIBO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAKUMEGA.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 *Pombe or pombe.*—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or 288 mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old 92 women however do so.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

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Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

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Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her socalled pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an ochokplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maduong*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailled by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
● [276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

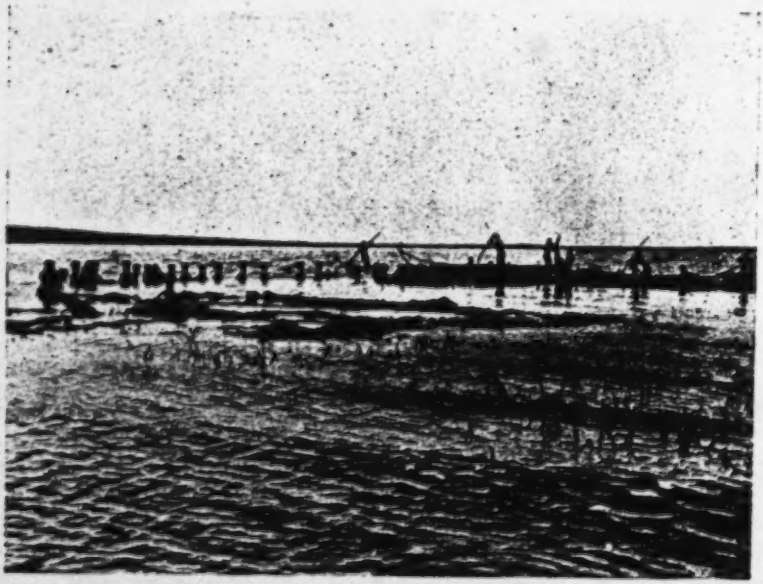
For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

strips makes this arrangement into a kind of pliable fence. This, by means of canoes, is brought round through the water back to the shore till it describes rather more than a semi-circle. The bringing round of the rope serves to chase all the fish that are between it and the shore towards the mouths of the big wickerwork traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water. The women, at the same time, walk up and down dragging traps of smaller mesh, in which they collect numbers of small fish. A good deal of fish-spearing takes place at night by torch-



435. JA-LUO OUT FISHING IN KAVIRONDO BAY WITH SEINES OF PAPYRUS STALKS

light. The Ja-luo fishermen state that they get the best hauls of fish after a downpour of rain. *Rafts* of ambatch wood similar to those in use on the Nile are employed in laying out the nets. The Nyakach people of the south shore of Kavirondo Bay fish to a great extent with hook and line. The Ja-luo *canoes* are small dug-outs of poor appearance. Large quantities of fish are split and dried in the sun and sent inland to exchange for game.

Both sexes smoke and chew *tobacco*, but only old men smoke *hemp* through water-pipes. Boys and young men in the prime of life are not allowed to smoke hemp, as it is thought injurious to their manhood.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11
Kikuyu FL10
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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug.

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes.

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

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*See footnote to page 128.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

843 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family
262 habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to
[753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

[756] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruction of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment
[784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expec-
•278 tant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from
177 the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for killing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant
[177] mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations,
[516] such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and *tembo* drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 595] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *tembo* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Massai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g.. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—EDITOR.

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
578 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is
●285 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the
[431 custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the
791] Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
462 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

422 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
593 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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A SELECTION OF PATTERNS WOVEN

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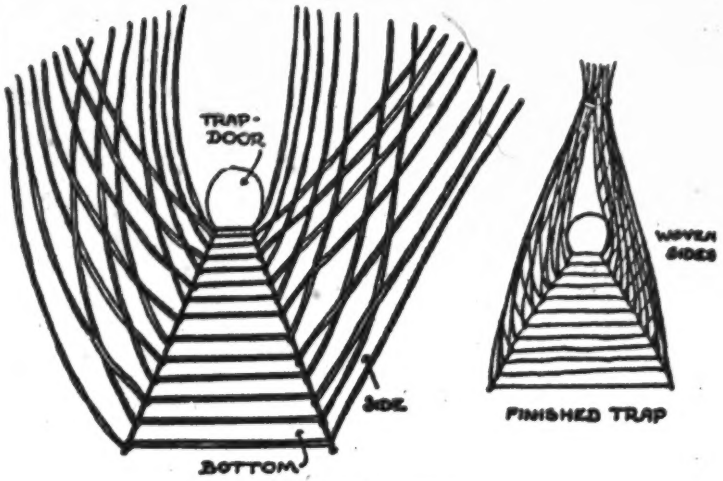
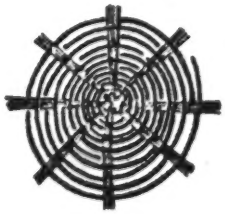


(*a*) A Grasshopper trap

[301]

(*b*) A Wrist Band



(*c*) Pattern for the bottom of a basket

857 both at and after birth, the younger being instructed and guided by the older ones. Boys of about five are usually found in the play groups of the school-going age, but as they grow older they are drawn away to male play groups.

The groups themselves vary in size from two members upwards, though occasionally a girl of this age may

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

*Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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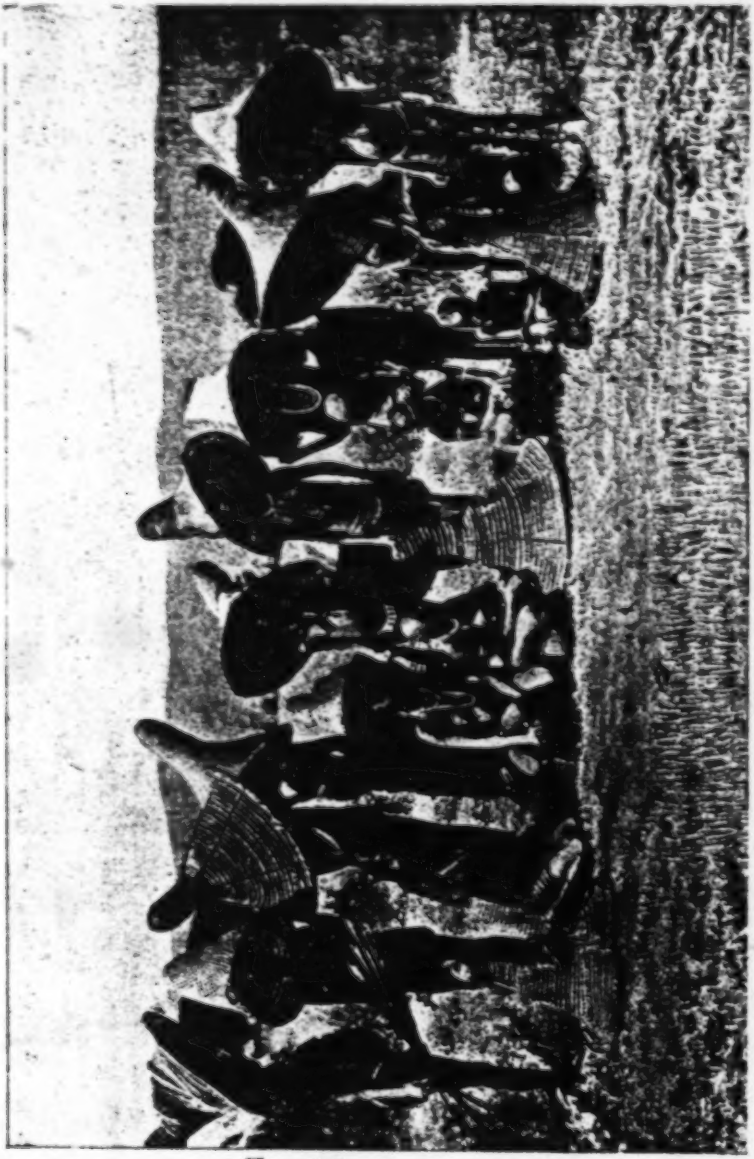

434. JA-LUO FISHERWOMEN AND THEIR BASKETS

[p. 788]

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

The people of the home press them to eat, but they refuse, so a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Ciew

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small pubic covering and a *ciew* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament at public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *ciew* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *ciew*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *ciew* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est déflorée en présence de sa sœur et d'autres jeunes filles de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thém*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bûl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

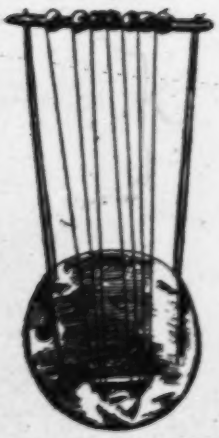

FIG. 8.—HARP: NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LUO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAVIRONDO.

Tobacco and bhang.—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

Tembo or pombe.—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. 304
If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover 783
does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the 727
fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a 291
child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important 576
matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on [606]
no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to [574]
visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about 301
fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a 304
ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of 301
the variety known as *kibsi*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and [172]
it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Margolia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Collotype H. KLEINMANN & Co Photo by WINSCH, Nairobi

Kavirondo natives of Kitotos
Nilotic group or Ja-luo
The centre figure is an unmarried girl: the figures to right and left are married women
(Note decorated goat skin, sign of marriage)

[End plate VI]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*livoya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress.

The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
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is killed on the doorstep of that house, before it is considered to be purified; the meat is divided between the aggressor and the owner of the house.

A woman is not entitled to don the tail immediately after marriage, but has to wait a month or two, the husband then presents her with a goat wherewith to purchase this important part of her trousseau.

Among the Bantu tribes, married women generally wear a small black fringe of fibre in front, but the Ja-Luo married women very rarely wear anything in front, the requirements of decency are, in their opinion, quite fulfilled if they have the tail. Ja-Luo girls, in their villages, are quite nude, but when they go to market, or to a dance, they wear, for ornament, a small fringe of various coloured beads strung on fibre. The Bantu women consider that the Ja-Luo tail is not at all a decent covering, and often jeer at them on this account. The chief Mumia thought that the tail might have originally been imitative of the tail of a cow. The Bantu Kavirondo have a superstition that, if a woman wears cloth round her loins she will not bear children.

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[842]

THE "MIKA" OPERATION UPON GIRLS AMONG THE GUASANGISHU AND NANDI.

Ceremonies attending the Operation on "Nditos" or young Unmarried Girls.

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The ceremony among the Guasangishu always take place about the time of the full moon, and is generally performed at sunrise. The proceedings commence the night before by a dance, and the young woman's head is shaved and oiled. At dawn, the old women decorate the young women with their iron necklaces, beads, and other ornaments. The young *elmoran* ("fighting men") of the neighbourhood come along, and the young woman kneels down, while each *elmoran* makes her a speech, and hands her his club and leg bells. The speech is to the effect that she has been brought up among them, fed and protected by them, and has slept with them, and that she is to bear the operation without a sound; if she cries out she will be disgraced among women, and must leave the settlement, but in order that she may not leave them empty-handed, she can take the clubs, etc., given by the *elmoran*, as a symbol that she will not start life empty-handed.

The people then proceed in a cluster to the scene of the operation, while the mother of the girl wails. The girl is then laid out on a skin, and the people stand round in a circle. An old woman sprinkles the *pudenda* with powdered wood ashes, and taking a small curved knife with a blade about 1½ inches long (Fig. 7) excises the *labia* and *clitoris*. Milk is then poured over the wound, and the old women run round, all crying out; this is done to drown any groan or cry she may unavoidably make. The girl stands up, and shakes a bunch of iron leg bells, and she is then wrapped in a skin, and taken away to her hut. During the operation, the girl is held in a reclining position, her head and shoulders resting in the lap of one old woman, while two other women hold each knee. Young and old of both sexes are allowed to be present at the ceremony.

FIG. 7.

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[413]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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Arabchebki, Lumbwa Chief.

Onduu : Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

Gussangisha Warrior (Moran).

Ugada, Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

[p.358 A]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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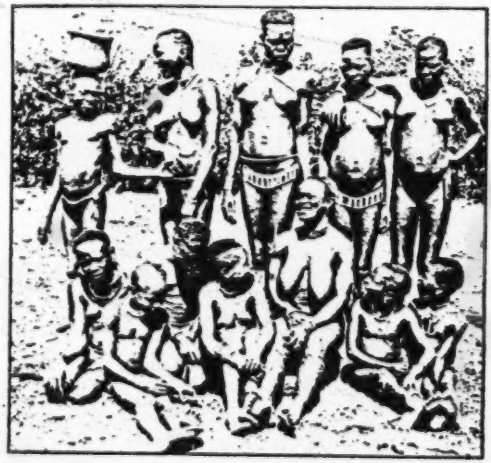
Jaluo Girl ; Kajulu Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Ketosh Woman (N. Bantu).



Kisumu Girls.

[p. 358B]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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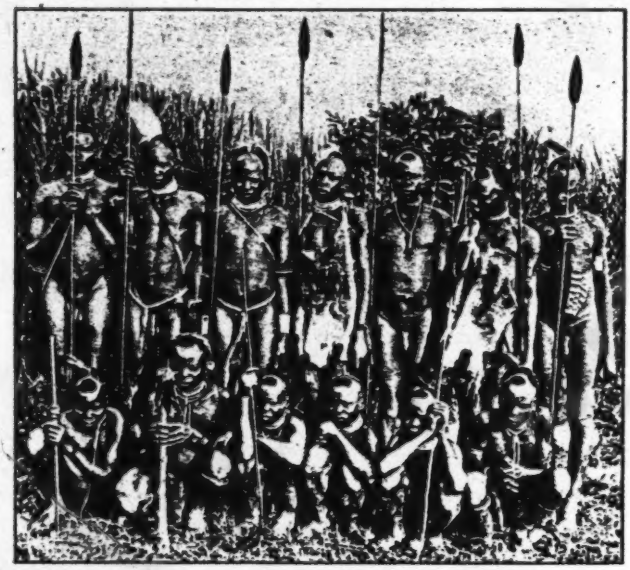

Koromojo Warriors.

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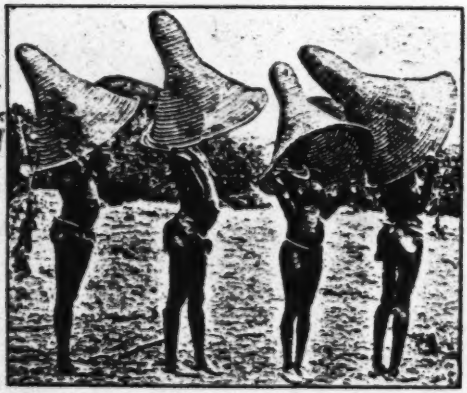

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karungu Warriors (Ja-Luo).

[p.358]

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

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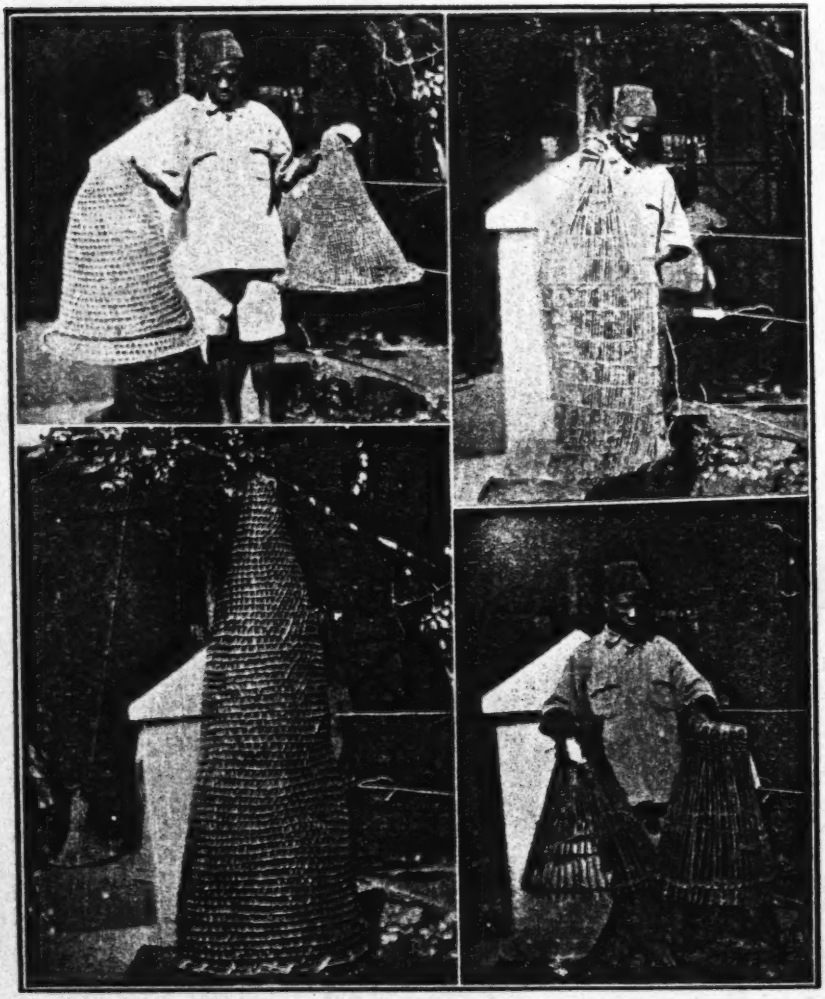

BASKET TRAPS.

1. Angu, used by women.
2. Angu, used by men.
3. Musati.
4. Sienyu.

[p. 100A]

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the [343] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The [435 guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish 252] called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

● 291 After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known as the *dho golo onyimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them 584 he sent a new *onyimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *onyimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chieno* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chieno* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre [177] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

[689] * Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional nakedness adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtains details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel [781] apparently has maleficent properties. For if any man annoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER XXV

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO AND THEIR COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT, MARRIAGE, BIRTH AND PUBERTY

The tribe and their district—origin of the tribe—chiefs as rulers—land tenure—the local chief as the magistrate of his village—courts and court fees—making peace between two sections of the tribe—theft—adultery—murder—inheritance—marriage customs—distinctive dress of married women—birth customs—birth of twins—initiation at puberty.

101 **The tribe and their district.** The Nilotic Kavirondo are so named to distinguish them from the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo. They are a branch of the great family known as Nilotic tribes or tribes of the Nile Valley, and are quite distinct in language and custom from Bantu tribes. This particular branch may be found extending southwards from Mount Elgon along the coast of Lake Victoria Nyanza into German territory. They are settled in groups of villages among the Bantu and yet are quite distinct from them and do not intermarry with them. The clans met with live chiefly in the hills bordering on Lake Victoria. The mornings and evenings are comparatively cold in these hills, yet the people are absolutely destitute of clothing; indeed they consider clothing as indecent, and members who have been abroad and have adopted clothing are requested to put it away during their residence in their old homes. The features of the people are more closely allied to those of the pastoral tribes than to the Bantu. In stature the men are not, however, quite so tall as the Bahima, few of them reach six feet, five feet six to five feet eight being more usual. Their frame is slim like that of the Bahima, and the nose inclined to have a bridge. Again their love for cows is stronger than that of the Bantu. The women are shorter than the men, they are slim and athletic, a stout woman being seldom found; this may be accounted for by the amount of exercise they take and their constant activity in the field and home.

[p. 275]
[pp. xi-xii, 1-274 not processed]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Plate XXII

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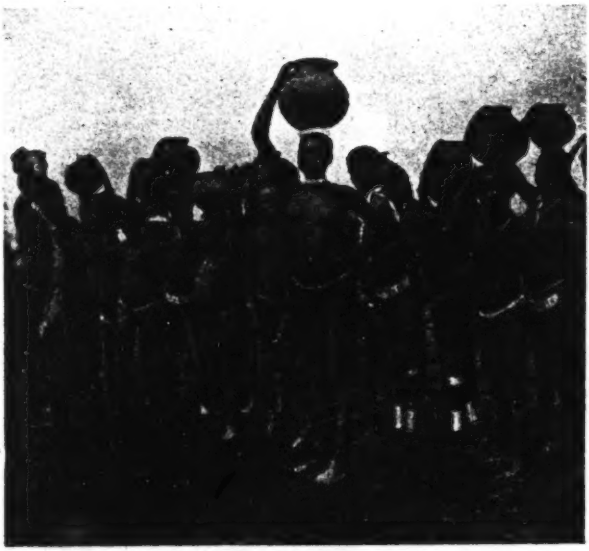

(1) Nilotic Kavirondo girls

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(2) Young women ready for initiation ceremony
(*Bagesu Tribe*)

[facing p. 276]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

● 291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village. 765 [302]

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yweyo liel)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (orindo) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home. [513]

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children. [842]

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwono liel)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a coarse untwisted one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree. [291]

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets 768 769 753

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g.. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—EDITOR.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it. [1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUO

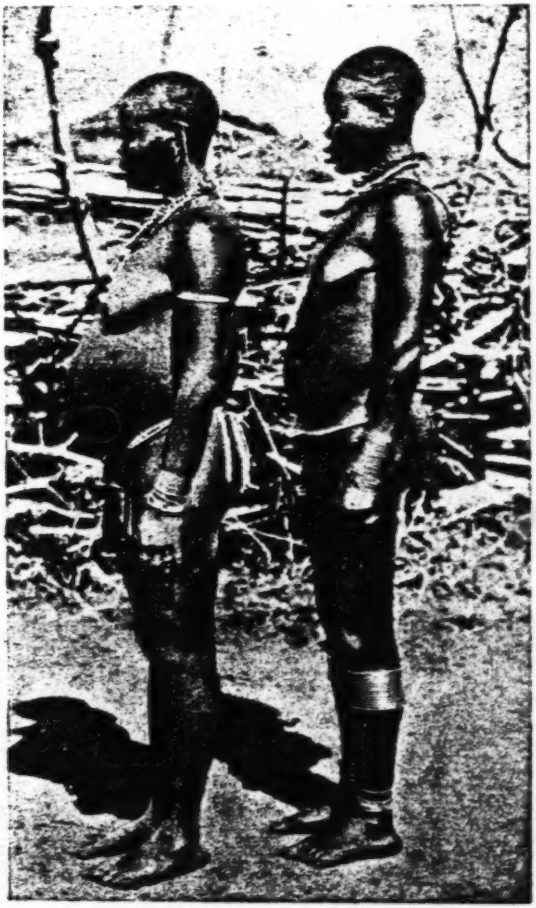
small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e.] A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (See p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

291 57% wears European trousers, he must have a piece of goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes. Married women wear a tail of strings

[301 142]



429. JA-LUO WOMEN: TAILS AND APRONS

behind. When they go to visit another village, they don a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which a curious and rather pretty pattern has been burnt with a red-hot stick. When a woman is married, she puts on

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

14: Johnston G-4. 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

301 "nyaluo." It is thought by some authorities that these have wandered down in past ages from the direction of Egypt—in fact, some of the

[142 291]

436. A JA-LUO MAN WITH EAR-RINGS

more northern Nilotic peoples declare that they came from the north or north-east. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads made considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maraguša Hills,

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

and that the beads were constantly being dropped and lost in the fields. After floods the loosened soil might expose to sight some of the beads which had thus been dropped or thrown away. The supply of these blue

beads is, of course, quite inadequate for the population, and many are making up for the scarcity now by using the ordinary blue beads of commerce.

The Ja-luo men often wear an armlet of threaded cylindrical wooden

14: Johnston G-4. 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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43. HEAD-DRESS OF FEATHERS AND BEAD AND ARM ORNAMENTS IN IRON WIRE OF JA-LUO MEN. (NOTE THE PROMINENT UPPER INCISOR TEETH, DUE TO THE LOWER INCISORS BEING REMOVED)

[p. 786]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp*. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [626] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably [262] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the ●291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [30] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[58] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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NURSE: AYOMA

857 consider nursing beneath their dignity, and their revolt
856 is encouraged by increasing association with members of the opposite sex who would disdain talking to a child-nurse.

855 *Feeding.* The girls of this age group eat normal adult
264 food, at the same time as adults, but the younger members of the group occasionally have a little food kept for them by their mothers. The consideration shown them as children depends on whether there are others younger

1 [i.e. From six to eleven years old – Analyst.]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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Peter Hill

THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF A MARKET

[p. 52]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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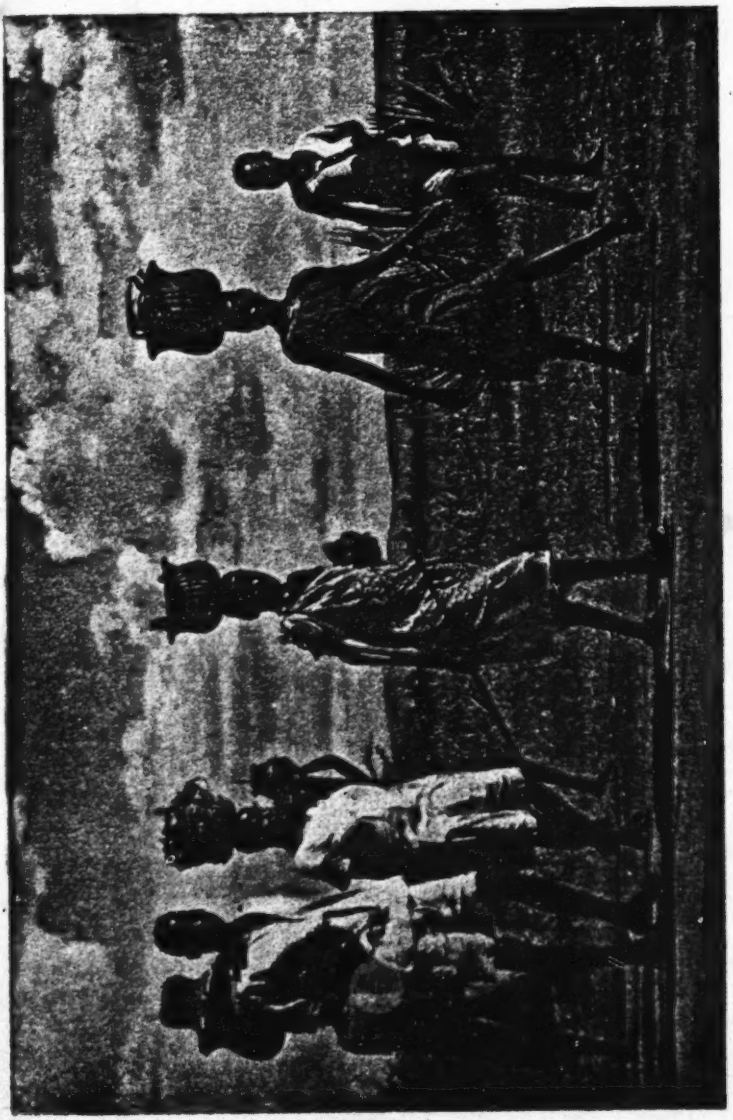

Peter Hill

THE END OF A MARKET DAY

[p. 54]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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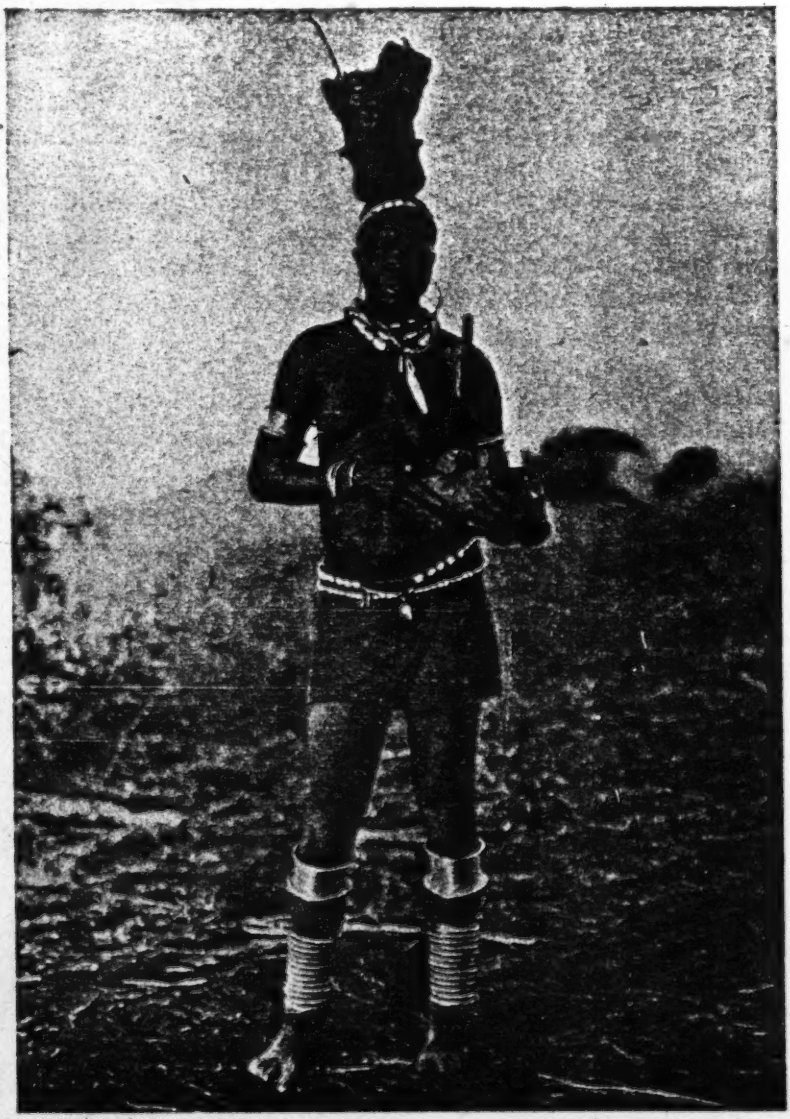

E. N.

AN ELDERLY WOMAN WITH SOME OF HER FOOD

[p. 56]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

'The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *m'guru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

797 871 fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used [291] [436] [301] beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

[873] [874] So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

668 At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

[113] *From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press. 1956.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thûm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Dûl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

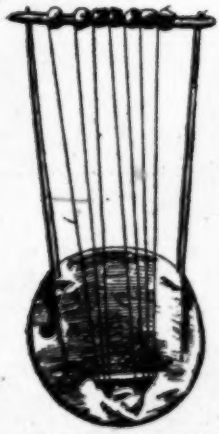

FIG. 8.—HARP: NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LUDO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAKUMEGA.

Tobacco and bhang.—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

Tembo or pombe.—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

grandmother then hung the bird, still alive, round the neck of the girl. Hanging there it was then killed, and immediately afterwards removed by cutting away the lower part of the beak through which the string was passed, leaving this portion still hanging round the girl's neck. The bird was afterwards roasted and eaten by the men in the *dala*.* After the fowl had been removed the girl put on a small apron about six inches square made of strips of leather hanging free from a supporting strip decorated with beads and cowrie shells. Aprons of this kind were manufactured by a man whose special trade it was. The beads on it were made of *mukongo* and the apron itself of cow-hide. The apron given to the bride was not a new one. It was borrowed for her from one of the bridegroom's married sisters, and she took it away with her and wore it until he sent her a new one of her own. At the same time she put on a small " tail " of cactus fibre. This tail, like the larger one worn by married women, was known as *chieno*, and the plant from which it was made was called *tworo*. If there was no fibre ready in the *dala* from which the *chieno* could be made, a fresh supply was gathered after the girl's arrival, and the *chieno* was constructed by a woman married either to one of the bridegroom's full brothers, half brothers, or to one of his first cousins, i.e. to any of the men whom he called " brother." The small *chieno* was presented to the bride by the bridegroom, who first, however, gave her a goat. This goat (*diend chieno*) was in turn presented by the girl to her best friend who had accompanied her from her home and who was expected to remain close to her side until she returned to her mother's care. The bride wore the small tail until certain cattle, known as the *dho golo onyimbo* (the cattle of the casting away of the *onyimbo*) were paid to her father. She then took off both the *chieno* and the *onyimbo*, and they were burnt. I did not, at the time, enquire into the motives and beliefs underlying this ceremony, as enquiries of this kind made through an interpreter seldom have any satisfactory results, but the ceremony is obviously a *rite de passage* marking a stage in the girl's progress from the virgin state to that of a married woman. After the night in the simba hut she was no longer entitled to the name of *nyako*—a maiden—but was referred to as *misha*—a bride—a designation that was applied to her until she finally left her father's *dala* for that of her husband.

After these ceremonies she was sent back to her home with her companions and to the accompaniment of the songs and rejoicings I have already described (*omu wer*), taking with her a goat given her by her father-in-law. This goat was called the *diend buombwe* because it was decorated for the journey with festoons of the creeper called *buombwe*, which was also used in this way on other occasions of rejoicing. The goat was given by the girl to her father who could

* Women were forbidden to eat fowls (or sheep) for fear that if they did so they would contract chicken-pox (*luro*).

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

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wards such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

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When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simbu*, where they spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest.

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arrivgg at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

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After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new "chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi*, others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

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From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about ½ of an inch in diameter *(miako)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

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After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a pawpaw-tree. With this stick

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Loo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the arms and aloes which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Collotype H. KLEINMANN & Co. Photo by WINSCH, Nairobi

Kavirondo natives of Kitotos
Nilotic group or Ja-luo
The centre figure is an unmarried girl; the figures to right and left are married women
(Note decorated goat skin, sign of marriage)

[End plate VI]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13

N 787 824

from an examination of the entrails, delivers an augury on the success or otherwise of the expedition. Among his utterances he may remark that some will be wounded with arrows, and, upon hearing this, each *moran* proceeds to the nearest acacia tree and plucks a green thorn, and if he is possessor of a shield, he sticks the thorn in the wooden midrib of his shield and breaks it off, leaving the point of the thorn in the shield, and carries it into action with him; if he has no shield, he breaks off the thorn in the hair on his forehead; this is believed to be a most potent charm against arrow wounds.

N 843

Among the Nandi too, there is a curious custom which is performed by a married woman, when she discovers she is first pregnant.

She collects from the unmarried girls, who are her near neighbours, pieces of their dress, strings them together and sews them on to the lower edge of her own robe, which is a semi-tanned ox-hide. The unmarried girls in Nandi wear a small skin apron from which depends a number of leather strips or tassels; from one, the woman will borrow a single tassel, from another, a tassel, and perhaps from another girl, who has more than one dress, she will borrow the apron complete. She wears these until after the child is born as a charm to ensure her pregnancy taking its normal course, and then returns the borrowed articles, at the same time inviting all the lenders to a feast.

N 751 304

A sprig of a certain herb is often worn by the Nandi in a hole pierced in the upper lobe of the ear as a charm to avert evil.

L 751 301

The Ja-Luo, in fact all the Kavirondo people, wear numerous small charms suspended by string round the neck. I had often wondered what all these odds and ends represented, so I induced one of the principal chiefs, named Ugada, in a confidential moment to enumerate them and tell me their origin. They were:—

1. Iron arrow points, which were given him the day he was named.
2. A small strip of thin iron sheet with three holes punched in it (fig. 1). This signifies the name of his grandmother Thako, who bequeathed it to her daughter, with instructions, should she have a son, to call him Thako. (Thako is Ugada's second name.) This may point to some old survival of a time when men traced their ancestry through the female line. This, however, would hardly seem to be borne out by an examination of Ugada's genealogical tree which only takes account of the male line of descent.

Fig. 1.

3. A transparent crystal of rock crystal or quartz, said to have been picked up in the lake, as the rock around Kisumu is blackish basalt. If the story is true, it was probably dropped by some ancient resident in, or some visitor to, the locality. It is secured in a neat little leather cup shrunk on to the base of the crystal (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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4. An irregular piece of very hard yellowish stone which was worn by his father Otiendi; it has a hole bored through it, and an iron ring inserted (Fig. 3).

FIG. 3.

5. About half-a-dozen of the Nya-Luo ancient beads, the yellow variety.
6. A piece of goat-horn, worn as medicine to prevent chest complainta.
7. The dried beak of a chicken, which is also worn as medicine for sickness; a medicine man told him to wear it.
8. The upper portion of a large marine shell of the type shown in Fig. 4. The lower portion is cut away, and nothing but the helix at the top of the shell remains (Fig. 5). This ornament is very common among the Wanyamwezi, and probably worked its way from the south. It belonged to Ugada's father Otiendi, and is said to have come originally from Ogalo, chief of Kanyamwa on the south side of the bay.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

9. Around the left wrist was a stout cord through the strands of which were inserted four small pieces of stick (Fig. 6). The sticks are called *omeni* and are worn to prevent the wearer taking harm if one of his children touches him; why, was not stated.

FIG. 6.

10. A heavy brass bracelet worn on the right wrist; this was said to be very old, and to come from Aiyimbo, in the direction of Uganda. It belonged first to his brother Obiero.
11. A tiny square bag of skin, contents unknown, said to contain medicine for rheumatism, from which the old man suffers.

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TOTEMS.

Some efforts have been made to elucidate some facts with regard to the presence of a belief in totemism among the people, whose manners and customs are now under investigation. Researches upon this point however are attended with great difficulty, as it is not considered a suitable subject of conversation, and one and all are very reticent upon the point. The natives of the Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi groups all have a belief in the totems or *muziro*, but, apparently, no such thing as totem worship exists, nor do the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo believe in their descent from the *muziro* or totem, but a Nandi informed me that many of his tribe did believe in their original descent from a totem.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL3

Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

The Bantu group use the word "*Muziro*" to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any mischance, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred to can be averted by making a medicine "*dawa*," extracted from certain herbs, and this extract is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the patient.

Among the Nilotic Ja Luo the totems are called "*Kwero*," and there is a long list of "*Kwero*" animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch.

Upon no occasion is the rule of the *Kwero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this "*index expurgatorius*" are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any "*Kwero*" animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Belearica gibbericeps*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gemi tribe, however, do not consider it wrong to kill and also eat this beautiful bird. The Gemi, Lego, and Sakwa tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them "*Oywang.*" The Ja-Luo often wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the "*Kwero*" law.

Examples of the Totems of the Bantu Family.

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisesi clan of Awa Wanga	*Imbongo*, bushbuck.
Marama and part of Tsoso and Isukha...	*Kuru*, waterbuck or *Ikulu*.
Awa-Genya and Awa-Mrashi	*Linsi*, pigeon.
Awa Shekwi of Nyole	*Njofu*, elephant.
In Ketosh there are several, according to to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	*Makuyi*, a large black and white stork which appears in large flocks about November, it eats locusts.
Tasoni tribe (Ngaki section)	*Isunu*, reed buck.
Ithako, E. Tsoso, S. Kabras	*Imbongo* or *Ngawe*.
Probably the totem most common in Kabras is	*Mbiakalo*, white ants in the flying stage (but cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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Arabchebki, Lumbwa Chief.

Onduu : Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

Gussangishu Warrior (Moran).

Ugada, Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

[p.358 A]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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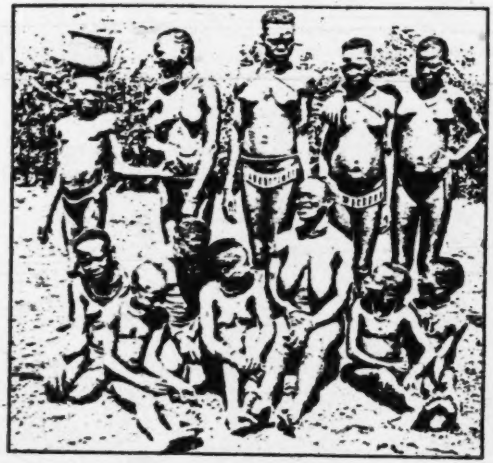
Jaluo Girl ; Kajulu Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Ketosh Woman (N. Bantu).



Kisumu Girls.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND NANDI.

[p. 358B]

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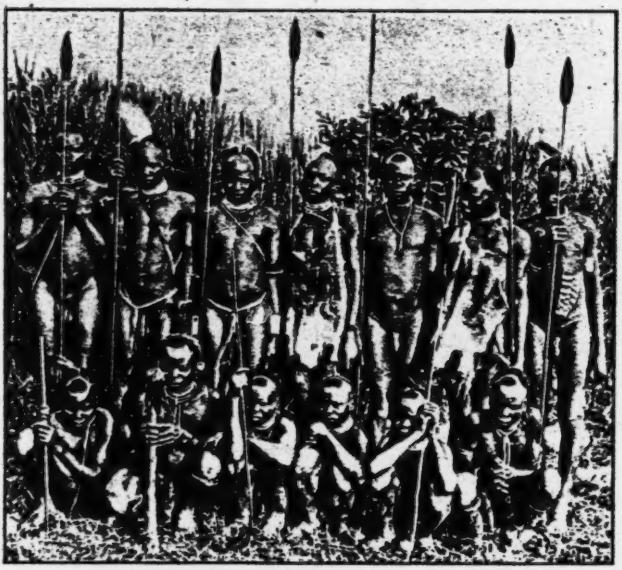

Koromojo Warriors.

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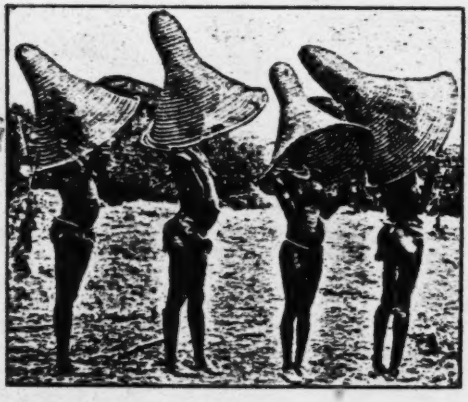

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karungu Warriors (Ja-Luo).

[p.358]

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
791 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting
252 women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
462 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Plate XXII

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(1) Nilotic Kavirondo girls

B
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(2) Young women ready for initiation ceremony
(*Bagesu Tribe*)

[facing p. 276]

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thuñgo* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[201] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut *(Kor amach* = lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor attung* = the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

852 After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, *simsim* is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with *simsim* seeds, seedballs of a wild plant *(ochok)* are strung on plaited grass *(oganga)* and creeping grass *(modhono)* and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of smallcircular pieces of ostrich eggs *(rek)* and big iron beads.

[262] When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *awinja* (= pounded *simsim* mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneeds a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(othwonyo otonge)* which she fills with *awinja*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(iñgado imbo nyathi)*.

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

 583

ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take 585
the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simba*, where they 585
spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest.

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new- [431]
"chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the [292]
occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi*, others again colcured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament [431]
round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about $^1/_2$ of an inch in diameter. *(ataka)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with [301]
the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a powo-tree. With this stick

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid 583 off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass [301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over 273 with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from [533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparations

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him, 769 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway 753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First 769 however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special 782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs, ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of 273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the [824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant ●301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*. These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a [754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die; and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch. No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among [illegible]tu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a per[illegible]as just left it.

Unmarried men go naked. [illegible] men who have children wear a

408. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUI

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[i.e., a very bad omen; among the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (on p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

291 wears European trousers, he must have a piece of goat skin underneath.
57% Unmarried girls wear no clothes. Married women wear a tail of strings

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behind. When they go to visit another village, they don a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which a curious and rather pretty pattern has been burnt with a red-hot stick. When a woman is married, she puts on

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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[754]
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[171]

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

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The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sōk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolis Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

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* In North Kavirondo.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

301 "nyaluo." It is thought by some authorities that these have wandered down in past ages from the direction of Egypt—in fact, some of the

[142 291]

436. A JA-LUO MAN WITH EAR-RINGS

more northern Nilotic peoples declare that they came from the north or north-east. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads made considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills,

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

and that the beads were constantly being dropped and lost in the fields. After floods the loosened soil might expose to sight some of the beads which had thus been dropped or thrown away. The supply of these blue

beads is, of course, quite inadequate for the population, and many are making up for the scarcity now by using the ordinary blue beads of commerce.

The Ja-luo men often wear an armlet of threaded cylindrical wooden

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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[p.786]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by agriculture. They cultivate sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, dourine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically all kinds of meat except the kyusa. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not hunt much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

but until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

427. A MEDICINE MAN FROM NYANZA, SOUTH SIDE OF KAVIRONDO BAY

When a person *dies*, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is *buried* on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of *mourning* the women wear a string of [illegible] the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the difference being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [624] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably [262] due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the 291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [2-3] [illegible] rings or beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small [illegible] behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to [illegible] strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and [illegible] meeting in front.

[51] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others prefer to shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thém*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bél* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

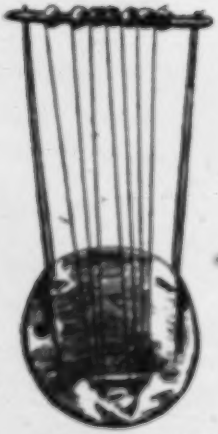

FIG. 8.—HARP: WILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LUO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP, PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAVIRONDO.

Tobacco and bhang.—These people smoke and chew tobacco, only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

Tembo or pombe.—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. 304
If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover 783
does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the 727
fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a 291
child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important 576
matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on [606]
no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to [574]
visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about 301
fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a 304
ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of 301
the variety known as *bikri*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood [777]
of the Maragoli Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kiketi* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the [illegible] and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

A SELECTION OF PATTERNS WOVEN

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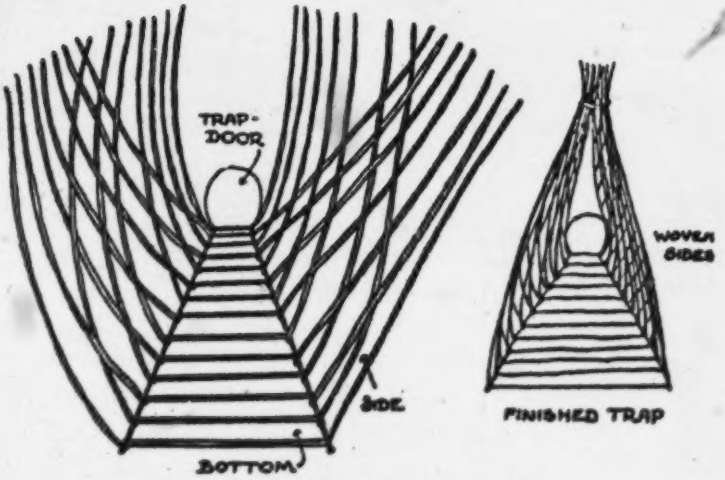

(*a*) A Grasshopper trap

[301]

(*b*) A Wrist Band

(*c*) Pattern for the bottom of a basket

857 both at and after birth, the younger being instructed and guided by the older ones. Boys of about five are usually found in the play groups of the school-going age, but as they grow older they are drawn away to male play groups.

The groups themselves vary in size from two members upwards, though occasionally a girl of this age may

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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E.N.

AN ELDERLY WOMAN WITH SOME OF HER FOOD

[p. 56]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

*From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press, 1956.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kibeti* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

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5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, Plate XXIX.

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Jaluo Girl; Kajulo Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Kwavi Woman (N. Bantu).

Kisumu Girls.

[p. 357 B]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, Plate XXX.

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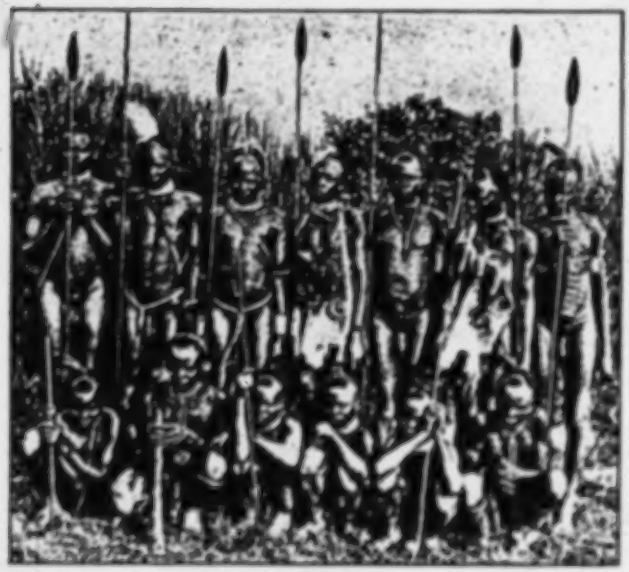

Koromojo Warriors.

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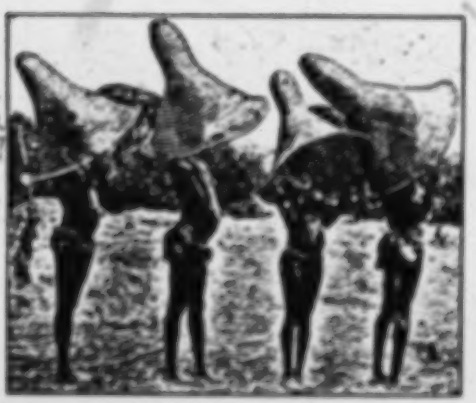

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karungu Warriors (Ja-Luo).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND NANDI.

[p.358c]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 846

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 845 [431]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 857 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 862

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

the deceased enters with a son of the dead man and together they fill in the grave and beat the floor hard. Some of the blood of the animal that was killed is poured into the grave as it is being filled with earth; and, after the grave is filled up, four pieces of meat are taken and one piece is placed at each corner of it. A pot of newly brewed beer is placed on the grave and left to ferment until it runs over the sides when the relatives drink it. When the duty of filling in the grave is completed, all the mourners wash, shave their heads and have a meal of the meat of the animal that was killed. The widows remove their girdles and place them on the roof of the house containing the grave. A goat is killed, and an elderly woman related to the deceased man ties a portion of the entrails of the goat round the waist and neck of each widow, and also winds a portion round her own neck; and this is worn by each widow during the period of mourning. On the following morning a grandson climbs the house and breaks the end off the central pole which stands out above the thatch; he also breaks the cooking-pot in which the deceased man's food was cooked. On the second day after the funeral a goat is brought into the house and each of the mourners strikes it with his fist and kicks it; it is then taken and killed, and its flesh is cooked in part of the broken cooking-pot and eaten by the mourners. After this meal the male relatives go to war against some group of their tribe who are said to have been the cause of the man's death. After mourning four days the party shave their heads and continue to the end of the mourning period without further shaving their heads or paring their nails. The widows continue to live in the house which contains the grave. When the ox or cow for the funeral ceremonies is killed, if the deceased is a man, it is speared to the heart; but, when the deceased is a woman, it is speared in the head between the horns. When the mourning ceremonies are ended, each widow makes a girdle, with the fringe at the back, which she wears for a year while she continues to live in the house containing the grave. At the end of the year she burns the girdle, goes to the river and washes, takes her old girdle from the house-roof with her and leaves it in the river-bed. After washing

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When [302] the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious [687] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 234 **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the people. The numbers vary in a village according to the pros- *perity and success of the community.* Milk is used as an article [262] of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and [462] young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side.

234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the 765
heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, [302]
whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is
put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it (*yweye lat*) with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood [513]
(*wimbi*) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If [842]
she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewed for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud (*mwima lat*) and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white insects on their backs. These insects are made as usual from the [291]
twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary insect, which they replaced by a coarse unwissed one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild figures.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in 768
another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If 769
their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased 753
was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets

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this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

426. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (1/4-1/10)

The Ja-luo pull out the incisors in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst those people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They do not circumcise, nor do they scar or tattoo their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 426).

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The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Bôh and Lango, ornament the outer rim of the ear in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolis Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

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* In North Kavirondo.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907· FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to stripe of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, legs and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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843 [84] the custom which confines a female child in the hut with its mother for only three days, whereas a male child would stay with its mother for four days, thus giving her a longer rest. In reality, only those women who have given birth to two or more children seem to be able to make any successful guess as to the sex of their expected child.

The Birth of a Child

844 177 *Preparations.* Among the Christian women, customs connected with the preparation for a birth have largely been dropped; but superstition is still a very real factor in the life of every Luo woman. Hence, for example, the preparation of bedding and clothes before a birth is usually neglected on purpose, the position being even worse in families of low income. When women give birth in the maternity wards, the husbands therefore have to make a hasty preparation during the seven days spent by their wives in hospital.

843 177 [302] Among the pagans, the pain or nausea experienced during the first few months of foetal growth is mitigated by the administration of a certain medicine. When this trouble has ceased the woman is expected to grow long hair which should not be shaved until the child is born. Those pagan women who associate much with Christians, however, have abolished this custom of growing hair, though some of them still take the medicine. Among the pagans, the expectant mother takes a light purgative during the sixth month which is believed to free her from any abdominal impurity. Strong purgatives are forbidden in case they may cause abortion or premature birth.

844 *Assistance during delivery.* The assistance a woman receives when giving birth depends on the circumstances in which she finds herself. There is no ruling laid down

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a mango priests who lives among the people for this purpose.[1] According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.[2] Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the mon Arth and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the jobile. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo jobeth and are often consulted. 788

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.[3] In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a "deeper magic" (jamings) which, among the Gesi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.[4] 753 756 [759]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, The Northern Bantu, 1915, p.[illegible].
(2) Northcote, J.R.A.I., 1907, p.[illegible]. (3) Ibid.
(4) The Uganda Protectorate, Vol.II, 1902.

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304 friends and receiving presents of fowls. Girls, in addition, have their bodies scarified on the sides and back. From this time on until marriage the boys live in the bachelors' hut and the girls in the unmarried women's quarters. There is no mention by any of the authorities of an age-set system.

DEATH

764 The dead are buried close to their homes, a man on his right side with the hand under the head and a woman on her left side, also with the hand under the head.[1]

765 Friends and relatives gather shortly after death and, if the deceased was a man of importance, the whole of his clan is represented. Every man brings his companion bull and rides it. All dress up as if for war and the bare party takes place. If the dead man was not very important the mourning is limited to shaving the head and painting the body with white clay. Offerings are put on the grave of the deceased.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

766 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [124] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembe* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 609 [304] [53] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house; then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalled by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his home.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of native produce to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked. (Plate V). Married men who have a child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Jo-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as *kiboti*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Mau-gulfs Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Lao, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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Banta Kavirondo FL4

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of the baby, if a boy, and round its left wrist, if a girl. Next morning, the body and head of the quail are cut off, leaving the lower half of the beak of the bird suspended by the string round the child's neck; everyone then knows that it has been named.

Names are often suggested by some event happening at the time.

Mumia was born on the day of an attack by the Wamia or Elgumi people, and was thus named Mumia. Formerly, again, when Europeans were great rarities in the county, if a child was born on the day a caravan camped at the village, it would often be named after the leader of it, if he chanced to be well known, thus "Jakeinia," "Martinia," and "Obilos"[1] are very common.

Tattooing and Tribal Marks.

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These rarely appear to have any special significance, but, among the Ja-Luo people, it is thought that a woman will not bear children unless she is tattooed.

All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel (Fig. 6). When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist. All the men are not marked, it is quite a matter of choice with them. For instance, the head chief of the Kisumu people is not tattooed.

Fig. 6.

The various tribes of the Ja-Luo have slightly differing tattoo marks.

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Among the Kotosh, if a warrior kills an enemy in warfare, on his return he has two rows of round marks tattooed on his right chest and continued upwards over his right shoulder; moreover, upon reaching home, it is considered essential that he should have connection with his wife as soon as convenient; this is believed to prevent the spirit of his dead enemy from haunting and bewitching him.

The Turkana and Suk tattoo rows of spots from the chest over the shoulder, but whether this is significant of the warrior having killed an enemy or not, is not known.

An examination of the Kotosh language affords reasons for believing that there is a strain of Kuromojo or Turkana blood among them, and this peculiar tattooing custom may be additional evidence of the affinity.

The Kotosh women have a number of raised dots tattooed on their sunnecks and abdomen arranged regularly in chess board fashion. An irritant is rubbed into the sore to produce weals.

Numerical Proportion of Sexes.

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In a previous publication[2] I ventured the opinion that the female sex greatly outnumbered the male. My observation was based upon the prevalence of

[1] The native version of the names Jackson, Martin and Hobley.
[2] *Ann. cit.*, p. 19.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, Plate XXIX.

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Jalus Girl; Kajalo Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Kotoch Woman (N. Bantu).

Kisumu Girls.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND BANTU.

[p.358a]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

When a man marries

a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

Distinctive dress of married women. Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time, but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

10: Roscoe M-S (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which §46
is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again.

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain §45
together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give [421]
her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer.

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village §57
with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond [302]
argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come §81
to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower §84
jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which [93]
they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage [752]
when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the §62
teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. Hartmann.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

596 The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmarried daughters.

595 Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the hut of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women [833] that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

842 If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kuls)* made all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone [304] (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is looked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about ¼ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about ¼ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(tero kuls)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sleep. When the beer is ready the sleep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kels kuls)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nuhgo misale)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yuth agula)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

[837] In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyoni*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

844 When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

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The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tribe* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

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The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sik and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

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* In North Kavirondo.

14: Johnston G-4.5 (no date) 1904 3'L.11 Lee 3'L.11

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14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

but until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Banta Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

[illegible]

When a person dies, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of mourning the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Loo FL11

question of bribery and corruption crops up everywhere and all concerned on the official side recognize it as their deepest enemy. But when I put Mr. Ayua's points to them they were a little sceptical. 'Of course there is bribery,' they said, 'but it is not as bad as that. And it is not the people who oppose land reforms, it is the politicians.' Mr. Ayua had just sent a telegram to the Governor asking for the removal of the 'reactionary D.C.' in Kisumu, so relations were naturally a bit strained.

VI

On the way to Maseno we had passed the unrealistic new hill between District Council and Government: the Kisiani hills, a barren, rocky bluff entirely denuded of vegetation and a scene of the most gruesome erosion, given over to goats browsing on boulders and any indomitable weed that had managed to germinate. This place had been leased by the District Council to the Government for the purpose of afforestation and about 800 acres of trees had been planted at a cost of £13,000.

Afforestation is unpopular. Goats were allowed to destroy the Kisiani seedlings and, when the forest department put up fences, people came and tore them down in the night. Others started to cultivate in defiance not only of the terms of the lease, but of regulations which forbid cultivation on steep hillsides. All this, in the official view, was part of a deliberate political campaign to stir up anti-Government feeling.

The Kisiani quarrel brought to a head bad feeling between the Central Nyanza District Council and the Government. All the Councillors are African save for the chairman, who is the D.C. Most of its senior technical staff are European and, in particular, it employs (as do all District Councils with large revenues) a fully qualified accountant to manage its finances.

These elected Councillors most anxious for unrestricted freedom objected strongly to this accountant. Africans, they said, should have the spending of African money without European interference. Officials retorted that in proper,

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

honest accounting lies the only defence against wholesale bribery and corruption—against the sort of thing Mr. Ayan had complained about so powerfully. 311 648 668

In the midst of this controversy the Council, with its elected majority, repudiated the lease of the Kisiani afforestation area and refused to take steps to stop sabotage of the plantations. The Government retorted by demanding repayment of the £13,000 spent upon them. This would have meant raising the Council's annual rate from eighteen to twenty-one shillings on each adult male. 177

This demand to increase the rate was, of course, turned down flat by the elected Councillors, who in their anger sacked the accountant, appointed a totally unqualified African at £1,000 a year to succeed him, and threatened to dismiss other European staff on grounds of race. They also voted large increases in their own salaries and allowances. [186]

Naturally I asked Mr. Ayan's views. The Kisiani trouble, in his account, boiled down to a number of misunderstandings. The individuals who owned cultivation rights in the hills had not, he said, ever fully understood the matter, it had not been properly explained. They thought the trees would be theirs, not common property. They had never given their permission on paper, with marks or signatures. The matter was explained to them by an unpopular chief who did not wait to hear all their objections. When they grazed their goats in the plantations they thought they were on their own property and were much aggrieved when they were fined. They had no land elsewhere. Land hunger was so acute as to be a more important matter even than marriage. 'If a man should lose his wife he can buy another; but once the land is gone you cannot buy any more.' 311 177 648

It looked like one more failure in public relations. But the officials denied this. 'We explained over and over again,' they said. 'Barazas, news-sheets, radio . . . Everyone had a chance to put his case. No, behind it is the old story—politicians spreading rumours that it's all a trick to steal the land.' [668]

[pp. 110-151 not processed]

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

III

THE SCHOOL AGE

From Six to Eleven Years

857 The school-going age for the Luo girl is characterised
868 by its transitional nature. It is chiefly a time of useful activity, for it is this age to which society has assigned the duty of nursing, and young girls begin and end their nursing service during this period. The mother now transforms the free day of play activity into real work and mobilizes the potential abilities of the young girl for her traditional education. The benefit reaped by the family is a secondary result, because the training given at this stage is part of a long process of education for married life. So far as the girl is concerned, the interest shown in nursing is more intense in the earlier phase of this age—at about eight to nine years.

With the increasing maturity of her mental life, the young girl begins to take an interest in the household duties of older girls, and thus associates nursing with girls of a younger age. We therefore find among the older girls of the age-group a section which despises nursing. The general domestic work of the age includes collecting firewood, fetching water in small containers, and keeping the fire burning while food cooks during the absence of the mother. Firewood is collected from [313] round the village or sometimes further afield in company with older girls. In the groups the older girls may direct the younger ones where to find good firewood, but most of the collecting is done individually by the girl herself. The quantity carried increases as the child [312] grows older, and the container in which water is carried also varies similarly. When her mother is away, the

20:Orninde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

Female education at school-going age. The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

20:Orninde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

857
•312
291
482

Young Girls Going to Fetch Water

857 The Beginning of Specialised Activities
868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

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FL11 Luo FL11

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[3/2] grows older, and the container in which water is carried also varies similarly. When her mother is away, the

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can 585
manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and tonde drink; the bridegroom does not go.

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she 583
returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to 585
his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife.

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his 583
payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as 587
long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister.

If a woman will not step with her husband she is married to some 586
one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If 583
after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to [622
stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the 595]
man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. [582]
They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself.

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu 323
Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, tonde pots, etc.

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they 281
soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now 411
made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simis and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL.11 Lue FL.11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a 342
trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 15 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior.

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated 359
about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo.

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an 373
old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages 361
are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the 383
huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle.

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of 361
the principal wife of the headmen of the village, or the headmen of that part of the village.

Food products.—Miami, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also 241
pumpkins, sesame, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state.

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which 325
are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, ivies, 439
etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gomi tribe only people belonging to a clan 258
called Uvine forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri.

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the 764
house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days.

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours 768
then meet and drink *tembe*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died.

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for 765
the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days.

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

14: Johnston G-4.5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Loc FL11

Both sexes drink the beer which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the butter.

The men do not *smelt* iron, but obtain it in pig form from the Banta Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against blacksmiths amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothieth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Ureu." They *forge* spears, knives, hill-hooks, and axes, but their irons are imported from their Banta neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their spears have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Banta.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the marriage. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's home. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for *her* is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his deceased *wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

16: Northcote C-9 (no date) 1907 FL11 Loo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Swaras's summons had so frightened the rain-makers that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and heavy smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a modern travel line, in vain, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen hunters, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an eland or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl hunted down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL.11 Lus FL.11

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the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village.

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also 241
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10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family. 234

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk. 492

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind. 231 262

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs. They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans. 342 361

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the [771] 776 782

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Lue FL11

(6) inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that
794 the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Alurs) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyiffes. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

407. A RAFT RACE OF PAPYRUS REEDING, VICTORIA NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are
[178] surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses
[342] are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually
513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The
882 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

114 My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Kanchuneyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Kanchuneyo and Kaniyal, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 5) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Kanchuneyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awando, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

[351] The most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dolo* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dolo* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dolo* or *wuon pacho*; *jadong* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[178] [342]

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[2] This is often striking in sized. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the [343] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that [435 252] before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

291 After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known 584 as the *dho golo onyimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them he sent a new *onyimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *onyimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chieno* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chieno* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre [177] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

[689] * Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional nakedness adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtains details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel [789] apparently has maleficent properties. For if any man annoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her,

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big thing.'

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have been more common in South Kavirondo whither the cult had spread and had been received with enthusiasm.

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The priests started " schools " which they usually placed on hill-tops, and in the best proselytising traditions, attracted potential adherents by giving feasts of their slaughtered cattle. They also built here and there what might be called groves or places for the worship of Mumbo where sacrifices were made to the accompaniment of many obscenities and dancing.

In some of these Groves were wooden idols, one of which has been presented to the Natural History Museum by Mr. C. M. Dobbs, late Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province. This practice of constructing sacred Groves to Mumbo and erecting idols is interesting since all the people who were questioned about this cult said definitely that such things had never been commanded by Mumbo himself. True, he had said that there were to be sacrifices made to him with dancing to the accompaniment of drums and bull-roarers (without musical accompaniment), but he meant them to take place in each boma. No instructions had been given for groves or idols.

An extract from the report of the District Officer who found the idol is worth inserting at this point:—

" . . . The meeting place of the cult consisted of a beautifully swept enclosure adjoining the High Priest's Boma and capable of seating some two hundred people. From the next boma to that of the High Priest ran a made path, four feet wide and trenched at the sides . . . . The enclosure was surrounded by a well-built dry stone wall. In the centre was a little semi-open hut about six feet in diameter, finished with white mud . . . . There was no door, it appeared symmetrical all round, thus:—

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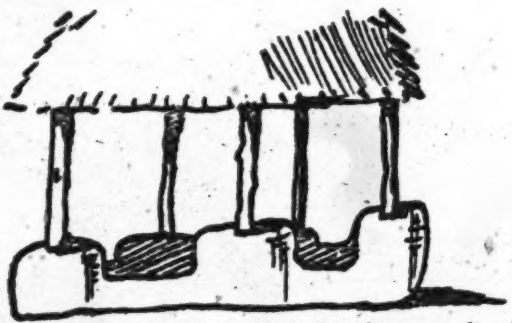

" In the centre of the hut was a phallic altar-post, bearing traces of blood-stains . . . . The High Priest's daughter produced some unpleasant animal relics from a hole in the wall in the enclosure. In the Western corner a bush plant (Nyaluthkoth) had been planted. . . .

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 3) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awandu, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

THE most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dala* or *wuon pacho*; *jaduong* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

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[2] This is often striking in ritual. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

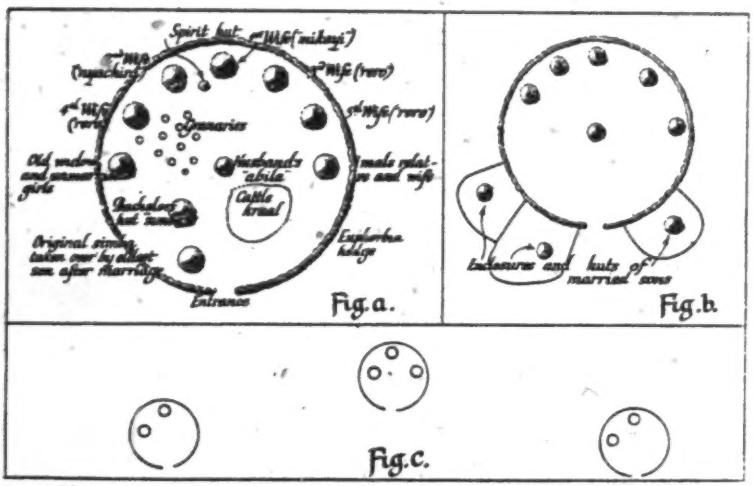
17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.[1] The title of the first wife is *mikayi*, that of the second *nyachira*, and of all subsequent wives *ruru*.

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at typical phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted from the other figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described above as an arbitrary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

PHASE 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring.

2. The eldest son matures, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*simba*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*).



3. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead hedge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the compound polygynous grand family. (Fig. *b*.)

4. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate ones of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their stepsons or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or ablest of the dead man's sons as head, the sons' homesteads now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.)

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family

[1] It is the possessive form of *nuoro* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'greediness'.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
●352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *simbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembo*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

512 462 264 *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

178 The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

178 In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuorwa, luong' wuoru uchiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

The special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

3

Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminus in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit. As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *buru*,[1] for they were *wasigu*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kocia man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Karacuonyo territory.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the JoSeje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *tero buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karacuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kasii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his home to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thwondi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thuon jatela*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *won gweng*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Luoland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nifa.

Modes of subsistence.—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

Hunting and fishing.—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

Bridges.—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

Cooking, etc.—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

Fire.—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembe*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up. 226 227

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:— 251 262 [161]

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,387

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Yiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai). 226 [501]

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Moburu on the Tanganyika border on the South side:— 361

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	33,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	13,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

361
162

South Kavirondo.

Karachonya	21,105
Kochia	7,327
Kaniada	9,579
Kasigunga	2,442
Kaksingiri	1,463
Gwasi	5,390
Karungu	2,559
Kadem	11,145
Mohuru	771
Rusinga (Island)	2,099
Mfwangano (Island)	1,792
	65,682

Brief Account of Visit to Kach Bay.

226 The following short account of a trip round Kach Bay and up the Miriu river may be of interest as showing different methods of fishing followed by the Lake shore Jaluo. I had arranged with the son of Chief Amimo of Kanu to go and see the fish being taken out of the basket traps at the weirs at the mouth of the Kibos river and at 6-30 a.m. on May the 29th started off from the Dhow Pier with B. in the Government Motor Boat. It took us about one hour to get to the mouth of the river and on the way we saw the fishing fleet coming back with the night's catch to Nanga fishing station. We ran the motor boat a few yards up the river mouth and landed and the boy lit a fire and prepared breakfast. While waiting we watched the various fish-eating birds which were very numerous. The ordinary
136 Darter Anhinja rufa (Dholuo, Osoo) was there in large numbers. This bird goes right down under the water after the fish. It is said to capture the Fulu, Adel, and Osoga. An occasional cormorant (Dholui, Kwasi) was to be seen and one or two storks (Dholuo, Okol) while numerous birds like seagulls and teons (Dholuo, Sialo) were flying about and occasionally dipping down into the water to capture a small fish.

The most remarkable birds however were the pelicans, *Pelicanus onocrotalus* (Dholuo, Mbuzi) which were floating quietly about and occasionally dipping their enormous beaks into the water and then raising them skyward to allow the unfortunate victim to slip down their throat more easily. Large numbers of kingfishers, *Ceryle rudis* and *Corythornis cristatus* (Dholuo, Kalamendi) were also seen. The empty shells of numerous fresh water snails (Dholuo, Ogongolo) strewed the shore, which was very sandy. While we were waiting a native brought up a small fish trap (Dholuo, Musathi) which he had just taken out of a ditch running into the Lake. This contained five

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family. 234

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk. 492

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind. 231 262

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans. 342 361

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the [771] 776 782

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101 174 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud [178] or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses [342] are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually 513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The 882 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it.[1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUI

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e.) A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (See p. 752-not processed). - Analyst]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

'The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *m'guru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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Peter Hill

THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF A MARKET

[p. 52]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

Modes of subsistence.—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

Hunting and fishing.—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they got the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

Bridges.—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

Cooking, etc.—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

Fire.—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
BANTU KAVIRONDO FL4

B 628 suffered an injury at the hands of certain other members of his clan, *e.g.*, has had his wife enticed away or had a cow stolen, he will often proceed to the territory of a neighbouring tribe and lie in ambush, attack and spear the first passer by, likely to fall an easy prey, and will then return home.

In a few days it will leak out that one of the "Wa-so and so" has done this, and the clan of the murdered man will up and wage war with the clan of the murderer, who hopes to obtain his revenge vicariously in this manner; latterly, it is said, it has been done in the hopes that the administration will be induced to punish the clan, and, incidentally, the man who has wronged him.

As a variant of the same line of conduct during the last few years, several cases of suicide have been brought to my notice.

B 762 For example, in Nyole district a young man one day had a violent quarrel with his own mother while cultivating, and eventually beat her with a stick. She ran crying to a village near by, and one of the elders came out and gave the young fellow a thrashing; to every one's astonishment the young man hanged himself that afternoon, and the people of the vicinity told my agent, who went to enquire into it, that he had committed suicide so that his blood relations might lay his death at the door of the elder, and thus start a blood feud against him. Word was, naturally, promptly sent forth that such a procedure would be strongly discouraged, and the incident apparently closed.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

L 821 The Ja-Luo believe that the sun goes back to the east overhead during the night, hidden behind the heavens. They use the word *Chieng* indifferently for sun and the Deity. They do not associate the daylight sky with the light of the sun, but look upon it as something quite distinct, and asked what became of it at night. It is known by the term *Polo*. They professed the belief that Europeans were the children of the sun.

L 821 841 They believe that menstruation is caused by the new moon, and also that a woman can only become pregnant at the time of the new moon, and generally that the moon has a great deal to do with the occurrence.

During menstruation a woman does not cook food for others, but merely her own food. She performs all other work as usual.

L 372 The people have no ceremonies connected with fire, such as the extinguishing of all the fires at a certain time, and the relighting with certain rites.

B 845 846 833 Among the Awa-Wanga, many believe that within five or six days of the birth of a child the parents must cohabit, or the child will die. After the birth of twins, the parents are secluded for from twenty days to a month; at the end of the ordained period the brother of the man then formally opens the door of the hut and the couple can go about as usual. This seclusion of the male parent is probably an attenuated relic of the "*couvade*" custom.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and *tembo* drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 595] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *tembo* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gessi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a
291 481 single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as
534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thūm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Būl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

[292]
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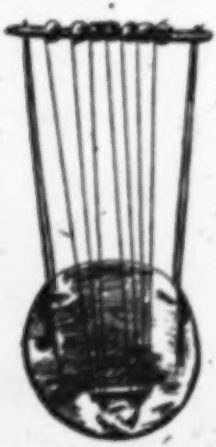

FIG. 8.—HARP: NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LEGO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROTEROGENAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—REED HARP FROM KAVIRONDO.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 888 862 *Tombo or pombe.*—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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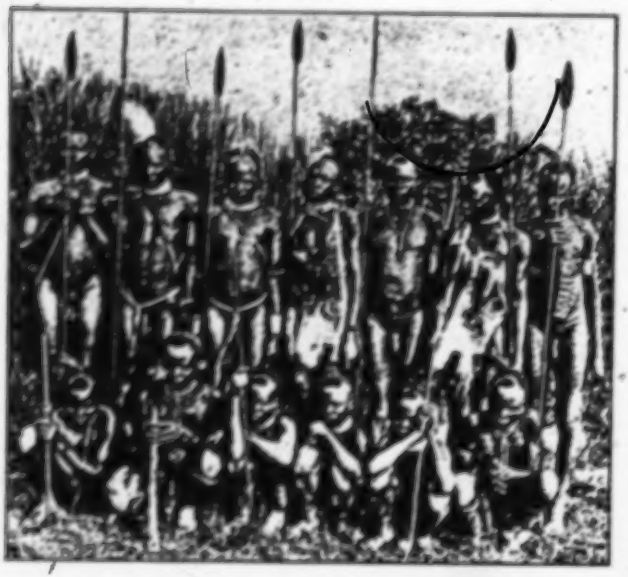

Kavirondo Warriors.

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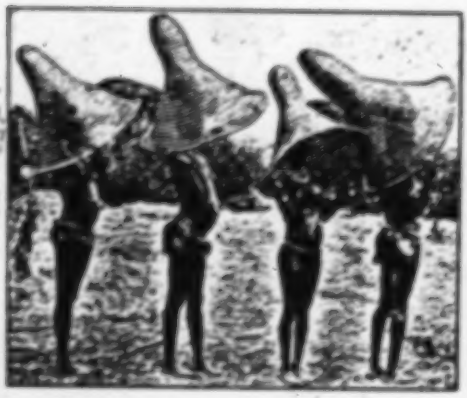

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Kavirondo Warriors (Ja-Luo).

[p.358]

227 or four in a line on the bottom. They then go some distance in front and frighten the fish into the traps. The single cone traps are used by the women in a different way. They hold the baskets in both hands with the wide part facing towards them and wade backwards in shallow water drawing the backets along the bottom towards them. When the fish enter the basket they raise it out of the water in a perpendicular position. The following fish are caught by this means: Nyawino, Ndera, Ningu, and Akunga (eels). The Ningu is not caught in rivers during May, June and July as it goes to the Lake then presumably to spawn.

BASKET TRAPS USED AT WEIRS.

226 Enormous fish weirs (Dholuo, Kek) are a feature of the rivers of
227 Kavirondo. Some of these are built of wood and some of stones and extend right across the rivers from bank to bank. At intervals in the weir there are gaps and basket traps (Dholuo, Musathi) are used on the upper side of these holes to catch the fish as they pass through up stream. The Musathi are similar in principle to the double coned Aunga, gut are made of reeds fastened together longitudinally, while all types of Aunga are plaited.

PORTABLE TRAPS.

Another form of basket fish trap is the Sienyu. This is also a conical basket with a hole at the top or narrow end. The native using it wades along in shallow water pushing it down at intervals on to the bottom of the lake or river. If a fish happens to be imprisoned it is heard splashing inside and the native puts his arm through the top hole and pulls it out. The Sienyu is also made of reeds fastened together longitudinally.

STATIONARY TRAPS, BAITED.

In addition to the foregoing there is another kind of basket trap used called Omuongo, which is almost identical with a European lobster pot and used with bait and in the same way.

FISHING SPEARS.

226 Fish are sometimes harpooned by natives wading in the water.
411 The harpoon used is narrow and has no barb and is called by the Jaluo Bedthi. Mumi and Kamongo are speared in this way.

The natives of Mohuru are said to go out in canoes on moonlight nights with grass torches and harpoon the fish.

FISHING WITH ROD AND LINES.

226 Fishing with rod and line is indulged in principally as an amuse-
227 ment and by juveniles. Long rods made from a tree called Poo are used by men. Hooks (Dholuo, Oloo) are bought in the bazaar. The bait used is a sort of worm (Dholuo, Oniambo) found in the mud. Mumi (barbel) are caught in this way. The line is made from

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Basty "Kavirondo FL4

Plate XXII

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(1) Nilotic Kavirondo girls

B
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(2) Young women ready for initiation ceremony
(*Bagesu Tribe*)

[facing p. 276]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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Peter Hill

THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF A MARKET

[p. 52]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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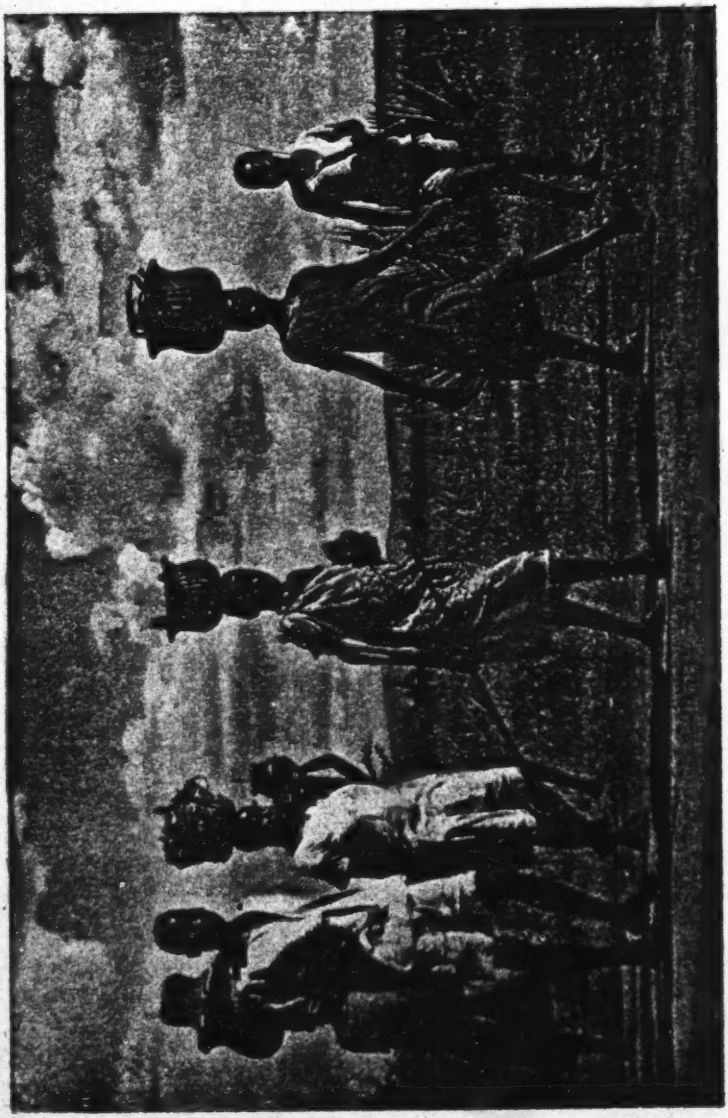

Peter Hill

THE END OF A MARKET DAY

[p. 54]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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E. N.

AN ELDERLY WOMAN WITH SOME OF HER FOOD

[p. 56]

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop,
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a
" medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists
of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high,
which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a
herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is
unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time
to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms.
In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
●417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on
the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
136 monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and
elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo
it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at
night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary
business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where
mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in,
organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
136 disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like
Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage
both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried
to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture
forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts.
This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and
occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through
guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of
the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life
in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he
told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to
his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on
guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was
happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons
mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal
results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of
the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds
are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

783 of his village and lives in a hut with an old woman who attends to his wants, cooks for him and also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his hands. Separation lasts for three days, and on the fourth day a man who is himself a murderer, or who has at some time killed a man in battle, takes the murderer to a stream where he washes him all over. He then kills a goat and cooks the meat, takes four sticks and places a piece of meat on each stick and gives the man the meat to eat from each in turn. When the meat has been eaten, he gives him four pieces of porridge made into balls and put on the sticks. After this meal the goat-skin is cut into strips, one strip being put on the neck and one strip round each wrist of the murderer. This ceremony is performed by the two men who are alone at the river, and after it the murderer is free to return home. It is said that, until this ceremony is performed, the ghost cannot take its departure for the place of the dead, but hovers about the murderer.

428 **Inheritance.** It is usual for a son to inherit property. While a man is still in health, he makes known his wishes as to whom he desires to inherit his property, and his wishes will be observed. Should a son be too young to succeed to his father's estate at the time of death, the deceased man's brother manages the property until the son is old enough to take control. Should a man with property die intestate, the members of his clan elect one of his sons to be heir. There is no fixed law as to which son shall inherit. It is not a question of age nor may the son of a particular wife claim precedence over the sons of other wives, but the clan-members are at liberty to choose the man they consider the most suited for the office. Women never inherit or hold property. The father's stool and bracelet are given to the heir and are the insignia of lawful succession.

[562
●421]

Marriage, Birth and Puberty.

582 **Marriage customs.** It was impossible to discover the ritual of marriage or the groups into which a man might or might not marry, all that could with certainty be learned being that there are exogamous divisions within the tribe.

When the *dho golo onyimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochiemo*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
578 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is
285 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the
[431 custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the
791] Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
462 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

● 422 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
593 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

422 case of the main store being depleted. Grown up unmarried sons
513 and also daughters could have each his or her own " mondo." In case of necessity their grain went into the family store, but from it they were allowed to barter grain for the personal ornaments which were common in the tribe. Grain which was still in store when the new crop came in was at the disposal of the woman, who frequently
[437] used it in barter for domestic animals. This custom is called " rundo," and the beast procured, if a cow or heifer is called " dher tekre." It was the woman's own property, subject to the limitations of absolute ownership which pertain to all notions of property among primitive peoples. It could not be bequeathed away from her by her husband. In case of famine she could take of its offspring and barter it for grain. Once having acquired the beast she did not readily part with it, but kept it for her children.

731 As at the present day so also in days gone by, there was no tribal organization of food supplies as a provision against famine. During the last two or three years when crops have been short through damage by locusts there has been one word which was heard very frequently. The word is " kisuma." It means to journey away from the home locality in search of food for the family. In days gone by domestic animals were taken to those who had food to dispose of, and bartered for grain. A man without stock would marry off his girl child, and with the cattle get food. This was the only way in which famine conditions were met. Needless to say when famine was widespread, very much suffering was entailed.

242 Rotation of crops is practised to a limited extent. The order of rotation is decided largely, by the period of the year in which the first crop is put down. If virgin or fallow land is prepared for the autumn sowing, then the first crop is one which ripens quickly, such as simsim or beans. When this is harvested, the land will be put under a slower growing crop, like millet or maize. Before being allowed to revert to fallow land, it may be put under sweet potatoes. If the land is first prepared for the spring sowing then the order is reversed. But it must not be taken that what has been written above is the invariable rule. I have known a field to be put down first in sweet potatoes and then followed by a second crop of potatoes before being planted with maize. Also where the land is very rich, as in certain valleys, year after year maize or millet may be put down until the land shows signs of exhaustion. It then reverts to fallow. There is no strict rule governing the length of time it rests. Some allow a rest of three, some of five, years. It depends upon the amount of land available and the pressure of population upon it.

The names used by the Luo for the different phases are as follow:— Virgin soil, " Okang." Land under rotation, " Tiang." Fallow

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

to his home and continue to live in the *siwha*, the bride not cooking on her own, 585
but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riso* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *aliuk* and his mother-in-law the goat of *awe thunda*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ataka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *siwha* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman 583
without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the [554]
past if a girl was made pregnant in the *siwha* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when [178]
adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies 587
of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences 586
rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there 422
are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the abila*
Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Most to *mikayi*, next to *nyarbiru*, rest among *rero* wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rech kode* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *atoke* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at *daughters'* marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

613
614 Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes betwen a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land;
613 there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration.
614 People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives
609 for their sons. The strangers settled as *orce*, in-laws, and become maternal
578 uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of exogamy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the JoSeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[178] Hence we find to-day in the overcrowed tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

613 The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal
614 territory and point to their *gundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ances-
578 tors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area in that
423 they have resided there for many generations and also can point there to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a clan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

on which a *gunda*, homestead site, of one of them is situated ; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use ; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it ; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

7

This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage sy tem on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

Government.

643 **Chiefs as rulers.** There is no king of the country, nor is there any single paramount chief; the Bantu chiefs claim equal, if not superior, rights to the land. Certain chiefs rule over extensive districts inhabited by the Nilotics, and their rights as leaders are considered to be hereditary; they are also looked to in cases requiring settlement or legislation.

423 **Land tenure.** Land which has not been cultivated in the past may be tilled by any family; but, when once it has been tilled, the community regard it as the property of the family whose ancestor first cultivated it. Should it be left fallow for a number of years, no other family may appropriate and till it without first obtaining the original owner's permission. Few people seek such permission, preferring to dig virgin-land which will afterwards belong to their children.

621 **Local chiefs as the magistrates.** The people live in communities. They build their houses in close proximity and in most cases surround them with a growing fence, leaving a gateway which can be closed during the night or in times of
622 danger. Such a village group is ruled by a sub-chief who is under the authority of the district-chief. The chief of a village is magistrate and controls the general affairs of his people. This chief levies no taxes, but his people make him presents of goats and sheep, and of grain also at harvest time.

692 **Courts and court fees.** Any person wishing to bring a charge against another for any offence, real or imaginary,
694 pays a small fee to the chief of the village before whom he lays
695 his complaint or accusation. The chief or elder then summons the accused person and appoints a time when the case shall be heard. The chief sits with one or two village elders and gives his judgment. A person may appeal from a village chief to the principal chief in the district, and the elder who first tried the case will then go to the superior chief to be present when the case is reheard. The parties appealing have
681 to pay fresh court-fees before the case is retried. The punishment in almost every case is a fine and the amount is determined by the gravity of the case. The losing party has to

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing is *far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

'Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shamba* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on proper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

'This was the first deputation. Others followed. Now the whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

'The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *m'guru*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

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would write to the papers, or sign letters written for him, saying the people were against these schemes. And so some of us became confused. In this location we still wanted to exchange land, but some of our neighbours turned against it, and we had to stop.

'At the end of 1958 the opposition became very strong and the D.C. called a meeting to decide. The opposition staged another trick. They packed the meeting with supporters from other locations, even women who knew nothing about it at all. This was a noisy and a difficult *baraza*. Even with these methods, when it came to a vote the meeting was evenly divided. The casting vote was left to the D.C. He decided against it, and so the scheme was closed.

'We who had always been in favour were greatly harmed. We wanted the Government to bring water from the river, and surveying had already started for a piped scheme. Some of the elders went to the D.C. to ask him to change his mind, but he refused. In January, he agreed to send two people to Elgon Nyanza to see what was being done there. They saw it all, and when they returned we elected *liguru* after the pattern of the Elgon people. We called everyone together in groups, men, women and children, to plant hedges round the *shambas* that had been exchanged. I myself exchanged four pieces, and in some cases I paid money and cattle to get all my land in one piece. We managed to plant hedges round two or three *shambas* a day. Then we went to the D.C. and told him what we had done and asked him to send an officer to help us plan the use of our *shambas*. When he heard what we had done, he agreed.

'Now we have enclosed all the land of our clan and we want to have it registered. We asked the D.C., but there were still six men who refused, and the D.C. would not do it until everyone agreed. In the last few days two more have agreed, so now there are only four against it. When they agree we shall have titles to our land and then no one can upset the work we have done.'

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THE RELUCTANT LUO

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big thing.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

is a big thing. When we get some money, I shall ask my husband for a better house. We are in the way of progress now, but there is another thing: the Government must help us with our water, we need a scheme to bring it—that is the biggest thing.'

It is often said that women are the most conservative, and in some ways perhaps this may be so—especially in regard to marriage customs; but it struck me, almost everywhere I went, that it is the women who are most anxious to see these basic land reforms brought in, the men who oppose—not the old men so much as the younger, educated ones who have been to cities. Africa so often seems to reverse the expected order of things.

At any rate, there was no doubt of what these women thought about land reform. It is they, after all, the cultivators, the workers, who know where the shoe pinches, and no wonder they are out of patience with those young men of the towns who, while crying for political freedom, do their best to deny to their own women that measure of relief from hard, grinding toil which land consolidation and enclosure can afford.

Among the Luo, everything is done by clans—extended families would be a more correct term. This group is called the *jokokwaru* and consists of all the descendants of one grandfather. They hold their land in common and each individual, as he marries, is allocated a *shamba* by the *liguru*, the land elders. In time he probably inherits cultivation rights over other pieces from various mothers, uncles and cousins, and that is how fragmentation arises. All grazing land is held in common, as among all other tribes.

The *jokokwaru* system is at once a strength and a weakness, from a modern point of view. Livestock improvers regard it as an unmitigated curse.

'All the members of the group must agree to any sale of stock by any individual,' a vet told me. 'That makes destocking almost impossible, if only out of bloody-mindedness.' The livestock picture generally is a gloomy one. 'We are still trying to get across one or two of the most basic principles, such as dipping or spraying against ticks. Among the Kipsigis,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL II

firebrands. So in a small brick room put up by Bishop Tucker in 1911, and now the secondary school's common-room, I met a bunch of schoolmasters, all fluent in English, well-informed and politically-minded.

I put to them the question that most puzzled me; land reforms are unquestionably progressive and of benefit to Africans; by raising living standards they will advance the prospect of self-government; why, then, do so many educated Africans appear to oppose them?

The answer I got was unexpected. Mr. Samwell Ayan, a history teacher, a Makerere graduate, head of the Kenya Teachers' Union and an elected member of the District Council that was embroiled in trouble, spoke impressively—and with moderation and logic.

'People are not getting justice,' he said. 'Men are losing land they are entitled to because of bribery and corruption in the African Courts. Everyone is being bribed—land elders, chiefs, witnesses. Yes, from the African Courts a man can take his case before the D.C., but what can the D.C. do? He sees only the evidence in front of him; it is all rigged; the man loses his land. I know of many cases like that. The Courts are rotten—a washout.

'I know of a case where the president of the Court altered all the evidence after it had been given and sent it up to the superior Court. When the plaintiff heard the false evidence read out, he was hopelessly confused. Clerks take bribes to keep appeal cases beyond the date when the right to appeal lapses. This is being done even in Kisumu. All the land elders can be bribed. The hunger for land is so great.

'What should be done? First, hear land cases before everyone in the location who has, or is entitled to, land—a real people's court. Then, make tape-recordings of evidence in the lower courts; if the evidence is changed, everyone will know. And let the district officer take all land cases so that he hears everything.

'It is because of this corruption and unfairness that people oppose land consolidation. All the same, it has got to come. It is progressive. But do not let it be forced.'

Mr. Ayan spoke with sincerity and even passion. This

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

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POSSIBLE REASONS FOR DECLINE:

228 The decline in the industry appears to be due to three main factors:—

(a) Fewer fish in the Kavirondo Gulf than formerly.
(b) Decline in retail prices giving less profit.
(c) Poverty of the fishermen.

In regard to (c) it may be remarked that during the years of high retail prices many wealthy merchants, Goans and Europeans, were engaged in fishing. These have since withdrawn and the class now carrying on the work usually have to buy nets and boats on credit or pay heavy interest on borrowed money, destroying the fishers' small profit and causing more and more to abandon fishing"

It is generally admitted that the catches of fish are less than they were. In the early years the average catch is estimated to have been over 25 fish per 100 yards of net while the boats operated at only about a mile from shore. In later years the catch fell to 5 per net and to get these the boats have to go from 12 to 15 miles out. The number of boats has also fallen off. At the height of the industry's prosperity there were 150 boats working on an average 10 nets per boat. Some boats worked as much as 20 to 25 nets.

NATIVE METHODS OF CAPTURE: NETS.

226 227 Turning now to the methods employed by the ordinary natives living along the Lake shores we find that fish are caught by drag nets, weirs, traps, harpoons, long lines and to a very small extent with fishing rods. The drag nets used are made of papyrus stems fastened close together and are about 5 ft. deep. They are made in two sizes, the larger size being called by the Jaluo " Gogo " and the smaller " Ogoda." One end of the net is towed out by men in canoes some distance into the Lake and is taken round in a half circle so as to enclose a considerable area of water. The two ends are then drawn towards the shore so that the net brings in with it any fish that have been enclosed. When it is fairly close in men wade into the water with long baskets (Dholuo, Aunga) and capture the fish in these. These baskets ae a form of trap made on much the same principle as a lobster pot and consist of a large cone of basket work about 6 ft. long with a smaller cone inside it pointing in the same direction. The inner cone is open at the end so that when a fish enters at the wide mouth of the basket it swims through the hole at the end of the inner cone and gets imprisoned in the space between the two cones.

BASKET TRAPS, PORTABLE AND STATIONARY.

227 A smaller form of Aunga is used by women, called Aunga Ketenga. There are two varieties of this, one with the double cone and one with only a single cone. When using the double cone ones they place three

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these ritually occasioned social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the meanest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves occasion a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *rite* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *anyuolo* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contribution of her group, followed by the female heads of each *anyuolo* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segments is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Anyuolo segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*anyuolo*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the politicism importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it could seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

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THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) *or pachu* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

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According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original man *dalo* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

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INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci lieal*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

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MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

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1. The *dho kwey*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* VI, 1933, p.161. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bau* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its 826 flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest 757 complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

● 428 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother 768 if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomœa palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

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Beliefs.—They call the Divinity by the name Chieng, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

If a hailstorm occurs no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

When the *dho golo onyimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochiemo*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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783 of his village and lives in a hut with an old woman who attends to his wants, cooks for him and also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his hands. Separation lasts for three days, and on the fourth day a man who is himself a murderer, or who has at some time killed a man in battle, takes the murderer to a stream where he washes him all over. He then kills a goat and cooks the meat, takes four sticks and places a piece of meat on each stick and gives the man the meat to eat from each in turn. When the meat has been eaten, he gives him four pieces of porridge made into balls and put on the sticks. After this meal the goat-skin is cut into strips, one strip being put on the neck and one strip round each wrist of the murderer. This ceremony is performed by the two men who are alone at the river, and after it the murderer is free to return home. It is said that, until this ceremony is performed, the ghost cannot take its departure for the place of the dead, but hovers about the murderer.

● 428 **Inheritance.** It is usual for a son to inherit property. While a man is still in health, he makes known his wishes as to whom he desires to inherit his property, and his wishes will be observed. Should a son be too young to succeed to his father's estate at the time of death, the deceased man's brother manages the property until the son is old enough to take control. Should a man with property die intestate, the members of his clan elect one of his sons to be heir. There is no fixed law as to which son shall inherit. It is not a question of age nor may the son of a particular wife claim precedence over the sons of other wives, but the clan-members are at liberty to choose the man they consider the most suited for the office. Women never inherit or hold property. The father's stool and bracelet are given to the heir and are the insignia of lawful succession.

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Marriage, Birth and Puberty.

582 **Marriage customs.** It was impossible to discover the ritual of marriage or the groups into which a man might or might not marry, all that could with certainty be learned being that there are exogamous divisions within the tribe.

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today. 721 674 583 178

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son. 422 428 595

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle. 428 [587]

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned. 437

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

●428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[587] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[231] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main *a healthy people.*

15: Millikin U-4 (no date) 1906 FL11 Luo FL11

764

when they pass outside; this happens before the "ngoma," and is a sort of honour to the dead.

428 587

The wife or wives of the deceased person go to the sons, the eldest having preference, but in no case does a son take his own mother, and any property of the deceased man is taken by the sons in the proportion of the dowry originally paid by the father for the wife which each son has claimed.

428

Should a wife of the dead man have a daughter, or several daughters and sons, the dowry received in the event of one of them being married will go to the girl's brother, and not to the step-father; but in the event of the girl having no brother, the step-father will claim the dowry.

A. S. MILLIKIN.

[p.55]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

[2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, esp. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 195–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. xx, 1950, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridewealth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to return he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognised as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home. 585

The *riso* ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to redress if the wife has intercourse with other men. As the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents, he presses for the *riso* ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The *riso* ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each gift being named as it is presented to her. She herself keeps none of them and they are taken by the girls of the *riso* party from her parents' village. [431]

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband tells his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to built an *ot* - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut *(simba)*. Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT *(LUR)*

The Luo practise extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation. 576 606

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2) 606 [431]

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is 776

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, p. 41. (2) *Ibid.*

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

knows more or less what is going to happen. If the husband is really poor the father will eventually give way. If he has a number of cattle the *jagam* gives way and promises one more beast. It is very rare for a marriage to be broken off on account of cattle at this stage. If the father is very obstinate the husband's people return home leaving the husband behind to sulk in his father-in-law's *simba*. He refuses to eat the food his mother-in-law sends him there and gets an occasional meal with friends in the vicinity. After several days his father-in-law says to him: 'Hello, are you still here? What are you doing here?' The young man replies: 'I want to die here in your kraal.' The father-in-law says: 'You can't do that. Get out.' He refuses to go without his wife and finally the father-in-law says: 'I am tired of you both. Get out and take your wife with you, and mind you pay that cow quickly', and he calls his daughter and tells her to get out with her husband as he is tired of seeing him there. He pushes them both out of the homestead.

The ceremony of *riso* is then held in the husband's homestead, where he has collected all his relatives and friends. It is a day of great gaiety. The wife and a party of girls from her home come singing to her husband's home. When they are a few hundred yards from his homestead the wife and two of her friends hide themselves. The other girls come on in a body, enter the kraal and go straight to the *simba*. One of the husband's brothers asks where are the rest of the party, meaning the wife. The wife's eldest sister replies: 'I don't understand what you are talking about. There is no one missing. We are all here.' Some youths are sent out to scout round to see if they can find the wife. They move softly, looking about them and listening for sounds. When they find the wife they pull her to the entrance of the kraal. Here she says: 'I don't want to enter your homestead. You give me what you know.' He promises to give it to her later in the *simba*, but she refuses to enter without a payment, so he gives her an arm-ring, called *manyonge* in Alego and *onyonge* in South Luoland. At the entrance to the *simba* she says she must have something in return for bending down to enter it and they often make her another gift for this purpose, though a rough brother of her husband may just take her by the scruff of the neck and push her in. In the hut she says that she is very tired and wants to sit down. One of the men forces her to sit.

The visiting girls spend the night at the husband's home. Some of them may spend it with local youths in their bachelor-huts. Next morning the husband's people bring a bull or an ox and call the senior girl of the wife's people and ask her to accept it. She always says that it is too small, but when the husband pleads poverty she accepts it. The visiting girls take some of the meat home with them on the following day, but they eat most of it that night in the *simba* after the husband's people have given the wife an ornament in return for that privilege. They must give her another present to enable her to sit down there. All the husband's people bring her gifts. She sits with her legs tucked under her and has to be given a present to stretch them. She says she wants to spit and they give her something to enable her to do so. She says that soot from the roof may fall in her eyes, and they give her something to compensate her for the risk. They also give her a number of other presents, each of which has its name: *rs jaayi maro*, a goat to pay in advance for any insulting remarks the husband may make about his mother-in-law; *rs lwor tawo*, a goat for the wife to place her husband's daily gruel respectfully before him; *gir bangala higa*, an ornament for the burns a wife

may incur while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ngolo olawo*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will always be expectorating on the floor; *gir logo*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir teno wic*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kom*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *diend then*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *yuro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *riso* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: ' You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also.' The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *riso* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

After the *riso* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise, her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miaha*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gango* in Southern Luoland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simba* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simba*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloha

The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloha*, *dho nyuombo*, and *dho kony*. The number of

585 bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*yanyuoye* = bachelors)
[184] may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugoma, Asembo, Kadimu and Ugenya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind [redacted] sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the older men living in the *dala*, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the older men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This concoction was called *kichuri* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the
[184] bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadimu, and Ugenya on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *kichuri* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The hump was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women
[262 guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men
753] are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *hydrocele*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 After the *kirisya* was over the girl was regarded as having finally
591 passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the *simba* hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachien*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as
585 other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were
● [431] in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
578 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is
285 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the
● [43] custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the
791] Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
462 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

422 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
593 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
791 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of "SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
● [431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting
252 women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
462 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the "Colonist" type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
583 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, a male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 846

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 845 [431]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 857 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 882

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

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ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

585

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simbu*, where they spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest.

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

[434] ●

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new "chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi*, others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

[292]

[434]

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament round her forearm *(nato)* and a leather string with iron beads about ½ of an inch in diameter *(otuke)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

[301]

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a pawpaw. With this stick

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects. 231 262

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers. 231 583 [554] [434]

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers. 583

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked 583 585

136 beds near the Islands where the bottom is sandy. The female scoops out a circular hole and deposits the eggs and the male then fertilises them and takes charge hanging over the nest and keeping away sediment by the action of the fins and tail till the young hatch out. This fanning motion keeps fresh water passing over the eggs.

It seems probable that the fish come up the Gulf to spawn and are then caught. A continuance of this year after year may be exterminating the Gulf fish. There is not any close season under the Ordinance. It is possible that the natives catch fry near to the shore under the impression that they are full-grown fish of a small type.

It will be noted that there is a certain amount of divergence of opinion as to where the fish spawn. My authority for stating that they do not spawn in the Gulf is Mr. Orriell, ex-Government Assistant Surgeon, who is a local authority on Lake Victoria fish.

DECLINE OF INDUSTRY: DIMINISHING CATCHES.

228 933 There appears to be no doubt whatever that fish taken in the Lake are decreasing and various reasons have been brought forward to account for this. Mr. Acton, Superintendent of Inland Revenue and Conservancy, dealt with this in his annual report report for 1923 and the figures he gave are of interest and worth quoting:

Year.	Sum collected for licences.	Average retail price of fish.
	Shs.	Cents.
1917-18	16,350 ...	60
1918-19	14,530 ...	70 to Shs. 1/-
1919-20	19,350 ...	50 to 75
1920-21	19,200 ...	50
1921 (9 months) ...	16,300 ...	40 to 25
1922	9,900 ...	25
1923	8,120 ...	25

The following are the corresponding figures for the subsequent years:

1924	8,700
1925	10,500
1926	8,250
1927 to 31/5/27 ...	5,700

He states as follows: " During 1923 the fishermen appeared to have great difficulty in paying the annual licence of Shs. 300/- and although given a good deal of time in which to pay most of them had to be summoned to force payment.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

[Text continues on p. 57]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing is *far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

'Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shambas* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on proper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

'This was the first deputation. Others followed. Now the whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; [illegible] exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

228 Kadimu, and Karachonya are the best fishing grounds. Fewer fish are said to be caught during the full moon and the takes are greater when the nights are dark and rainy.

The boats put out 10 to 20 nets each, *i.e.*, 1,000 to 2,000 yards. During the building of the Eldoret Railway one European who supplied fish to the labourers manipulated up to 8,000 yards of nets.

227 The 5 to 5½ inch mesh takes the Ngege, Mbiru, Mumi, Kamongo, Seu, Suma, and sometimes Sira. Occasionally a net of a 3 inch mesh
228 is used and this takes the Ningu, Sira, and Osoga.

These nets run on a coir rope top and bottom. The top is supported by corks and the bottom weighted with iron rings. They only catch fish while drifting and any check through catching on an obstruction will render them useless. The nets are often damaged by floating islands, boats, and crocodiles.

FISHING CENTRES:

000 There are three Indian fishing villages in the Gulf, at Seme, Asembo, and Nanga The last is only three miles south of Kisumu and is the only one near enough to supply fish for the Nairobi market.

MARKETING AND COST:

228 The fish for the Nairobi market are brought in by natives in sacks
435 on Sundays, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. They are cleaned by Kavirondo women under a tree on the Lae shore near the station and are packed in ice and despatched to Nairobi by the 2-25 p.m. train. The Kavirondo women obtain the entrails as their perquisites and the Indian who superintends takes the gills which appear to be regarded as a delicacy and are extracted before the fish are packed. The fish are packed in ice in large chests The ice costs 18 cents a pound and one pound is required for each fish. The freight to Nairobi is Shs 3/50 per 100 lbs. Together with the other incidental expenses it costs about 25 cents to send a fish to Nairobi. When the fish are plentiful the usual price is 25 cents a fish in Kisumu market.

ADVERSE TIMES FOR FISHING.

228 The months April to August are not good fishing months and during these months the natives entirely give up fishing in the Lake with drag nets and confine themselves almost entirely to catching fish in the river weirs (Kek).

SPAWNING:

136 *Most of the Lake fish spawn in May, June and July.* Carp (Ngege and Mbiru) are plentiful during the other nine months. The carp (Kavirondo Ngege) spawn in shallow water with sandy bottom at a depth of 3 to 5 ft., and are thus immune from capture by nets which cannot be used in such shallow spots. They do not spawn in the Gulf except in rare cases but choose the spawning

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the [343] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The [435 guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish 252] called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known 291 as the *dho golo onyimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them 584 he sent a new *onyimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *onyimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chieno* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chieno* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre [177] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

* Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional [illegible] [illegible] only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtain details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel apparently has maleficent properties. For if any man annoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g., an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Dalbergia sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†Solanum sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Editor.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (1/4 SIZE)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Suk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'chikuti'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Mavoglio Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

*From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press. 1956.

422 593 case of the main store being depleted. Grown up unmarried sons and also daughters could have each his or her own " mondo." In case of necessity their grain went into the family store, but from it they were allowed to barter grain for the personal ornaments which were common in the tribe. Grain which was still in store when the new crop came in was at the disposal of the woman, who frequently [437] used it in barter for domestic animals. This custom is called " rundo," and the beast procured, if a cow or heifer is called " dher tekre." It was the woman's own property, subject to the limitations of absolute ownership which pertain to all notions of property among primitive peoples. It could not be bequeathed away from her by her husband. In case of famine she could take of its offspring and barter it for grain. Once having acquired the beast she did not readily part with it, but kept it for her children.

731 As at the present day so also in days gone by, there was no tribal organization of food supplies as a provision against famine. During the last two or three years when crops have been short through damage by locusts there has been one word which was heard very frequently. The word is " kisuma." It means to journey away from the home locality in search of food for the family. In days gone by domestic animals were taken to those who had food to dispose of, and bartered for grain. A man without stock would marry off his girl child, and with the cattle get food. This was the only way in which famine conditions were met. Needless to say when famine was widespread, very much suffering was entailed.

242 Rotation of crops is practised to a limited extent. The order of rotation is decided largely, by the period of the year in which the first crop is put down. If virgin or fallow land is prepared for the autumn sowing, then the first crop is one which ripens quickly, such as simsim or beans. When this is harvested, the land will be put under a slower growing crop, like millet or maize. Before being allowed to revert to fallow land, it may be put under sweet potatoes. If the land is first prepared for the spring sowing then the order is reversed. But it must not be taken that what has been written above is the invariable rule. I have known a field to be put down first in sweet potatoes and then followed by a second crop of potatoes before being planted with maize. Also where the land is very rich, as in certain valleys, year after year maize or millet may be put down until the land shows signs of exhaustion. It then reverts to fallow. There is no strict rule governing the length of time it rests. Some allow a rest of three, some of five, years. It depends upon the amount of land available and the pressure of population upon it.

The names used by the Luo for the different phases are as follow :— Virgin soil, " Ohang." Land under rotation, " Tiang." Fallow

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g., an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Dalbergia sp. probably *D. Melanoxylon*.
†Solanum sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Editor.

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed
[437] and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn
764 is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock. A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions" are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them
[842] believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the
[556] horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth because the average man does not possess a number of oxen with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle, especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however,
[232] also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours,
822 but there are some colours which are considered objectionable. Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark, dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagreement during the arrangement of the marriage or between the wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Loo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the aches and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chiefdoms or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

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animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers
and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Coliches sp. probably D. Mattiendii.
†Solanum sp. probably S. incanum, Sodom apple.—Ferrua.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

stripe makes this arrangement into a kind of pliable fence. This, by means of canoes, is brought round through the water back to the shore till it describes rather more than a semi-circle. The bringing round of the rope serves to chase all the fish that are between it and the shore towards the mouths of the big wickerwork traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water. The women, at the same time, walk up and down dragging traps of smaller mesh, in which they collect numbers of small fish. A good deal of fish-spearing takes place at night by torch-

light. The Ja-luo fishermen state that they get the best hauls of fish after a downpour of rain. *Rafts* of sambatch wood similar to those in use on the Nile are employed in laying out the nets. The Nyakach people of the south shore of Kavirondo Bay fish to a great extent with hook and line. The Ja-luo canoes are small dug-outs of poor appearance. Large quantities of fish are split and dried in the sun and sent inland to exchange for grain.

Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco, but only old men smoke *hemp* through water-pipes. Boys and young men in the prime of life are not allowed to smoke hemp, as it is thought injurious to their manhood.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

422 less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest
582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing
595 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister
428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson
597 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead titular owner of all

583 1. *Cattle of the shila*

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses

Most to *mikgi*, next to *spachiro*, rest among new wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rach kuk* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ataka* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Milk from these used by the wives.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

592 Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and
613 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and
554 preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

769 Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young,
778 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer
782 command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used
[797] to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyore. A very common term for them is Wa-Nilo.

Modes of subsistence.—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

Hunting and fishing.—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Buganda or Busoga.

Bridges.—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

Cooking, etc.—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

Fire.—They know the use of firesticks but rarely used them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Baganda Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*makwa*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Baganda Kavirondo. 351

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 373 361 383

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 341

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little wimbi, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, cucumis, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gesi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-ih. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 ● 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 769

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours there meet and drink deeds, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. 768

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of beasts fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Loo FL11

FISHING IN THE RAVIBONDO GULF, LAKE VICTORIA.

By C. M. Dobbs.

History of the Industry.

228 Although fishing by natives along the shores of the Gulf has been carried on from time immemorial, it was only in 1905 that the fishing industry proper was started by Mr. Aarup, a Norwegian, who found by experience the best size and kind of nets to use.

227 Mr. Aarup, who was almost blind, appears to have done a lot of pioneer work in the industry, and definitely proved that the best mesh was what is known as the 5 inch. This gives a mesh of about 2 inches square. At first shoemakers' twine was made into nets locally, but this was not successful partly owing to the inferior lasting qualities of the twine and partly owing to the slipping of the knots which allowed the fish to escape. Trials were also made with cotton nets of thicker thread. These nets however took no Carp (Ngege and
227 Mbiru) but caught Kisinga (Fwani). Subsequently nets were obtained
434 from Messrs. Wm. Barbour, Lisbourn, Ireland, and these were found so successful that they ousted all the locally made articles and are the only sort used at present. *These nets are sold in the Kisumu Bazaar at a price of Shs. 17/- to 19/- and are 100 yards long, 5 inch mesh and 26 mesh deep, 35 twine three ply. They are of a drab colour and the thread is very fine. White and tanned nets are useless. Trials were made with thicker twine (No. 20) but the catches were small.

The average life of a net is said to be about 20 days, but in the hands of Europeans they have a longer life and sometimes last up to two or three months unless they meet with accidents as when a crocodile gets entangled in them.

In 1921 when the industry was more flourishing than it is to-day up to 20,000 nets were imported annually from Ireland.

Restrictions:

228 The use of nets with a mesh of under 1 inch square is forbidden by law. Trawling is also forbidden except in water of 16 feet and over, and at a distance of not less than a quarter of a mile from the shore; this means that trawlers cannot be used in the Gulf as it is all very shallow.

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* A large number of nets are also supplied to the Kisumu Bazaar by Messrs. Joseph Gundry & Co., Bridport. There is also a certain demand for White Nets.—Editor.

226 The total catch of the 20 traps was therefore 36 Ngege, 1 Mumi, 2 Mbiru, 1 Ningu, and 1 Sire, *i.e.*, 43 fish in all.

We left the Kibos river at 9-30 and went on towards the end of Kach Bay seeing numerous fish eating birds on the way.

LINE WITH MULTIPLE HOOKS.

There were also quite a number of natives in canoes and one of these to whom we spoke was working a long line called by the Jaluo Mugondo. This is a very long line weighted at one end with a stone. At intervals along it are hooks fastened to the main line by short lengths of thinner line and baited with pieces of fish mostly Fulu. It is also buoyed at intervals by floats of embatch (Mburi) wood. The native in the canoe holds the other end. The hooks of some of these lines we saw were the ordinary barbed variety bought in the shops but one man had barbless hooks evidently locally made.

They were very sharp and curved almost into a complete circle, while the point was slightly bent to one side. I tried to buy this line from the owner but he refused to part with it.

WEIRS AND TRAPS, NOT IN RIVERS.

Along the shore and end of Kach Bay, near the mouth of the Nyando river, we saw two other varieties of fish weirs called by the Jaluo Osugeru and Bwanza, something on the principle of the river weir (Kek).

The Osugeru resembles a maze and is made of papyrus stalks (Dholuo, Togo) driven into the bottom of the Lake and fastened together and forming a barrier through which the fish cannot pass. As far as I can discover the fish in the course of their peregrinations meet this barrier and move along it until they get caught in a suitably placed basket trap (Musathi). The Osugeru is as often as not entirely below the surface of the water and just outside the mouth of the Miriu River we came across a canoe and a raft containing two and one man respectively engaged in building this form of trap. We were informed that a fourth man was working on the Lake bottom pushing in the papyrus stalks. He eventually came up for air and it was amazing the amount of time he spent underneath.

TRAPS AND ARTIFICIAL REFS.

The Bwanza is also made of papyrus stalks. It is a small barrier built across little channels cut into the papyrus swamps or scooped out of the sandy shore either on the side of the Lake or on the river bank.

A small gap is left in the barrier, and basket traps are placed on the side away from the Lake or river as the case may be. The fish

14: Johnston G-4.5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the butter.

The men do not smelt iron, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yetheth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their spears have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the marriage. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six oxen, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his deceased *wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

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gamous tribes the women should be contented with a system that deprives them and their children of the exclusive care and attention of the husband and father. But it is easy to see that a young Luo wife might well be glad to share her claims with another in return for a lightening of her domestic burdens. A description of the full nature of these burdens does not lie within the scope of this paper. But I might say here that they are . all cases extremely heavy. There is little doubt that the premature ageing that is such a marked characteristic of the women in all primitive agricultural tribes such as the Luo, is due to the almost unremitting toil incidental to the early years of marriage and child-bearing even where the family circumstances are comparatively prosperous.

(To be continued.)

[the continuation of this article was never published. - Analyst]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owodo, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Laugho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Laugho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owodo who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogenyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hododi	3. Waruoja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Monya
7. Nyamodo		

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11
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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

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THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

life of the countryside. Oftimes the boys are armed with slings from which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yudh miri " or " yudh liawe." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyangiya " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yudh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Marando in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with variolin sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yudh miri."

Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left unattended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the Jahilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year. Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultivation was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mundo." The head of the family would have his own " mundo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of "SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocations. They are skilled beggars as well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means widespread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the 'and. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the "Coloniet" type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or women may be seen herding. With the opening up of avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in other forms of employment, the male child is being made by economic pressure to make [illegible] contribution to the family [illegible]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call
[302] savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious
[687] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the
234 people. The numbers vary in a village according to the prosperity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article
[262] of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep.
[462] Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side.
234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

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512 462 264 [153] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the garden.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

868 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [192] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big thing.'

grandmother then hung the bird, still alive, round the neck of the girl. Hanging there it was then killed, and immediately afterwards removed by cutting away the lower part of the beak through which the string was passed, leaving this portion still hanging round the girl's neck. The bird was afterwards roasted and eaten by the men in the *dala*.* After the fowl had been removed the girl put on a small apron about six inches square made of strips of leather hanging free from a supporting strip decorated with beads and cowrie shells. Aprons of this kind were manufactured by a man whose special trade it was. The beads on it were made of *mukongo* and the apron itself of cow-hide. The apron given to the bride was not a new one. It was borrowed for her from one of the bridegroom's married sisters, and she took it away with her and wore it until he sent her a new one of her own. At the same time she put on a small " tail " of cactus fibre. This tail, like the larger one worn by married women, was known as *chieno*, and the plant from which it was made was called *tworo*. If there was no fibre ready in the *dala* from which the *chieno* could be made, a fresh supply was gathered after the girl's arrival, and the *chieno* was constructed by a woman married either to one of the bridegroom's full brothers, half brothers, or to one of his first cousins, i.e. to any of the men whom he called " brother." The small *chieno* was presented to the bride by the bridegroom, who first, however, gave her a goat. This goat (*diend chieno*) was in turn presented by the girl to her best friend who had accompanied her from her home and who was expected to remain close to her side until she returned to her mother's care. The bride wore the small tail until certain cattle, known as the *dho golo onyimbo* (the cattle of the casting away of the *onyimbo*) were paid to her father. She then took off both the *chieno* and the *onyimbo*, and they were burnt. I did not, at the time, enquire into the motives and beliefs underlying this ceremony, as enquiries of this kind made through an interpreter seldom have any satisfactory results, but the ceremony is obviously a *rite de passage* marking a stage in the girl's progress from the virgin state to that of a married woman. After the night in the simba hut she was no longer entitled to the name of *nyako*—a maiden—but was referred to as *wiako*—a bride—a designation that was applied to her until she finally left her father's *dala* for that of her husband.

After these ceremonies she was sent back to her home with her companions and to the accompaniment of the songs and rejoicings I have already described (*owuo wer*), taking with her a goat given her by her father-in-law. This goat was called the *diend buombwe* because it was decorated for the journey with festoons of the creeper called *buombwe*, which was also used in this way on other occasions of rejoicing. The goat was given by the girl to her father who could

* Women were forbidden to eat fowls (or sheep) for fear that if they did so they would contract chicken-pox (*luro*).

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641 the time of their grandfathers are constantly brought for hearing, and the complications which ensue would bewilder the most legal mind.

153 The adaptability which they show in learning the lower stages of all kinds of
463 work is a hopeful sign for the future. To the writer's knowledge they are now employed as soldiers, sailors, police, masons, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, gardeners, and boys. In none of these occupations can they be said to excel at present, though at the head-quarters of the Kavirondo Province, Kisumu, the native sergeant instructor is a Jaluo and does his work very efficiently; but, on the other hand, it is only during the last four or five years' time that Kavirondo and the Jaluo have been taken seriously, and for this short time they show a great progress.

153 Combining as they do an undoubted industry and keen trading character with a surprising quickness to learn the lessons of civilization, *e.g.*, their ready change from trade goods to cash in commercial matters or their almost immediate recognition of the advantages which may be gained by taking their disputes to the station for settlement, the Jaluo give us every reason to hope that in them we have a valuable subject race, the study and consideration of which will in a very few years bring to the Protectorate Government a great and enduring profit.

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THE RELUCTANT LUO

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big Thing.'

LAWS AND REGULATIONS:

225 The law in regard to fishing in Lake Victoria is contained in an enabling Ordinance entitled The Fish Protection Ordinance, 1908 (Cap. 168 Laws of Kenya) and regulations promulgated at various times by His Excellency the Governor. This Ordinance gave the Governor power to regulate fishing, impose fees and registration of boats, issue licences and determine times of fishing. The first rules published under the Ordinance were the Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Rules, 1914, Government Notice No. 122, page 682 of the *Official Gazette* for 1914. These rules were applied to all that part of the Lake Victoria lying within the then East Africa Protectorate and to the mouth of every river. It contained the following Regulations:

(1) All persons fishing for sale or barter were required to register yearly. The fee was 200/- for all non-natives of Africa. No fee was charged for natives.
(2) All registered fishermen were required to register all boats, nets and stakes.
(3) No mesh was to be less than 1 inch square.
(4) Trawling was prohibited nearer than quarter of a mile from the shore and in water less than 16 ft. deep.
(5) No nets or stakes were to be placed in a fairway.
(6) Fishing grounds with nets to be buoyed.

Later in the year the Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Amendment Rules were promulgated (Government Notice No. 181 of 3/6/14 *Official Gazette*, page 864). These defined " natives " as being South Kavirondo, Kisumu, and North Kavirondo natives and any other natives of African not of European or Asiatic origin who are in the employment of a non-native who is duly registered.

Further rules were published on 14/2/19 (Victoria Nyanza Fish Protection Rules, Govt. Notice No. 50, *Official Gazette*, page 108). These provided the any person other than a native—who is exempt from registration under other rules—who employs natives to catch fish, shall be liable to registration and to other provisions as if he were himself a person employed in catching fish, and any person buying or bartering fish for resale or barter either by wholesale or retail shall be registered as if he were employed in catching fish.

METHODS OF CAPTURE:

[471] The fishing industry is in the hands of Indians who own the boats which are manned by natives. These natives in addition to their pay get a few of the fish caught. The vessels used are locally built flat bottomed boats 25 ft. long, 6 ft. beam and 2 ft. deep and cost about £50 each. They carry a lateen sail and the crew is generally five. They go out in the afternoon and lay the nets at sunset taking up the catch before daybreak and returning in the morning. Asembo Bay,

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Genai country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a
281 single thickness of skin when travelling.
481

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as
534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thûm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bûl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

[292]
[301]

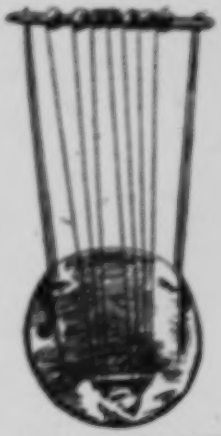

FIG. 8.—HARP: NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—NATIVE OF LEGO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP. PROFESSIONAL DANCER.

FIG. 10.—SEED HARP FROM KAKUMEGA.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 *Tembo or pombe.*—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or
888 mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old
562 women however do so.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, Plate XXX.

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Karanga Warriors.

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Fisherwomen; Kisuma.

Karanga Warriors (Ja-Luo).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVISONDO AND NANDI.

[p.358c]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915

FL11 Loo FL11

Beate Kavirondo FL4

Plate XXII

L
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(1) Nilotic Kavirondo girls

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(2) Young women ready for initiation ceremony
(*Bagesu Tribe*)

[facing p. 276]

14. Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it.[1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

[illegible]

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e., a very bad omen; among the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (See p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4.5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Lue FL11

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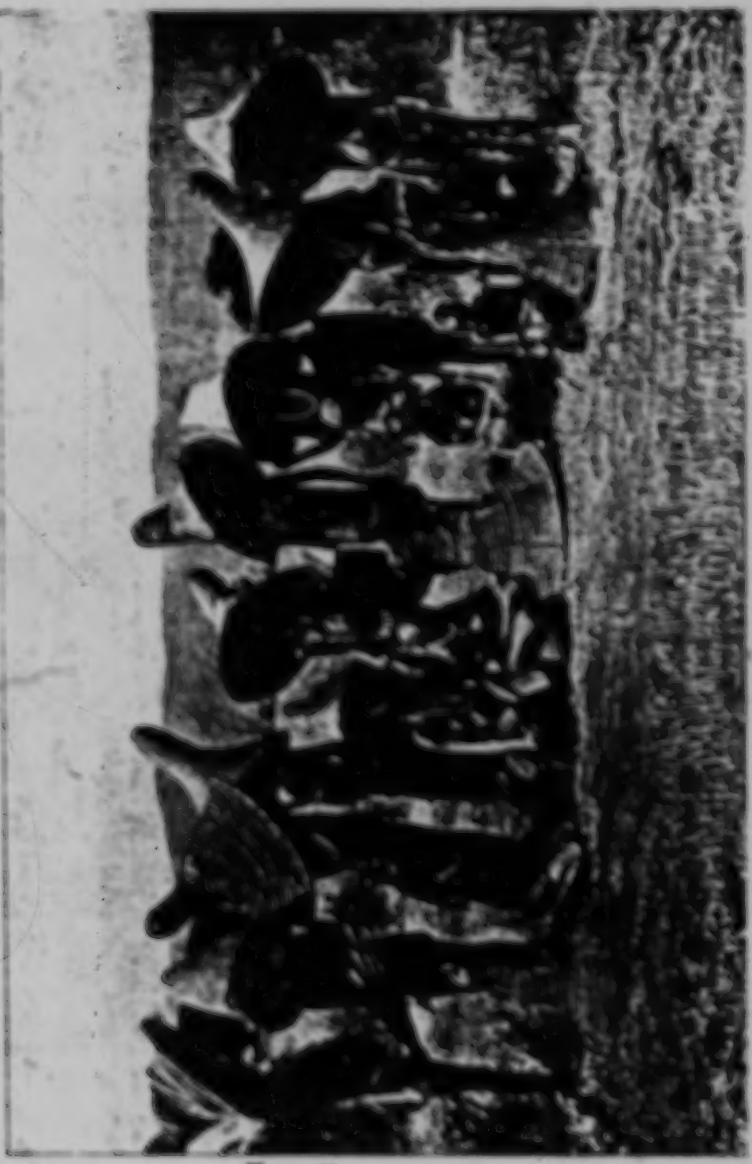

[p. 788]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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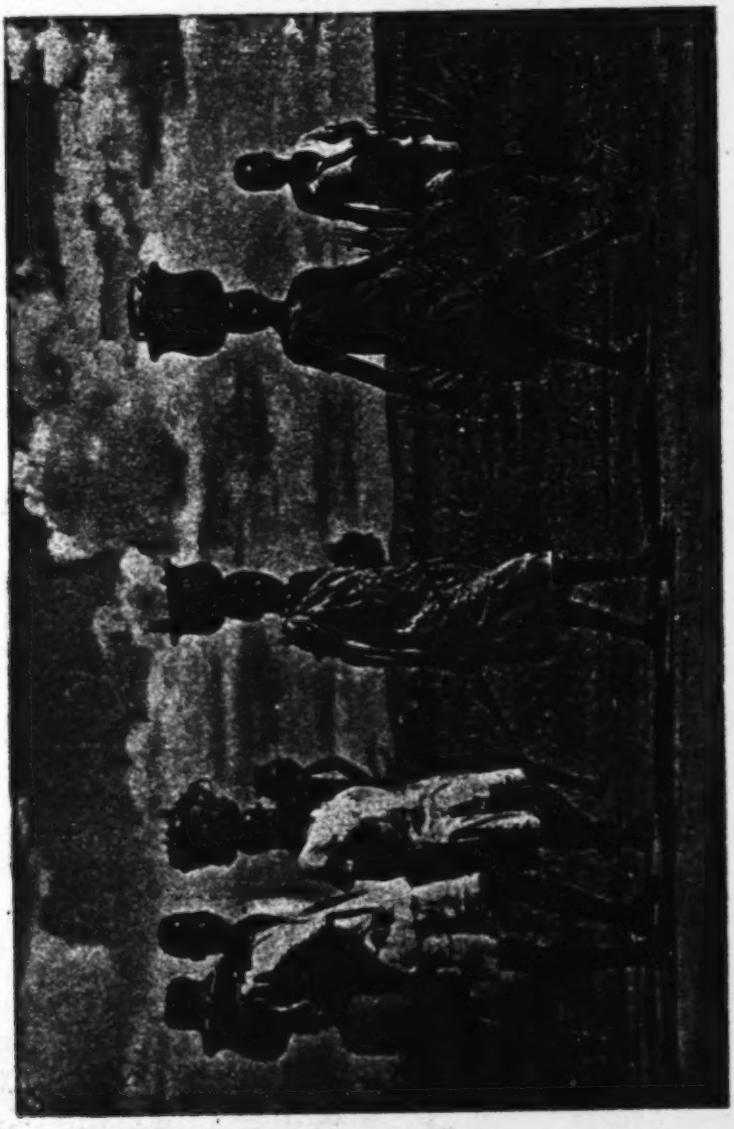

Peter Hill

THE END OF A MARKET DAY

[p. 54]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

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E. N.

AN ELDERLY WOMAN WITH SOME OF HER FOOD

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

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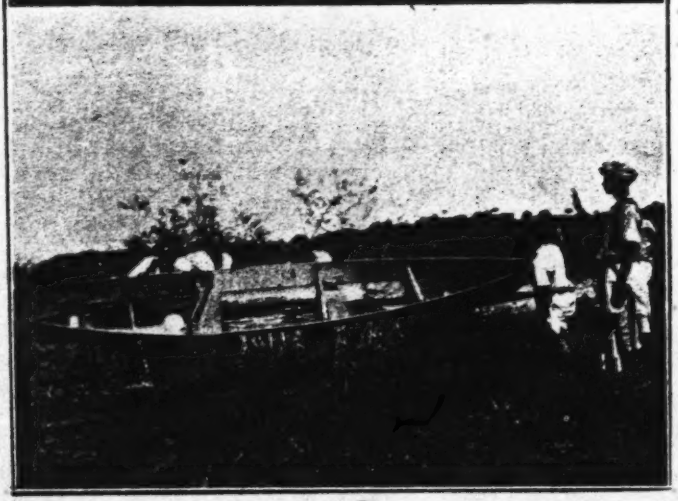

Fisherman in Canoe, Kavh Bay, Kisumu.

Canoe on Lake Victoria.

[p. 98E]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 791 773

that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*liroya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress.

The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER III.

Nilotic Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The generic name used of these peoples by themselves is Ja-Luo. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them Awa-Nyoro. A very common term for them is Wa-Nife.

231 241 361 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] 226 *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dema*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they got the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch [824] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly [439] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 501 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Basoga.

● 491 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 252 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family.

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk.

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind.

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs. They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans.

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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[pp. 11-25 not processed]

papyrus fibre. Small rods made from a tree called Osire are used by children. A dried piece of mtama stalk is used as a float. Nyawino, Nthira, Osoga, and Sire are caught in this way. The bait used is Oniambo or a piece of groundnut. Long lines, Mugondo, with a large number of hooks are sometimes used. These are left in the water for some time with floats at intervals to buoy them up.

FISH USED FOR LOCAL CONSUMPTION.

As most of the fish caught by natives is not eaten fresh, but dried, the whole of the population of these locations could easily eat fish caught on the Lake shore. In fact there is no doubt that dried fish is transported and eaten by the natives very much further inland than these Lake shore locations. The whole Jaluo population of Central and South Kavirondo will eat fish if they can get it. The population is approximately as follows:—

Central Kavirondo	316,000
South Kavirondo (Luo)	180,387

The two Districts which border on the Lake shores in Nyanza Province are Central and South Kavirondo. The natives living close to the shore in both these Districts spend a large part of their time fishing. It has been estimated that about two to three thousand in each District are more or less permanently employed in this work. They use canoes (Dholuo, Yiyi) made of rough boards sewn together with grass fibre and caulked with mud. There are probably about 1,000 canoes in each District (Central and South Kavirondo). They are propelled with single bladed paddles (Ngai).

The following are the names and population of the Locations in these two Districts which actually border on the Lake shore from the Sio River on the Uganda border on the North of the Gulf to Mohuru on the Tanganyika border on the South side:—

CENTRAL KAVIRONDO.

Name of Location.	Population.
Samia	33,000
Kadimu	6,000
Sakwa	18,000
Uyoma	10,000
Asembo	18,000
Seme	26,000
Kisumu	15,000
West Kano	19,000
Nyakach	22,000
	162,000

small fish: two Adel about four inches long, two Sire and one Ningu. We were also shown two small eels (Akunga). When breakfast was finished we walked up to see the big weir across the river. It was about 50 yards from the mouth and stretched from bank to bank in a zig-zag line. It was made of rough poles driven into the sandy bottom of the river which was very sluggish at this point. Numerous gaps had been left in the barrier and above every gap facing down stream was fastened a fish trap (Musathi) of which there were about 30 or 40 in all. By this time numerous natives had collected together and several rafts had been brought down to assist in lifting up the traps. These rafts were of several kinds. One kind consisted of long thin poles of very light ambatch (Dholuo, Mburi) wood fastened together. This wood, when dry, is as light as cork and is used for floats for the Mugondo, or stationary lines, and also by the Mohuru natives for floating their hippopotami harpoons. The second raft was a large square frame about 12 ft. by 5 ft. made of poles fastened together three deep by iron rods. The floor appeared to be made of some sort of matting. This raft, as it appeared to be the safest, we chose to stand on while watching the fish traps being taken up. The raft was tied up to the top side of the weir while two natives went into the water which was up to their shoulders and unfastened the traps one by one. When they were undone the native who was with us on the raft pulled the trap out of the water with the mouth up and the fish that were inside slipped to the end of the cone. When he got it on the raft he turned it the other way up and the fish could then be pulled out where the inner basket was fastened to the outer one at the mouth. The fish were then put into a receptacle of matting work for safe keeping called Ngaha. We watched 20 of these baskets being taken out and the following is a record of the catch in each basket. I was informed that these catches were very very small compared with what is usually taken in the months when fish are plentiful.

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It is noteworthy that only one of the 20 baskets drew a complete blank and in one other both the fish Ngege were dead.

1st trap	1 Mumi	11th trap	5 Ngege
2nd ,, ...	2 Ngege	12th ,, ...	1 Ngege
3rd ,, ...	1 Ngege	13th ,, ...	9 Ngege
4th ,, ...	1 Ngege	14th ,, ...	8 Ngege
5th ,, ...	1 Ngege	15th ,, ...	1 Ngege
6th ,, ...	1 Mbiru	16th ,, ...	8 Ngege
	1 Ningu	17th ,, ...	Empty
7th ,, ...	1 Ngege	18th ,, ...	2 Ngege
8th ,, ...	1 Sire		1 Mbiru
	8 Ngege	19th ,, ...	1 Ngege
9th ,, ...	1 Ngege	20th ,, ...	1 Ngege
10th ,, ...	2 Ngege		

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

strips makes this arrangement into a kind of pliable fence. This, by means of canoes, is brought round through the water back to the shore till it describes rather more than a semi-circle. The bringing round of the rope serves to chase all the fish that are between it and the shore towards the mouths of the big wickerwork traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water. The women, at the same time, walk up and down dragging traps of smaller mesh, in which they collect numbers of small fish. A good deal of fish-spearing takes place at night by torch-

435. JA-LUO OUT FISHING IN KAVIRONDO BAY WITH SCREENS OF PAPYRUS STALKS

light. The Ja-luo fishermen state that they get the best hauls of fish after a downpour of rain. *Rafts* of ambatch wood similar to those in use on the Nile are employed in laying out the nets. The Nyakach people of the south shore of Kavirondo Bay fish to a great extent with hook and line. The Ja-luo *canoes* are small dug-outs of poor appearance. Large quantities of fish are split and dried in the sun and sent inland to exchange for game.

Both sexes smoke and chew *tobacco*, but only old men smoke *hemp* through water-pipes. Boys and young men in the prime of life are not allowed to smoke hemp, as it is thought injurious to their manhood.

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Two Rafts and one Fish Trap and Weir at mouth of Kibos River.

Fish Traps (Musuthi) near mouth of Kibos River.

[p.98C.]

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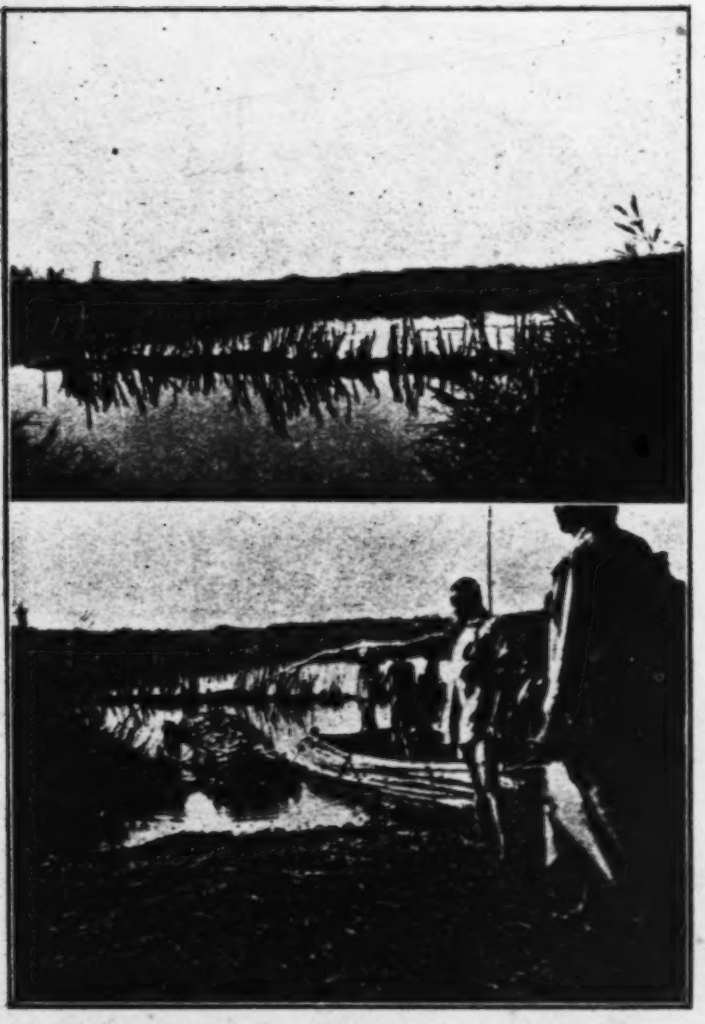

Fish Weir (Kew) at mouth of Kibos River.

Kavirondo raft near fish weir at mouth of Kibos River.

[p. 98 D]

6: Dobbs G-5 (no date)1927 FL11 Luo FL11

502

502
483

Fisherman in Canoe, Kach Bay, Kisumu.

Canoe on Lake Victoria.

[p. 98E]

13: Odede I-5 (no date) 1942 FL11 Luo FL11

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

Veterinary Department, Maseno.

The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

231 The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so
521 any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome
[753] than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that
[511] women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

231 The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

262 Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo
[372] unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which
753] has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

*Mr. Walter Odede is a Jaluo who has passed through Makerere College and the Entebbe Veterinary School.—*Editor.*

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembo*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yweyo liel)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (orindo) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwono liel)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a coarse untwisted one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101 174 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

427. A RAFT MADE OF PAPYRUS BUNDLES, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 [178] [342] 513 882 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it. [!]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUI

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[!] [i.e.] A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (cw p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the babies. With the exception of a few children in progressive households, both pagan and Christian children go without clothes; and even when they have them their provision is meagre. There is, however, a tendency for Christian children to be better clothed than those in pagan families, and the latter continue to walk naked for a much longer time.

Bedding is scanty. Dried hides, mats, and old clothes are used, the child's bedding and the mother's being usually the same. Very rarely does the mother sleep apart from her child, and only a few modern parents form an exception in constructing small beds for their children. In the daytime, when asleep, they are generally laid in some shady place beside the house, or on hides, old rags, or mats. Those who have beds may use them, but the majority of children are placed in the open where dust not infrequently blows into their mouths.

Mental and Physical Development

According to the mothers interviewed, the earliest signs of mental and physical development in babies are smiling and lifting of the arms, actions which take place after the second month. This early smile may not be an expression of pleasure but merely an imitation of the mother, who begins to tickle her baby while smiling herself in order to induce it to smile. This induced smile is more noticeable after the third month.

During the fourth month, the child generally plays alone wherever it is put down, provided that it has no serious illness. By the fifth month the senses of hearing and seeing have so far developed that when it hears a noise, the child listens and looks in the right direction.

The period of sitting the child up begins during the sixth month, although trials are made early in the fifth month, while in the course of the seventh month, with

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kibeti* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Banta Kaviroudo FL4

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXXIII, 1903, Plate XXVIII.

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Arabchebki, Lumbwa Chief.

Ondun: Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

Gunsangishu Warrior (Moran).

Ugada, Kisumu Chief (Ja-Luo).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN KAVIRONDO AND NANDI.

[p.358 A]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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Jaluo Girl; Kajulo Tribe.

Lumbwa Woman and Young Girl.

Kenoh Woman (N. Bantu).

Kisumu Girls.

[p. 358 B]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

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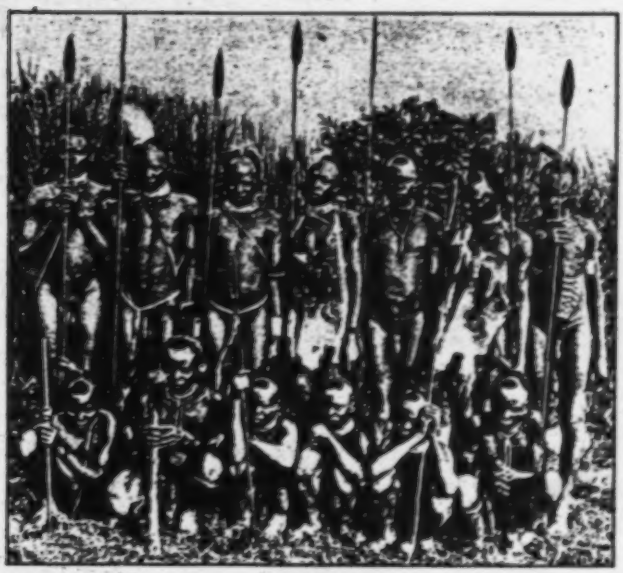

Karamojo Warriors.

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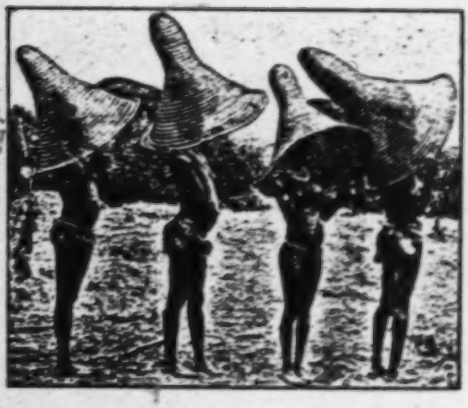

Fisherwomen; Kisumu.

Karunga Warriors (Ja-Luo).

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her socalled pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an okokplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it. [1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUI

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e.) A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (See p. 752-not processed). - Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

blocks on the upper part of the arm. The wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band strung with small pieces of wood of the same colour is sometimes worn round the forehead. Some of the married men wear a semi-circle of ivory on the forehead, made of the split canine teeth of the hippopotamus. (The tooth, however, I am informed, is not split, but ground down until it is only an eighth of an inch thick.) Others wear the tusks of a wart-hog. The Ja-luo men, like most of the tribes of Nilotic origin, frequently adopt a curious stork-like attitude, standing on some hillock or ant-hill on one leg with the other leg bent and the sole of the foot apposed to the inner side of the knee of the leg on which the body is poised. They usually wear sandals of leather when travelling.

The Ja-luo live much by *agriculture*. They cultivate *sorghum, sweet potatoes, peas, beans, eleusine, pumpkins, tobacco, and hemp*. Salt is made from the ashes of reeds. They eat practically *all kinds of meat* except the hyæna. Young men eat leopard in order to make them fierce in war. The crested crane is universally protected, and is never killed. The women do not eat fowls, and some women do not eat sheep or eggs. Some eat hippopotamus, and some refuse that meat. Women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a disagreeable custom of mixing cows' urine with the milk of the cow. The urine is allowed to stand a day or two in order to increase its flavour. The people say that this admixture increases the amount of butter in the milk. They like the flavour, and think that it has medicinal value. They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein. The head must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed in the same manner. Besides the flesh of fowls, cattle, sheep, and goats, they eat large quantities of fish, which they obtain from the rivers, and, above all, from the waters of the Victoria Nyanza.

Cooking is done entirely by women in earthen pots inside the hut or on the verandah, and the food is served in little wicker baskets. Father and sons eat together in a little separate hut which has open sides. Women eat separately from the men inside their own houses.

They do not *hunt* much with dogs, but catch a good deal of game in pitfalls. They will also attack the elephant with spears. Fish is caught in the Victoria Nyanza by means of large, conical wicker traps called "dema." The process is as follows: They bring two very long ropes, one end of each of which is firmly secured to the shore. One rope lies, weighted, along the bottom under the water, the other floats on the surface, but from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks. The two ropes above and below correspond with its other, and are connected at intervals with strings to ensure their correspondence, while the fringe of papyrus

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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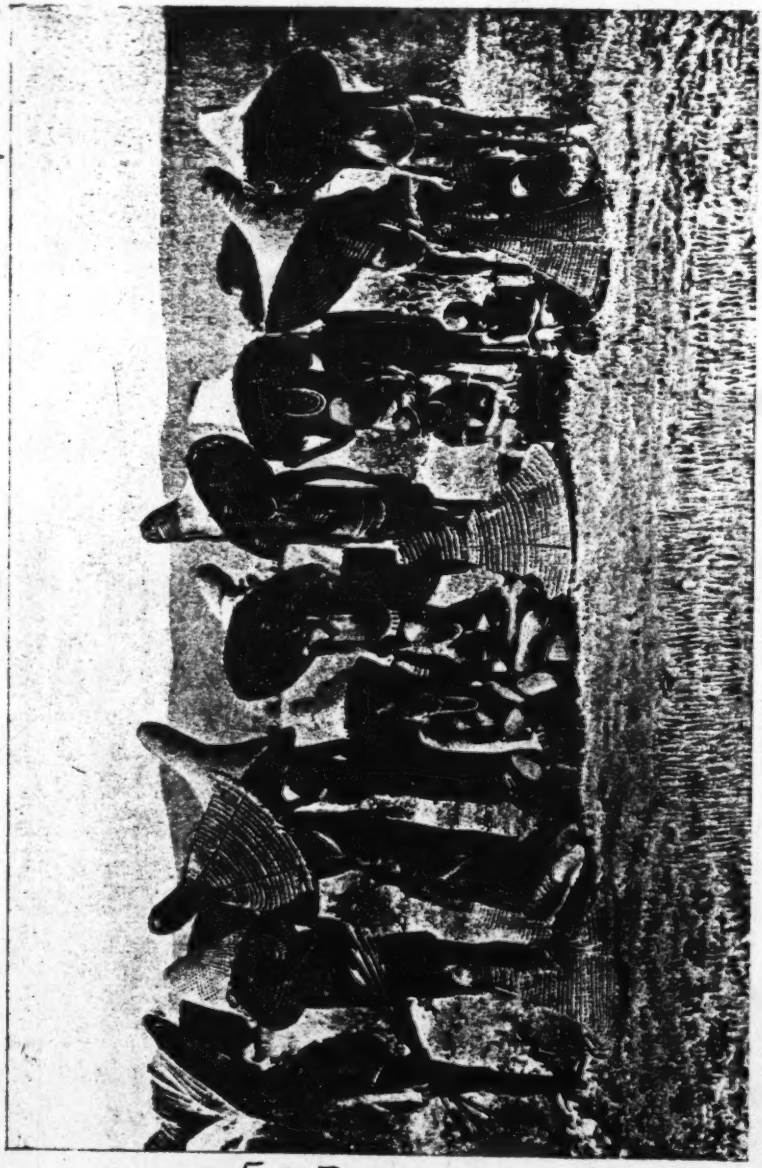

434. JA-LUO FISHERWOMEN AND THEIR BASKETS

[p. 788]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

437. A MEDICINE MAN FROM NYAKACH, SOUTH SIDE OF KAVIRONDO BAY

When a person *dies*, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is *buried* on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of *mourning* the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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Peter Hill

THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF A MARKET

[p. 52]

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E. N.

AN ELDERLY WOMAN WITH SOME OF HER FOOD

[p. 56]

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843 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family
262 habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children
while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to
[753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction
may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases,
generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family
group. The restriction does not apply to others who are
free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives
birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not
change.

[756] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruc-
tion of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who
has had no child for a long time. During his treatment
[784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and com-
pulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food
during pregnancy may also result from personal dis-
agreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to
the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well
as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired
from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to
than the traditional restrictions.

843 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expec-
278 tant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from
177 the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for kill-
ing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong Euro-
pean laxatives are eliminated, such measures being
designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant
[177] mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of
Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations,
[516] such as those connected with sitting, still observed by
women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a
straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on
top of another, because it is believed that the expected
child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

13: Odede I-5 (no date) 1942 FL11 Luo FL11

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

Veterinary Department, Maseno.

The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

*Mr. Walter Odede is a Jaluo who has passed through Makerere College and the Entebbe Veterinary School.—*Editor.*

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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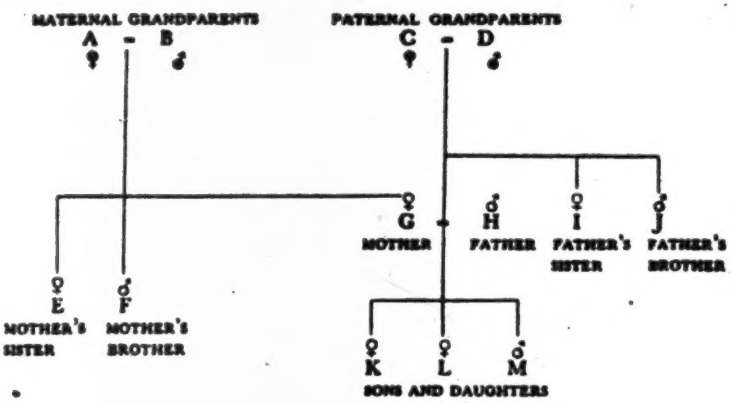

maternal grandparents can be traced, descendants of G-H family will not marry the person concerned.

But E may be married to H's brother and *I* too may marry E's brother. Should F's son wish to marry from the community in which G has been married it would be G who would take the responsibility of looking for a young woman from among the daughters of her brothers-in-law and not from among her sisters-in-law. In the same way, the sons of G's brothers-in-law cannot marry any of G's sisters or sisters by relation (daughters of her uncles). The method of acting through a relative in establishing a marriage connection is still in use, although personal initiative is increasingly taking its place.

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[178]

The Position of a Betrothed Woman

The life of a betrothed woman presents a busy time of conflicting and disturbing news. Information of much discomfort to both parties comes and goes and is forgotten. To the girl such information is of great importance, and her attitude is often affected by it. Each time a

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group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Games.—They play a kind of *bau* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

Food, etc.—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balaerica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

Medicine, etc.—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

Peace ceremonies.—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

Killing animals for food.—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

Succession customs, etc.—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomœa palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; remedies for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

436. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EASY CENTRAL AFRICA. (THE PLAYERS HERE ARE TAU SOLDIERS FROM SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA)

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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857 As the child grows older it begins to play by itself.
593 Parents also amuse their children, but because they are generally away from the village, the children must either play with the nurses or by themselves. Before the child has learnt to talk, the play between it and the nurse is that of inducement to laughter or fright. Older children between two and five merely copy what the nurses do. These nurses, who are sometimes the children's own sisters, act as their instructors and demonstrators in the different play activities.

857 *Play activities.* Dolls like those existing in European society are unknown among Luo children. The children
524 play with things they pick up, like stones, leaves—dry or green—and many other natural articles. In short, they adapt their environment to their own needs. They mostly prefer bright objects, and after the end of the day's play they return home with a load of playthings. These they keep in some corner, ready for the next day. Thus the younger children go on day after day bringing in new toys and throwing away the old. As we shall see later, the older children, or nurses, make their own dolls.

857 Once the children can walk and understand other
521 children's language, the older ones may hide, calling for the younger ones to try to find them—a game resembling 'hide and seek'. Some parents maintain that a child
867 of five is able to tell lies merely becuase he or she has had contact with older children already able to tell lies. But the habit of giving wrong interpretations to what they perceive is very common. Thus Otieno, having once suffered from a thorn-prick, mistook any hard object underfoot for a thorn. He was also fond of giving false alarms. I was frequently interrupted by the announcement of his father's return, and these announcements were often untrue.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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857 868 and is an imitation taking place even among children who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief. [861] [858]

[524] Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

independent progress of the youngsters towards the activities of adult life. At times they are so proud of their successes that they even show their prepared food to their parents; and parents are generally pleased to taste what their children have prepared, even though the articles may not be well cooked. 857 868

Female children may also imitate activities involving the care of babies. They make a mould of a baby and a nurse-child, using leaves and some rags for bedding and clothes. The mould-child may be given to one of the younger children, who carries it and so learns how to look after babies. Sometimes maize cobs are used instead of the moulded clay. Children may also imitate the death of a child, and all the children in the group join in the mourning. [524]

Female children are very fond of singing the songs they hear older children sing at festivals. At this age they have a greater inclination to sing than male children, and their songs sometimes help them to quiet crying babies. [533]

As a pastime the nurses engage in 'Kora', a game played with small smooth bits of stone or rounded pieces of broken pottery. This game has a series of rules which every player must observe. Younger children imitate the older ones but are not very successful because their minds and muscles are as yet immature, and they lack the steadiness and precision required for the game. It is interesting to watch, and girls as old as even twelve years take an active part in it. The stones are collected in the palm, then thrown into the air while the back of the hand is turned to receive them, the object of the game being that more than one of the stones thrown into the air must come to rest on the back of the hand. Then by a series of trials one stone is thrown into the air while another on the ground is picked up in time to receive also the stone which has been thrown up. This is 857 524

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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857 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected,
524 when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

857 During the period between two and six years, the
865 children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the
[864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped.
[868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

855 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years up-
863 wards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age[1] are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

The play groups. The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[1] i.e. From six to eleven years old. – ANALYST]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as Uyoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the KoOkwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

9: Owen M-5 (ca. 1920)1933 FL11 Luo FL11

FOOD PRODUCTION AND KINDRED MATTERS, AMONGST THE LUO.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

(Paper read at the 3rd Annual Scientific Meeting held in Nov., 1933.)

Soil:

134 The production of food must necessarily be associated with knowledge of the soil. The principal soil varieties have been named by the Luo, and the methods appropriate to each variety are well known. Black cotton soil, called " anywang," occurs over a wide area, mainly around the lake shores, and is conspicuous in the locations of Uyoma, Karachwonya, Kasigunga and the Kano Plains. Red earth, called " lwala," is, speaking generally, found further back from the lake, on the higher lands, and is to be found over wide tracts in Central and South Kavirondo, a notable location being North Gem, in Central Kavirondo. Sandy soil, called " kwoyo," is generally found in the neighbourhood of outcrops of granite, which is a prominent feature in many parts. The locations of Asembo in Central Kavirondo, and Suna in South Kavirondo are good examples of areas where this sandy soil is abundant. Murram, called " gu " when solid and " ge " when disintegrated into a soil, occurs in places all over the country, Sakwa and Alego in particular providing many examples of it. Stony soil, called " kite," is to be found over large stretches, particularly in those neighbourhoods where escarpments rise from the regions round the lake. Though the labour involved in the cultivation of this stony soil is very great, where there is pressure of population, every available patch is made to produce food.

Rainfall:

132 Over certain sections of the country rainfall is very uncertain. The worst locations in this respect are lower Seme, Uyoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, parts of Asembo, Mirunda, Kasigunga and Rusinga. In other districts rainfall is abundant, running from forty to sixty five inches in the year, well distributed over the months, with the exception of January and early February. January is reckoned to be the driest ●[526] month of the year, and is the month when there is most relaxation from agricultural operations, this being the favourite time for the inter-clan wrestling matches.

789 Contrary to what many would expect, amongst people who
782 periodically suffer from lack of rain, the Luo have developed no system
776 of rain makers. At the top of Usenge Hill in Kadimo, there is still to be seen a site marked by a collection of votive pots, where the local

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; *remedies* for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

438. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EAST CENTRAL AFRICA. (THE PLAYERS HERE ARE YAO SOLDIERS FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA)

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

857 As the child grows older it begins to play by itself.
593 Parents also amuse their children, but because they are generally away from the village, the children must either play with the nurses or by themselves. Before the child has learnt to talk, the play between it and the nurse is that of inducement to laughter or fright. Older children between two and five merely copy what the nurses do. These nurses, who are sometimes the children's own sisters, act as their instructors and demonstrators in the different play activities.

857 *Play activities.* Dolls like those existing in European
524 society are unknown among Luo children. The children play with things they pick up, like stones, leaves—dry or green—and many other natural articles. In short, they adapt their environment to their own needs. They mostly prefer bright objects, and after the end of the day's play they return home with a load of playthings. These they keep in some corner, ready for the next day. Thus the younger children go on day after day bringing in new toys and throwing away the old. As we shall see later, the older children, or nurses, make their own dolls.

857 Once the children can walk and understand other
526 children's language, the older ones may hide, calling for the younger ones to try to find them—a game resembling 'hide and seek'. Some parents maintain that a child
867 of five is able to tell lies merely becuase he or she has had contact with older children already able to tell lies. But the habit of giving wrong interpretations to what they perceive is very common. Thus Otieno, having once suffered from a thorn-prick, mistook any hard object underfoot for a thorn. He was also fond of giving false alarms. I was frequently interrupted by the announcement of his father's return, and these announcements were often untrue.

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In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls."

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The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about 5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo boma the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has a post—called in Dholuo, " Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of [531] the boma has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby boma.

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The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all carved Loches appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

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Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these Loches is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Loches in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who held parallel beliefs.

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It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

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The prophesies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out, especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

114 THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It [184] does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from [115] the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simba

836 Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love
882 to girls (*codo*) in the *simba* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simba*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *riso*, the final ceremony of marriage. I [533] was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simba* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

[1] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

[2] H. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1928.

[3] K. C. Shaw, 'Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A. & U.N.H.S.*, 1932.

583 with him three or four cows. The party entered the *dala* very slowly
585 feigning indifference and reluctance. The bridegroom made himself as inconspicuous as possible, and tried to conceal himself in the midst of his companions. No ceremonies took place on the day of arrival, but the guests were given food and spent the night in the *simba* hut. On the following day the bridegroom was taken to the hut of the bride's mother and made formally known to her. Meat was killed and the day was spent feasting and drinking. Finally in the evening the bridegroom and the bride's father sat down together and the
[533] bargaining began. The rest of the gathering were entertained by a professional minstrel who sang topical songs, some composed to meet the occasion. His fee, incidentally was a goat, which, for some reason I could not discover, had to be presented to him by the bride. He was also given presents by the girl's father and mother.

During the bargaining the bride's father tried to get as large a payment as possible out of the bridegroom. If he was too greedy the negotiations were broken off, and the bridegroom paid compensation for the expenses incurred in entertaining his party and for the loss of the bride's virginity. But if the two came to an agreement that agreement was final, and no further demands on the father's part or subtractions on the part of the bridegroom were allowed, unless the former demanded to see the cattle before accepting them. This was sometimes done, and if the cattle were unsatisfactory he might refuse to proceed with the marriage. If, on the other hand, he trusted the bridegroom, the negotiations were considered closed, and he might even consent to receive a proportion of the bride-price after instead of before the final marriage feast had taken place, and the girl left her home for good. In this case the bridegroom had to give an extra bull, known as the *ruadh kirisya*, which was sent over for inspection before the feast took place. If it was accepted the final ceremonies were then carried through.

583 In most cases the bride-price itself was paid by instalments over a period that varied with the ability of the bridegroom's father to meet his liabilities. Usually some months elapsed before the whole number of cattle had been handed over, and it might even be a year or two before the girl's father received all that was due to him. During this period it was customary for the girl to pay her future husband a visit from time to time. She was always accompanied on these visits by one or two girl friends, and was expected to stay for several days. She slept in the *simba* hut with her betrothed, and intercourse took place. It sometimes, though rarely, happened that the girl conceived
[844] on one of these occasions. This was bad luck for the girl's parents, but fortunate for the bridegroom, for it was absolutely necessary that the child should be born in his *dala*. He could in consequence hurry on the marriage, which could now take place before the whole of the

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid
583 off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisere)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to *his* village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass
[301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over
273 with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from
● [533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparations

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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independent progress of the youngsters towards the activities of adult life. At times they are so proud of their successes that they even show their prepared food to their parents; and parents are generally pleased to taste what their children have prepared, even though the articles may not be well cooked.

Female children may also imitate activities involving the care of babies. They make a mould of a baby and a nurse-child, using leaves and some rags for bedding and clothes. The mould-child may be given to one of the younger children, who carries it and so learns how to look after babies. Sometimes maize cobs are used instead of the moulded clay. Children may also imitate the death of a child, and all the children in the group join in the mourning.

Female children are very fond of singing the songs they hear older children sing at festivals. At this age they have a greater inclination to sing than male children, and their songs sometimes help them to quiet crying babies.

As a pastime the nurses engage in 'Kora', a game played with small smooth bits of stone or rounded pieces of broken pottery. This game has a series of rules which every player must observe. Younger children imitate the older ones but are not very successful because their minds and muscles are as yet immature, and they lack the steadiness and precision required for the game. It is interesting to watch, and girls as old as even twelve years take an active part in it. The stones are collected in the palm, then thrown into the air while the back of the hand is turned to receive them, the object of the game being that more than one of the stones thrown into the air must come to rest on the back of the hand. Then by a series of trials one stone is thrown into the air while another on the ground is picked up in time to receive also the stone which has been thrown up. This is

411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a
291 481 single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as
534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thūm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Būl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *mtama* stalks called *Odundu*.

[292]
[301]

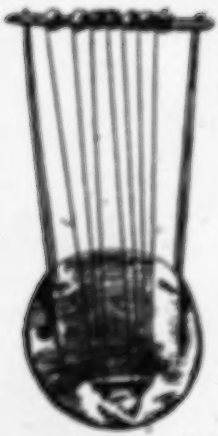

FIG. 8.—HARP: WILONIC KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—GAUTTE OF LEGO TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP, PROTEROZOIC RANGE.

FIG. 10.—HEAD HARP FROM KAVIRONDO.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 *Tembo or pombe.*—This is made from *mtama* or *wimbi* either singly or
888 mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old
922 women however do so.

14: Johnston G-4. 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yethetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their spears have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

Birth customs.—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat: having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

Marriage customs.—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *ntawa* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

845 852 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; [831] [786] scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal ● 535 where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 831 535 786 *Miend Kumu* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well [882] *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

583 585 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her socalled pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an ochokplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*. 695

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crushed up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign. 787

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*. [777]

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, [241] and some chiefs are said to be able to foretell whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri.

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name. 551

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; *remedies* for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

436. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EAST CENTRAL AFRICA. (THE PLAYERS HERE ARE YAO SOLDIERS FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA)

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

583 584 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats, though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ochieng*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieth*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obongo*—the man like a locust.

[852] 551

763 764 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance, at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuoru, luong' wuoru ukiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

The special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot*, *gweng'*, *libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

The play groups. The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[1 i.e. From six to eleven years old.—
ANALYST]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembe* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

Birth customs.—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

Marriage customs.—Girls are espoused [illegible] the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *tembe* previous to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful. 762 159

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the *thim*, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree. [626]

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the *jabilo* and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white cockerel and a black sheep. [783]

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the *jabilo*. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide 762 553

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553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 The second case arises from a breach of customary law which
159 in the old days would have meant banishment but which today
684 brings social ostracism.
[178]

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are
[578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed
[783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as
762 a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya
556 receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally
[661] charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

●554 There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.[1]

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The *won gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.[2]

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peacemaker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.[3] The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jakoth* or *wun koth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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361 619 lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the Jofleje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

619 766 Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *two buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kwanza, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karacuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kasii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

554 621 There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his home to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thumdi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thum jatela*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *won gweng*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Lucoland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jokoth* or *son koth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *nyieka*, co-wife, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the JoSeje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisa*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wuod* (son of) KoOkelo, *wuod* KaJeje, and *wuod* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, especially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the KoOkwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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681 pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

728 **Making peace between sections of the tribe.** Should there
627 be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

674 **Theft.** Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious
789 theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under
[685] such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat *before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will* receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his
554 strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, *the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will* suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects. 231 262

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers. 231 583 [554] [431]

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers. 583

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *uuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked 583 585

to his home and continue to live in the *simba*, the bride not cooking on her own, 585
but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riso* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *alioch* and his mother-in-law the goat of *aum thunda*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ateka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simba* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman 583
without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simba* and was sent straight to her lover, or [554]
on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when [178]
adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies 587
of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences 586
rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there 422
are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

422 less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest
582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing
595 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister
428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson
597 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead titular owner of all

583 1. *Cattle of the skilla*

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses

Most to *mikayi*, next to *ayachiro*, rest among new wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rush kuk* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ataka* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Milk from these used by the wives.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

592 Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and
613 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and
554 preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

769 Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young,
778 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer
782 command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the
[787] first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleansing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chira*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other factors were involved to escape detection for an act which in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kuer*, and not *chira*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar distinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls. 589 595

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction. 594 513 882 [177] [602] [842]

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend. 593 835

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a 836 848 [585] [554]

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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that *men* take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn [437] is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen 764 although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock. A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions" are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a [842] polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the [556] horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth because the average man does not possess a number of oxen with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle, especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however, [232] also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours, but there are some colours which are considered objectionable. 822 Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark, dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagreement during the arrangement of the marriage or between the wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

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Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jobilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 [661] This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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in cattle, and had a permanent modern house at his homestead where four of his wives cultivated large gardens. His fifth wife lived with him at his place of employment. At the time of his suicide he was in the process of marrying a sixth wife when, during one of the marriage ceremonies at her village, a brother of the bride objected to her becoming his wife. He charged that the man had already too many wives and could not look after them. As proof, he offered the evidence that his most recent wife, the fifth one, was no more than a prostitute and that he, himself, had used her on several occasions. This caused a fight in the village and quarrels which led to the exchange of many curses between the two groups, and therefore the wedding could never take place. The driver returned to his homestead to confront the wife named in the incident with the accusation and, in typical Luo fashion, she calmly admitted her guilt, chiding him to do something about it. He beat her severely and she ran from her house and spent the night in the bush. He brooded all night on what had happened and on the shame his wife had brought him. Moreover, he knew that he was shortly to be accused of fraudulent conversion of funds by the Government and would lose his job, if he did not end up in prison: neither of which were considered really serious. However, in his emotional state, these must be considered as contributory causes. He could see his whole world collapsing around him.

The next morning he sent his servant, a young lad, to the butcher's shop for meat in order to get him out of the way. He then hanged himself from the ceiling of his hut.

My Luo informants state with confidence that the prime cause of this suicide was the behavior of his wife, which had brought shame to a proud and successful man, so that he could no longer face his friends. The fact that the Government was interested in recovering a large sum of money which he was alleged to have used for his own purposes is, in my opinion however, a contributory factor.

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propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

Suicide Case No. 9.

The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *likumbe*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. *Ten years after his brother's suicide*, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

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her with canes. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two leviratic wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

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This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

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This woman was the second wife (*nyachieu*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to curse him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a goat was buried in front of her house to represent her body, for they were certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

SUICIDE AMONG JOLUO

We have discussed the Luo attitude toward death at some length in our description of homicide. These attitudes apply equally to suicide, except that they are extended to an association of the idea of death and its concomitant link with the supernatural to self-destruction, as an assurance or determination on the part of the individual to hasten the day when supernatural forces can be made to bear on the frustrations which led up to the act of suicide. The motives for suicide are thought to be to avenge the deed by the malevolent supernatural forces which at death become allied to the dead, who are able to use them against those on earth to solve problems which they found beyond human solution.

Throughout childhood there is constant reference to suicide, and in adolescence, early marriage, and old age the threat of suicide is an effective technique used by the Joluo to achieve goals or to avoid distasteful consequences. Threats are not often put into practice because they are used only when their effectiveness is relatively assured.

Unfortunately for the student, suicides are not usually reported to the authorities, although legally they should be. Therefore, few cases are recorded as in advanced countries in the coroner's court. The Joluo believe that suicide brings *chire* to a large segment of the clan of the suicide, and it is therefore kept as quiet as possible and dealt with immediately by the clan elders and clan medicine men, *jobilo*. The family of the suicide are forced to perform cleansing rituals and ceremonies before they may again participate in the social life of the clan. Data are for these reasons hard to collect. The few cases which were brought to the attention of the authorities were only those suspected of having been cases of murder which were made to look like suicide.

During a two-year tour among the Joluo tribes of Central Nyanza, I was able to collect 220 cases from informants. Of

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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Jaluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the *senior* son of a *senior* wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he was regarded as a junior

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in cattle, and had a permanent modern house at his homestead where four of his wives cultivated large gardens. His fifth wife lived with him at his place of employment. At the time of his suicide he was in the process of marrying a sixth wife when, during one of the marriage ceremonies at her village, a brother of the bride objected to her becoming his wife. He charged that the man had already too many wives and could not look after them. As proof, he offered the evidence that his most recent wife, the fifth one, was no more than a prostitute and that he, himself, had used her on several occasions. This caused a fight in the village and quarrels which led to the exchange of many curses between the two groups, and therefore the wedding could never take place. The driver returned to his homestead to confront the wife named in the incident with the accusation and, in typical Luo fashion, she calmly admitted her guilt, chiding him to do something about it. He beat her severely and she ran from her house and spent the night in the bush. He brooded all night on what had happened and on the shame his wife had brought him. Moreover, he knew that he was shortly to be accused of fraudulent conversion of funds by the Government and would lose his job, [illegible] which were considered really serious. However, in his emotional state, these must be considered as contributory causes. He could see his whole world collapsing around him.

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The next morning he sent his servant, a young lad, to the butcher's shop for meat in order to get him out of the way. He then hanged himself from the ceiling of his hut.

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My Luo informants state with confidence that the prime cause of this suicide was the behavior of his wife, which had brought shame to a proud and successful man, so that he could no longer face his friends. The fact that the Government was interested in recovering a large sum of money which he was alleged to have used for his own purposes is, [illegible] opinion however, a contributory factor.

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159 762 where he was headmaster. His final act was to write to all those involved in this series of incidents, which had taken nearly three years, to the effect that his daughter had killed him, that shame was brought to his clan and lineage, and that the liaison she had formed with Okare would end in disaster. He swore he would return in spirit to ensure that the marriage would end in failure.

159 762 ● 558 797 It can be seen from this case that the difficult transition faced by even the most educated Christian Jaluo is complicated by the intense residual customary law and the attitudes of the people regarding the authority of a father and the duty of his daughter to this authority. The father in his case was a well educated, highly respected, important person in his district. The daughter, by her behavior, had humiliated him and he took recourse in indigenous rules and beliefs to solve his problems. They were initially successful. In the end, however, the threat to his status as a Christian of the fact that he had married his daughter by force to a Christian who was already married and therefore a bigamist in the eyes of the Church, brought shame and disaster to his social position as a Christian headmaster. His final act, however, was typically an indigenous one. He would not face the shame and humiliation brought to him by the course of events, so he took refuge in traditional recourse to suicide as a curse to the future happiness of those whom he thought had caused his grievance. To the end, therefore, he struggled to obtain the best of two worlds.

FEMALE SUICIDES

762 The most common cause of suicide among females is domestic quarrels and, coupled with that, the fear of physical violence from their husbands. Secondly, jealousy between co-wives; thirdly, the result of extreme grief, and finally, illness.

In the first category, out of the thirteen cases recorded from our sample, seven were of the domestic quarrel type. Of these, one was complicated by a curse from the husband, another

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readiness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was [illegible],
561 that for a married man [illegible], while that for a man who delayed to
885 marry until much later than usual was [illegible]. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gomi country named Oponde who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisoma people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a single thickness of skin when travelling.

Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Titon*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bil* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of cotton stalks called *Ofendo*.

FIG. 8.—HARP: WOMEN'S INSTRUMENT.

FIG. 9.—MASTER OF CEREMONIES, [illegible]

FIG. 10.—HARP: MAN'S FROM KAVIRONDO.

Tobacco and Hemp.—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Hemp* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *Hemp*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

Tracks or ponds.—This is made from cotton or wheat either singly or mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old women however do so.

242 land, " Mbora." A piece of land weed infested in the middle of cultivation is called " sino," and the Luo are alive to the menace [678] this neglected patch is to the crops surrounding it. A man who allows " sino " to endanger his neighbours' crops is very unpopular.

STATUS OF WOMEN:

SL1 The position of women amongst the Luo is one of great influence, 773 in spite of many things which show that they are not regarded as the equal of the men. While they have nothing in their creation stories which gives the male such pre-eminence as is given in the Hebrew account of creation in the second chapter of Genesis, yet even in their stories it is the male which is created first. The origin of the female is surrounded with mystery, none have any clear account of her origin. But it is significant that the name by which the first woman is known to many of the Luo is ALOO. LOO or LOWO is the stem meaning earth or soil, and there is undoubtedly some connection in their minds between the fruitful soil and woman. But though her origin is surrounded in mystery, she soon is made to carry the responsibility for the fact that the sons of men have got to work. Lest the story should be unknown to some it is worth while repeating it here. According to the creation story, the first man to be created was one called Podho. To him the Creator (called Nyasaye) gave a magic hoe, which worked by itself, requiring no arm to wield it. With the hoe Nyasaye gave Podho a command that he was never to attempt to do any work with it himself. If he should disobey this command then the hoe would lose its virtue and cease to work unaided. This happened before the advent of ALOO (sometimes called also MIHAHA). When eventually Podho was given ALOO, he gave the hoe over to her care, telling her at the same time of the command which Nyasaye had laid down. For a time all went well. When they wanted any digging to be done all they had to do was to take the hoe out to the site, show it what they wanted it to dig and leave it to do the work. In the evening it was brought in again. But one day curiosity was too much for ALOO. She felt that she must feel what it was like to turn up a few sods. So she picked up the hoe and with it turned up a little soil. Then becoming suddenly afraid she dropped the hoe and went home, but did not tell her husband, Podho. However she was unable to hide what she had done, for in the evening when they went to bring in the hoe, it lay where she had dropped it, and had done no work. Then the voice of Nyasaye said that as they were now so clever that they know how to dig, never more would the hoe dig for them. So to this day woman is blamed as the one through whose wrongdoing the curse of work came to men.

● SL1 However the tradition came into existence it reflects the common tendency of many creation stories to put the blame on the woman,

562 and possibly was invented to keep women in subjection. It has only partly succeeded. Something more potent than a creation story is required to keep many of the LUO women down. Two illustrations suffice to show this. The first in Church. The collection is being [593] taken up, and a man finds himself without any cash. He crosses over to the women's side, whispers a few words to his wife, whereupon she gives him a cent for the collection. Like many a wife in other lands, she holds the purse strings. The second the Law Court. [594] A wife pleads for a divorce from her husband on the ground that he has become a polygamist. She gets her divorce.

584 Much of the apparent inequality is only apparent, not real. The thing which, more than any other, has been quoted as showing the inferior position accorded to women, is the manner in which girls are given in marriage. But this is not as much a matter of sex as of age. If it be true that girls are sometimes given in marriage without their wishes being consulted in the matter, it is also true that many a young man is provided with a wife without his wishes being consulted either. Not so long ago I asked a man what the girl to whom he was engaged was like. He replied that he had never seen her, that the marriage had been arranged by his father. This kind of thing is quite common. And it must not be forgotten that the girl's mother is taken into the fullest consultation when the question of her daughter's betrothal is raised. It is not decided by the men only. And generally there is some form of consultation with the girl. Long and bitter experience has taught the community that to force some girls beyond a certain point is only to lay up trouble for the future. Only three weeks ago a father came to me to ask me to try to mediate in his daughter's affairs. She had been betrothed when quite a young child to a man old enough to be her aged father. He had in due course taken her to wife, and there were two children by the union. 586 There she left him and consorted with another man, more nearly her own age. I saw the woman, went into the matter and found that the old man was so uncongenial to her, that even the fact that she had born him two children was not strong enough to reconcile her to her lot. She had much of my sympathy, though I could not condone the desertion of her children.

581 Not even the very strongest bonds can bind a woman who wishes to break them. The most binding form of betrothal known to the LUO, is that which is the outcome of an alliance between two families. The Luo have a proverb which runs " Osiep otho, to wat chotho." In English it would run " friendship dies, but relationship does not die." So, as in other lands, the heads of two Luo families may desire to 584 cement their friendship by ties of intermarriage. A feast is provided by one of the parties, generally by the one taking the initiative in

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwogi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogenyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadodi	3. Waranjo
4. Ratreg	5. Wango	6. Monya
7. Nyamoda		

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

783 of his village and lives in a hut with an old woman who attends to his wants, cooks for him and also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his han. . Separation lasts for three days, and on the fourth day a man who is himself a murderer, or who has at some time killed a man in battle, takes the murderer to a stream where he washes him all over. He then kills a goat and cooks the meat, takes four sticks and places a piece of meat on each stick and gives the man the meat to eat from each in turn. When the meat has been eaten, he gives him four pieces of porridge made into balls and put on the sticks. After this meal the goat-skin is cut into strips, one strip being put on the neck and one strip round each wrist of the murderer. This ceremony is performed by the two men who are alone at the river, and after it the murderer is free to return home. It is said that, until this ceremony is performed, the ghost cannot take its departure for the place of the dead, but hovers about the murderer.

428 **Inheritance.** It is usual for a son to inherit property. While a man is still in health, he makes known his wishes as to whom he desires to inherit his property, and his wishes will be observed. Should a son be too young to succeed to his father's estate at the time of death, the deceased man's brother manages the property until the son is old enough to take control. Should a man with property die intestate, the members of his clan elect one of his sons to be heir. There is no fixed law as to which son shall inherit. It is not a question of age nor may the son of a particular wife claim precedence over the sons of other wives, but the clan-members are at liberty to choose the man they consider the most suited for the office. Women never inherit or hold property. The father's stool and bracelet are given to the heir and are the insignia of lawful succession.

[562 921]

Marriage, Birth and Puberty.

582 **Marriage customs.** It was impossible to discover the ritual of marriage or the groups into which a man might or might not marry, all that could with certainty be learned being that there are exogamous divisions within the tribe.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and soil. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the *Jaluo* notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the *Jaluo*, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the deposed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some grain as earnest money and particulars of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

614 very large degree. Their family system remains strong and
178 largely unimpaired by the impact of Western civilization. The patriarch of the extended family unit, the *jokakuoro*, remains the local authority. Because a series of family groups together form a territorial unit, the sub-clan, the strength and solidity of the Luo family and lineage structure remain supreme. Obviously there have been changes. Basically, however, the changes are superficial.

● 582 The role of women in Luo society is a subordinate one. Indigenously they play no part in the major ceremonies or rituals and have never had political authority. They do not organize in age groups or societies as in other cultures, and remain primarily the property of their father and his lineage or, on marriage, the property of their husband and his clan.

595 Polygyny is still the ideal and goal of the majority of Luo men. A recent village survey showed that taking a sample of 744 homesteads, which varied between a simple monogamous family and the very large unit of the extended polygamous family, 55 per cent were monogamous units, of which 9 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives, thus making them socially polygamous units; 45 per cent were polygamous homesteads, of which 11 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives. Only 27 per cent of the total sample were found to be simple monogamous households, that is one in four of the family type associated with Western culture: a man, his wife and children. The remainder were either polygamous or had leviratic wives or were of the extended family type. Of this 27 per cent, moreover, it was the ideal of the vast majority to become polygamous later.

971 Education among the Jaluo has increased rapidly in recent years, and it was found in our sample that 63 per cent of the boys of school age were either at school or had been to school for more than one year. The figure was 30 per cent for the girls. Of the adult males, however, only 28 per cent had been to school, and of the married females, only 7 per cent. The standard attained, moreover, was not high. More than half the male

20:Omindo I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

21:Huxley O.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this

2 Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

101 assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation
of the country slowed down the momentum of colonisation. The tribes
174 living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and
who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakar, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo,
and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu,
Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoe, and Sakwa. The other loca-
tions on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak
Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location)
and the Mohoro; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the
[141] Kasigunga, Kakoingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare,
who are fraternal to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted
a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the
Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they
are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo
than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago
are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day.
Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded
as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them
'Jamma' or 'Langa'. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure
[502] descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day
there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told
[563] that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In
Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement
[141] has gone much further and, except for the Waholo, who speak both Luo
and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

174 Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting
trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation
69 from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the
Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory
they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo)
whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country.
Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present
territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages
so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South
Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South
Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo,
lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokakan
lineage of the Alago tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Ka-
magetu tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulo and
Kadimo and to have kinsmen in these areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other
Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have
been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life.
[133] This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Sesse, and Asembo.
The low-lying country of these tribes, a thorowood savannah plain with
patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Sesse takes its
name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands
of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

naturally follow the low country instead of climbing a precipitous rocky ridge 2,000 feet above the plain, added to this probably the dread of the Nandi warriors was an additional reason for avoiding the highlands.

It seemed possible that some evidence of the migration might be discovered by investigations in this plain; and such was the case, for to my great surprise I found that the ruling chief of the plain Kisoto, although he wears ornaments of the Nilotic type and is married to Ja-Luo wives, is a pure-bred native of the Kisii or Kisumu nation, and that a few generations back occasional bands of Kisii people trekked northwards but were stopped in the plain, and became more or less absorbed by the Nyanoga clan. In fact odd parties of Kisii people make journeys northward even to this day. The Kisii people again have legends to the effect that they originally came from the northward, and I have no doubt that as investigations are continued it will be found that the Kisii and Ware tribes are two links in the chain of evidence in favour of an important Bantu migration from Nyanzaui country northwards.

With regard to the Awa-Ware, they do not seem to have gone inland to any extent, but to have crept along by water from inland to inland till they ended up in the vicinity of Kyala or Port Victoria. Their dialect is closely allied to that of the Awa-Kyala.

It is a matter for regret that it is almost impossible to arrive at even the approximate dates of these migrations, but among a people without written history and legends that rarely go back more than a few generations it will readily be understood that one's data is scanty.

Class II. Nilotic Kavirondo.—The invasion of the Nilotic Ja-Luo race (Plate III) appears, as I have previously explained, to have taken place later than that of the Bantu, and they are it is believed an off-shoot of the Acholi or Shuli stock.

Their southern advance was, I feel sure, only checked by the irruption of the Elgumi people into the country to the south-west of Mount Elgon, which movement finally closed the door of exodus against all further movements from the north.

The Elgumi people will, I think, be found to be an off-shoot of the race inhabiting the country to the north of the Salisbury and Kamasia Lakes, which in the fragmentary state of our information about that area may be called the Lango group, and it may turn out that these people are intermingled with a Hamitic strain from the north-east.

To revert to Kavirondo proper, the Nilotic stock in that country, although occupying as a rule a less fertile area, appears to be more vigorous than the Bantu; and the Lokoli and other Bantu tribes on their present eastern frontier all tell me that their forefathers occupied territory some fifteen miles to the west of their original location, having been gradually driven eastward by the Ja-Luo.

The Ja-Luo settlements on the southern shore of Ugowe Bay, or Kavirondo Bay as it has been renamed, are also evidences of the persistent way the Kisii people have pushed southwards in search of land, and proofs are to hand that

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

Both sexes drink the beer which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the butter.

The men do not *smelt* iron, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against blacksmiths amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothenh," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvoa." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of sudanish wood. Their spears have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the marriage. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his deceased wife's sisters, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the inviolable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are normally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are common visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (Dholuo *japid*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would contain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 135.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bale*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *rite*. 613 782 769

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage. 613 574 273 [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index 613 574 576

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these ritually occasioned social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the nonsent members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves occasion a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *vice* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *ayuola* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contribution of her group, followed by the female heads of each *ayuola* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segments is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first to intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Ayuola segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within these that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*ayuola*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name.

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot.

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life.

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together.

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterises so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

*Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with a common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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sometimes break up at the slightest provocation or misunderstanding. The lineal character of the friendship is facilitated by the social groupings of the people into lineages living side by side. This character is also assumed by the play groups which begin from the immediate family circle and widen to include other members of the lineage to which the children belong. Although there also exists a considerable degree of friendship among male children it does not seem to be organized as closely as that among the girls. Though I saw frequent examples of individual boyhood friendship I did not come across such a highly-developed arrangement.

The Cultural Pattern

Girls are born to a ready-made pattern of life and they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. The school-age period is the one in which girls are especially trained to fit into the culture to which they have been born. A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even where civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. This conservatism is maintained through all the early training of the children and domestic activities are still carried on in almost the same traditional way.

In contrast, we find that male children between these ages have a greater degree of freedom. I noticed a larger variety of playthings among boys than among girls of the same school-going age. Day after day the girls repeated imitations of the maternal activities. It was also much more difficult to discover where a group of boys had been playing than to find the favourite playgrounds of the female children. This was perhaps due to the difference in their freedom of movement. The occupations of the girls keep them largely at home while the boys range over a much greater area.

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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IV

ADOLESCENCE

357 593 In the interim period between childhood and adolescence there comes a time when a girl's ability to deal with domestic work is more advanced than her physical and mental development. It is during this period that the mother, still occupying a central position as adviser and supervisor of the girl's work, finds difficulty in the management of her daughter. Since the domestic work of her household is heavy, the mother uses all kinds of pressure to induce her daughter to do as much as she can.

356 The girl's life at this time is characterized by her increased interest in boys and desire to come into contact with them. The friendships established during childhood with other young girls are weakened by the development of a new object of friendship in the opposite sex. During this time the breasts of most girls develop noticeably. The girls show great interest in this development and employ various means to stimulate it. An instance of this interest can sometimes be seen among those who stuff clothes in their bosoms to exaggerate the size.

[572]

On the whole, the period differs only in the fact that the girls definitely aspire to be grown-ups and are also more interested in friendship with boys.

Characteristics of Adolescence

183 This new period is the time when the mother leaves her daughter to bring her knowledge of domestic work to perfection by her own efforts. As compared with the school-going age, there is little or no interference from

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

20:Omindo 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the 587
sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jawwe*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *pater*. His brother is only their *genitor*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*dhur oyuele* or *dhur oding*). Also, one does not use the verb *kwalo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *atero* or *alego*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ci lieed*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Lar

Luo practise very extensive avoidance, as part of a general attitude of respect (*lar*), 606
of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kawuo* (my in-laws). If a man meets 576
either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *wangatek*, to have strong eyes, and he [611]
makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *ere*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years 606
go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law 574
become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *simba* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagow* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kwonge*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

3: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1934) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

The people of the house pass them to eat, but they refuse, so a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Ciew

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small public covering and a *ciew* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament or public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *ciew* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *ciew*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *ciew* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est défloré par le prétendu ou par un autre jeune homme de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Loo FL11

Forward teeth, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked. (Plate V). Married men who have a child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in unmarried woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Je-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as *kiteti*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Mavuglia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Loo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1928) 1928 FLII Lun FLII

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his boy whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parents will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(mush wasenj)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a binding of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law, I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girlfriends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kusch kwapa)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer should ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *youth ayala* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked, deem partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(civisa chiwete)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

the lands and, by emulation of the age group sets above them, slowly acquiring 857
proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the
domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching
water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the gear hut of a homestead 513
when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in
the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most 861
important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at
marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected
of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dhulus *sinda*) in which 882
they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men
makes a formal assignation with a group of subtle girls from a segment of another 836
maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are
held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off
with one another into are partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform.
A youth graduates out of this company of *sinda* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely 593
to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction
in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as
the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate 603
generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly
use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous
source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged
to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate 574
freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the 858
most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close
agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there 593
is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized
in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later
relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nova*) and father's sister (*nuya*). [601]
Apart from parents, there are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married 606
woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's
parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal 842
attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached
by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The
Loo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's
blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage
organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any [582]
tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they
permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a subtle girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated calculatively to a human woman.

17; Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

4. Liver and remaining ribs and ribs: for all the women of the homestead. 613
5. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
6. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother. 606
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by her, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Loo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the man who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every 613
case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. 782
There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indi- 769
cated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of rite.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is 613
also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceed- 574 •
ingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 273
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old [571]
men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or [illegible] the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage seg- 613
ments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 574
order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the repre- 576
sentatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

17: Southall E-9 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these usually occasional social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the remotest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves entail a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *nia* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *oyawa* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contributions of her group, followed by the female heads of each *oyawa* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segment is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Oyawa segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*oyawa*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridewealth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to return he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognised as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home. 585

The *riso* ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to redress if the wife has intercourse with other men. As the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents, he presses for the *riso* ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The *riso* ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each gift being named as it is presented to her. She herself keeps none of them and they are taken by the girls of the *riso* party from her parents' village. [431]

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband tells his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to built an *ot* - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut *(simba)*. Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT *(LUR)*

The Luo practise extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation. 576 606

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2) 606 [431]

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is 776

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jawuu*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *pater*. His brother is only their *genitor*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*dher nyolo* or *dher oding*). Also, one does not use the verb *kendo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *atero* or *alago*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ci liend*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Lwar

Luo practise very extensive avoidance, as part of a general attitude of respect (*lwr*), of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kaowa* (my in-laws). If a man meets either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *wangatek*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *ovu*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *simbo* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagaw* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kaowga*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. 304
If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover 783
does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the 727
fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a 291
child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important 576
matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on
no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be [606]
desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to [574]
visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in amarried woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about 301
fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a 304
ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of 301
the variety known as *kiksi*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and [172]
it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Lno, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 791 773

that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*livoya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress.

The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it.[1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

498. HUSBAND AND WIFE, JA-LUO

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e.] A very bad omen; more the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (see p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

291 wears European trousers, he must have a piece of goat skin underneath.
● 57% Unmarried girls wear no clothes. Married women wear a tail of strings

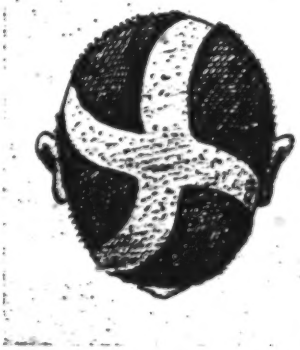
[301
142]

429. JA-LUO WOMEN: TAILS AND APRONS

behind. When they go to visit another village, they don a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which a curious and rather pretty pattern has been burnt with a red-hot stick. When a woman is married, she puts on

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.



430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Marngolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead.
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends.
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps.

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *rito*.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these ritually occasioned social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the meanest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves occasion a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *riso* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *anyuola* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contribution of her group, followed by the female heads of each *anyuola* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segments is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Anyuola segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*anyuola*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road.

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive.

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about ½ p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda.

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognized to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala*=homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource. 582 583

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family. 582 835 584 626 583 577

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilised, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian 584 [201]

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only *wasigu* (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy assists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Denge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *jopiny* or *jogweng* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *jodak* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kaorce* - lineages of in-laws, or *kaner* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *jopiny* and *jodak* are on equal terms and cooperate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 508

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, pp.10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.14.

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●578 tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

554 There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The *won gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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791 The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peacemaker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker *(jakoth* or *won koth)*.

619
791 Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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613 parts owned by its branches are fairly distinct. Intermarriage is the main cause of intersettlement and marriage within this clan is not permitted.
614 There are a number of stranger lineages in Karacuonyo (Wagwe, Kamwala, Kakmuno, Jokadeio, etc.) but they are small lineages and so much intermarried with the dominant KaRacuonyo clan that they have no territorial and political distinctness. Some attention must now be given to the status of stranger lineages to the dominant lineage within a tribe.

We have noted that in Karacuonyo there are few stranger lineages and that they are weak ones. By far the greater majority of the tribe are members of the dominant clan. Other tribal territories display greater clan admixture and the presence of powerful stranger lineages whose numerical importance is reflected in the tribal myths. A European may not quickly become aware of these stranger elements unless land disputes force his attention to them, for the dominant clan is generally identified linguistically with the tribe. JoAlego means both the tribesman of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego and KaRacuonyo means both the tribesmen of Karacuonyo tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Racuonyo. Therefore if a man of the JoMur stranger lineage in Alego were asked outside Alego to what people he belongs he would reply that he belonged to the Alego folk, but if he were asked within the tribal territory he would say that he was a JoMur, for the JoMur
186 are a distinct agnatic group living in their own portion of country within
613 Alego.
614 Now, from the point of view of the dominant clan in a tribal area the members of this clan alone are the *jopiny* or *jogweng*, the people of the
609 land and the owners of it, and the rest are *jodak*, the separated people, the strangers: though if they lived among them a long time they speak of them as *jobedo*, for *jodak* is a harsh word.

613 These stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that through recognition of female links the whole tribe
609 may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. Luo speak of the affi-
614 liated lineages as *kaorce*, lineages of in-laws, or as *kaner*, lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children. As the affiliated lineages have taken wives from the dominant clan they also come into the category of *okewa*, sister's son, to its members. In this way every lineage in a tribe, whether of the dominant clan or of stranger stock, has a structural position in the system of lineages of which a tribe is composed and of which the lineages of the dominant clan are the framework.

578 The lineages of the clan which owns the tribal territory and those affiliated to it seem in the past to have been on a general social equality
613 and to have acted corporately in matters of common tribal interest, particularly in war against other tribes. They were differentiated only
614 in matters of ritual, marriage regulations, and, as explained earlier, in settlement of homicide. In recent years, however, acute differences have arisen about land in those parts of the country where the density of population is greatest, especially in the most northern tribes of Central

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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613 614 Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes betwen a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

613 614 609 578 In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land; there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration. People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives for their sons. The strangers settled as *orce*, in-laws, and become maternal uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of exogamy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the JoSeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[178] Hence we find to-day in the overcrowed tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

613 614 578 423 The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and point to their *gundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ancestors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area in that they have resided there for many generations and also can point there to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a clan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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on which a *gunda*, homestead site, of one of them is situated ; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use ; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it ; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

7

This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage sy tem on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

Por

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *por* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *simbu* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his sweetheart run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhako ma por* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding.

Meko

Meko is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unrelated girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *simbu* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagam* or *jatelo*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *simbu*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagam* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage.

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the kraal. The *jagam* enters the homestead and goes to the *suwindhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *pim*, and he shouts to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagam* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *simbu*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ramba.

101 131 619 Live on south side of Ugowe Bay, opposite Uyoma country Nilotic people. Head chief: Gori Kogalo.

Subdivisions:—

Kadweti. Chief: Awino.
Kabonyo—Osewi, Magolo.
Kajuang—Yariwo, Arani.
Kanyamwa or Kanyambo—Kogalo and Ogalo.
Yahunda—Chikungi, Uyamu.
Saki—Usodo, Uyumbi, Monguwiri.
Kachola or Kologi—Othina.
Kumungu—Mwai.
Kuchieng—Owino, Tigo.
Kasudu—Ukoli.

[578] The Saki people live near Usau hill, and there is a feud between them and the Kanyamwa owing to the latter having been driven from the lake shore, and thus losing their fishing rights. The Saki are very friendly with the Uyoma tribe and the Kanyamwa with the Sawakwa.

Nyakatch.

Live at south-east corner of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic origin. Very friendly people, live in great dread of the Lumbwa. Head chief: Uhuri.

Subdivisions:—

Kadianga. Chief: Uhuri.
Kabodo—Magero.
Jimo—Mwana.
Kajembo—Atek.
Kandaria—Omono.
Kuguta—Sewe.

Kalachonyo.

A large tribe of Nilotic origin on the south side of Ugowe Bay. They stretch from the west of the Nyakach people to the west side of Uma or Oma Mountain. The head chief is Nyakiti.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyajok. Chief—Nyakiti.
Uma—Ugwan.
Nyaluo—Ngar.
Kanyiperi—Umolu.
Adueti—Nyangu, Odondi.
Yakandaiya—Ugalu, Oyugi.
Utienu—Ngare.
Kodera—Opiawili.
Unyango—Ugalu.
Akelu—Achieng.
Ojuach—Ogado.
Ukwainu—Kimuto.
Kaboudo—Laiila.

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

241 136 857 life of the countryside. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 136 789 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied [837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

● 578 685 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task [462 857] of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or ● 578 supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the 285 small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the [493] custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the 797] Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year. Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the 462 branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

422 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultivation 593 was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

242 land, " Mbora." A piece of land weed infested in the middle of cultivation is called " sino," and the Luo are alive to the menace [578] this neglected patch is to the crops surrounding it. A man who allows " sino " to endanger his neighbours' crops is very unpopular.

STATUS OF WOMEN:

562 The position of women amongst the Luo is one of great influence,
773 in spite of many things which show that they are not regarded as the equal of the men. While they have nothing in their creation stories which gives the male such pre-eminence as is given in the Hebrew account of creation in the second chapter of Genesis, yet even in their stories it is the male which is created first. The origin of the female is surrounded with mystery, none have any clear account of her origin. But it is significant that the name by which the first woman is known to many of the Luo is ALOO. LOO or LOWO is the stem meaning earth or soil, and there is undoubtedly some connection in their minds between the fruitful soil and woman. But though her origin is surrounded in mystery, she soon is made to carry the responsibility for the fact that the sons of men have got to work. Lest the story should be unknown to some it is worth while repeating it here. According to the creation story, the first man to be created was one called Podho. To him the Creator (called Nyasaye) gave a magic hoe, which worked by itself, requiring no arm to wield it. With the hoe Nyasaye gave Podho a command that he was never to attempt to do any work with it himself. If he should disobey this command then the hoe would lose its virtue and cease to work unaided. This happened before the advent of ALOO (sometimes called also MIHAHA). When eventually Podho was given ALOO, he gave the hoe over to her care, telling her at the same time of the command which Nyasaye had laid down. For a time all went well. When they wanted any digging to be done all they had to do was to take the hoe out to the site, show it what they wanted it to dig and leave it to do the work. In the evening it was brought in again. But one day curiosity was too much for ALOO. She felt that she must feel what it was like to turn up a few sods. So she picked up the hoe and with it turned up a little soil. Then becoming suddenly afraid she dropped the hoe and went home, but did not tell her husband, Podho. However she was unable to hide what she had done, for in the evening when they went to bring in the hoe, it lay where she had dropped it, and had done no work. Then the voice of Nyasaye said that as they were now so clever that they knew how to dig, never more would the hoe dig for them. So to this day woman is blamed as the one through whose wrongdoing the curse of work came to men.

562 However the tradition came into existence it reflects the common tendency of many creation stories to put the blame on the woman,

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God; *wasigu*, enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *libamba* all those forces of friction and competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *libamba* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *libamba* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoudi* which stand in the *libamba* relationship to one another which play together at *adhula*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of compound and elementary families, are constantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a misfortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ajuoga*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble. Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoudi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its major segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *anyuola*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *anyuola* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *anyuola* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Tallensi concept of *sunzo* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 32, 37, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but to the Tallensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *libamba* to one another whether their eponyms were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 35. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Tallensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 31).

[3] *nyal* n., birth; *nyalo* v., to give birth. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 [178] The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 [661] This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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in cattle, and had a permanent modern house at his homestead where four of his wives cultivated large gardens. His fifth wife lived with him at his place of employment. At the time of his suicide he was in the process of marrying a sixth wife when, during one of the marriage ceremonies at her village, a brother of the bride objected to her becoming his wife. He charged that the man had already too many wives and could not look after them. As proof, he offered the evidence that his most recent wife, the fifth one, was no more than a prostitute and that he, himself, had used her on several occasions. This caused a fight in the village and quarrels which led to the exchange of many curses between the two groups, and therefore the wedding could never take place. The driver returned to his homestead to confront the wife named in the incident with the accusation and, in typical Luo fashion, she calmly admitted her guilt, chiding him to do something about it. He beat her severely and she ran from her house and spent the night in the bush. He brooded all night on what had happened and on the shame his wife had brought him. Moreover, he knew that he was shortly to be accused of fraudulent conversion of funds by the Government and would lose his job, if he did not end up in prison: neither of which were considered really serious. However, in his emotional state, these must be considered as contributory causes. He could see his whole world collapsing around him.

The next morning he sent his servant, a young lad, to the butcher's shop for meat in order to get him out of the way. He then hanged himself from the ceiling of his hut.

My Luo informants state with confidence that the prime cause of this suicide was the behavior of his wife, which had brought shame to a proud and successful man, so that he could no longer face his friends. The fact that the Government was interested in recovering a large sum of money which he was alleged to have used for his own purposes is, in my opinion however, a contributory factor.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide. 762

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing." 762 159 684 783

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof. 762 159 578

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife. 762 159

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents. 762 159 584

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 159 ● 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Joluo.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

[583] It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 159 595 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 his mother and took the *sim-sim* by stealth. When the husband came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large portion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel between him and the boy's mother.

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In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for milking, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body caned it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked to bring hoes, axes, and *pangas* to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

[783]

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Luo believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

[824]

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

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The husband of this suicide had been having considerable trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her daughter with a young man who had neither paid bride-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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the local prophet (*jabilo*). When he returned to the village from his visit to the *jabilo*, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okech, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apolo, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nurse-maid for their first child.[4]

[4] This is common practice among the Joluo and often the "nurse" (*japidi*) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters co-operate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the *japidi* will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a *japidi*, she becomes known as *nyar siweho*, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same hut and trace descent through the elder sister. The term *siweho* is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son; it therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

*Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

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telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

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We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

137 [768]

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

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No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

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The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

21:Buxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big Thing.

562 and possibly was invented to keep women in subjection. It has only partly succeeded. Something more potent than a creation story is required to keep many of the LUO women down. Two illustrations [593] suffice to show this. The first in Church. The collection is being taken up, and a man finds himself without any cash. He crosses over to the women's side, whispers a few words to his wife, whereupon she gives him a cent for the collection. Like many a wife in other lands, she holds the purse strings. The second the Law Court. [586] A wife pleads for a divorce from her husband on the ground that he has become a polygamist. She gets her divorce.

584 Much of the apparent inequality is only apparent, not real. The thing which, more than any other, has been quoted as showing the inferior position accorded to women, is the manner in which girls are given in marriage. But this is not as much a matter of sex as of age. If it be true that girls are sometimes given in marriage without their wishes being consulted in the matter, it is also true that many a young man is provided with a wife without his wishes being consulted either. Not so long ago I asked a man what the girl to whom he was engaged was like. He replied that he had never seen her, that the marriage had been arranged by his father. This kind of thing is quite common. And it must not be forgotten that the girl's mother is taken into the fullest consultation when the question of her daughter's betrothal is raised. It is not decided by the men only. And generally there is some form of consultation with the girl. Long and bitter experience has taught the community that to force some girls beyond a certain point is only to lay up trouble for the future. Only three weeks ago a father came to me to ask me to try to mediate in his daughter's affairs. She had been betrothed when quite a young child to a man old enough to be her aged father. He had in due course taken her to wife, and there were two children by the union. 586 Then she left him and consorted with another man, more nearly her own age. I saw the woman, went into the matter and found that the old man was so uncongenial to her, that even the fact that she had born him two children was not strong enough to reconcile her to her lot. She had much of my sympathy, though I could not condone the desertion of her children.

581 Not even the very strongest bonds can bind a woman who wishes to break them. The most binding form of betrothal known to the LUO, is that which is the outcome of an alliance between two families. The Luo have a proverb which runs " Osiep otho, to wat okotho." In English it would run " friendship dies, but relationship does not die." So, as in other lands, the heads of two Luo families may desire to 584 cement their friendship by ties of intermarriage. A feast is provided by one of the parties, generally by the one taking the initiative in

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or Jaluo as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Aluri and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadilai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

174 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big chief and that when they *again* became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding [626] was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use secession as their chief weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

142 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named [262] can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1883, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

Facially the Kavirondo have rather squat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the 291 right shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on [301] their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just meeting in front.

[581] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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V

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Preliminary Considerations

One difference between the older traditional kind of marriage and marriage as it is conducted nowadays lies in the part played by relatives to make the venture a success. Individual initiative was formerly negligible, the greater part of the marriage negotiations being undertaken by the relatives of both parties. This had the effect of reducing the importance of the bridegroom whose initiative gave way to a dependence upon the good will of his relations to whom the task of negotiation was left. 584 178

At present the tendency in marriage is towards individualism, although it is still a matter where society plays a considerable part. But since the individual man and woman are taking a greater part in deciding whom they shall marry, there is now a greater opportunity to develop an attachment genuinely based upon love. Steps are still usually taken, however, to ensure that the man's family has sufficient wealth to pay a satisfactory dowry, and the co-operation of the society in which the girl lives is needed if the relationship is to be successfully established. Great care is also taken to see that the marriage of the couple would not go against the normal stratification of relationships already in existence. [581] 582 613

The marriage of a member of A-B family to C-D family* excludes the children of G and H from intermarrying with any member of the lineage of the maternal grandparents. So long as connection with the

*See diagram on p. 44

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thia* - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thia*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thia* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
614 has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the name of the clan or larger lineage *no* and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less approved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by ab-
583 duction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(ocko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only *wasigu* (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy assists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Denge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *jopiny* or *jogweng* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *jodak* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kaorce* - lineages of in-laws, or *kaner* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *jopiny* and *jodak* are on equal terms and cooperate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 508

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, pp.10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.14.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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101 assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes
174 living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakac, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo, and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu, Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoc, and Sakwa. The other locations on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location) and the Mohoru; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the
[191] Kasigunga, Kaksingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are fraternal to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them '*Jamwa*' or '*Langu*'. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure
[582] descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told
563 that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement
[191] has gone much further and, except for the Waholo, who speak both Luo and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

174 Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation
619 from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokakan lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Kamageta tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulu and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in those areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life.
[133] This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Seme, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thornwood savannah plain with patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Seme takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jokoth* or *won koth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *nyieka*, co-wife, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the JoSeje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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582 the JoOwila of Uyoma ; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuonyo,
614 Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *codo* is permitted. *Codo* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
836 court the girls and bring them to the *simba* or bachelor's hut and sleep
[833] with them there and have relations with them *intra crura*. Thus the Ka-Abudha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *codo* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago ; likewise the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
614 and are beginning to *codo* between them it is done at first with discre-
836 tion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
582 eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*por*) and then the ordinary form (*meko*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the polito-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

582 A man may not marry a *nyakewo*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry
614 her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan, though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards
184 as a *wat*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *wat*, kinsfolk, or *wasigu*, enemies. A man cannot marry kin and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuonyo man of the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

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Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

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A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

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The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

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4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

naturally follow the low country instead of climbing a precipitous rocky ridge 2,000 feet above the plain, added to this probably the dread of the Nandi warriors was an additional reason for avoiding the highlands.

It seemed possible that some evidence of the migration might be discovered by investigations in this plain; and such was the case, for to my great surprise I found that the ruling chief of the plain Kitoto, although he wears ornaments of the Nilotic type and is married to Ja-Luo wives, is a pure-bred native of the Kisii or Kossova nation, and that a few generations back occasional bands of Kisii people trekked northwards but were stopped in the plain, and became more or less absorbed by the Nyamoga clan. In fact odd parties of Kisii people make journeys northward even to this day. The Kisii people again have legends to the effect that they originally came from the southward, and I have no doubt that as investigations are continued it will be found that the Kisii and Ware tribes are two links in the chain of evidence in favour of an important Bantu migration from Nyamwezi country northwards.

With regard to the Awa-Ware, they do not seem to have gone inland to any extent, but to have crept along by water from island to island till they ended up in the vicinity of Nyala or Port Victoria. Their dialect is closely allied to that of the Awa-Nyala.

It is a matter for regret that it is almost impossible to arrive at even the approximate dates of these migrations, but among a people without written history and legends that rarely go back more than a few generations it will readily be understood that one's data is scanty.

Class II. Nilotic Kavirondo.—The invasion of the Nilotic Ja-Luo race (Plate III) appears, as I have previously explained, to have taken place later than that of the Bantu, and they are it is believed an off-shoot of the Acholi or Shuli stock.

Their southern advance was, I feel sure, only checked by the irruption of the Elgumi people into the country to the south-west of Mount Elgon, which movement finally closed the line of outlet against all further movements from the north.

The Elgumi people will, I think, be found to be an off-shoot of the race inhabiting the country to the north of the Salisbury and Kumama Lakes, which in the fragmentary state of our information about that area may be called the Lango group, and it may turn out that these people are intermingled with a Hamitic strain from the north-east.

To revert to Kavirondo proper, the Nilotic stock in that country, although occupying as a rule a less fertile area, appears to be more vigorous than the Bantu; and the Lakoli and other Bantu tribes on their present eastern frontier all tell me that their forefathers occupied territory some fifteen miles to the west of their original location, having been gradually driven eastward by the Ja-Luo.

The Ja-Luo settlements on the southern shore of Ugowe Bay, or Kavirondo Bay as it has been renamed, are also evidences of the persistent way the Nile people have pushed southwards in search of land, and proofs are to hand that

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

765 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [726] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [553] [535] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *mtawa* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and *tembo* drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 595] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *tembo* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

8: Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Luo FL11

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

●582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readiness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *wuowe*, that for a married man *jaōt*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *musomba*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

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582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala*=homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource.

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilised, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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783 of his village and lives in a hut with an old woman who attends to his wants, cooks for him and also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his hands. Separation lasts for three days, and on the fourth day a man who is himself a murderer, or who has at some time killed a man in battle, takes the murderer to a stream where he washes him all over. He then kills a goat and cooks the meat, takes four sticks and places a piece of meat on each stick and gives the man the meat to eat from each in turn. When the meat has been eaten, he gives him four pieces of porridge made into balls and put on the sticks. After this meal the goat-skin is cut into strips, one strip being put on the neck and one strip round each wrist of the murderer. This ceremony is performed by the two men who are alone at the river, and after it the murderer is free to return home. It is said that, until this ceremony is performed, the ghost cannot take its departure for the place of the dead, but hovers about the murderer.

428 **Inheritance.** It is usual for a son to inherit property. While a man is still in health, he makes known his wishes as to whom he desires to inherit his property, and his wishes will be observed. Should a son be too young to succeed to his father's estate at the time of death, the deceased man's brother manages the property until the son is old enough to take control. Should a man with property die intestate, the members of his clan elect one of his sons to be heir. There is no fixed law as to which son shall inherit. It is not a question of age nor may the son of a particular wife claim precedence over the sons of other wives, but the clan-members are at liberty to choose the man they consider the most suited for the office. Women never inherit or hold property. The father's stool and bracelet are given to the heir and are the insignia of lawful succession.

[562 421]

Marriage, Birth and Puberty.

● 582 **Marriage customs.** It was impossible to discover the ritual of marriage or the groups into which a man might or might not marry, all that could with certainty be learned being that there are exogamous divisions within the tribe.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried women have their own quarters in a village and the young men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however, from another village pay visits to the young women during the day and make love to them, and in the evening the women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed. When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter. The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee. During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste. The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

[595] 836 883 [848] 584 585 [837] 591

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

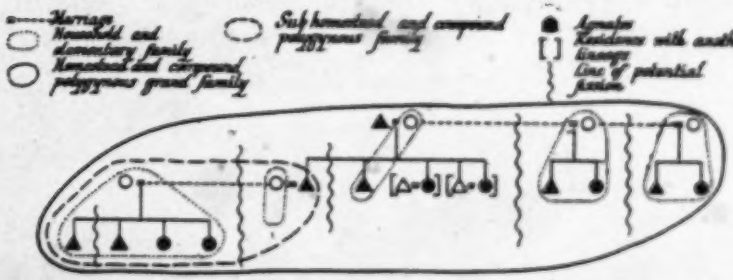
[2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Forde, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, cap. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 195–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. xx, 1950, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

with one maximal lineage, which includes the lineage segments whose territories are marked on the map (Fig. 3) as the locations of Karachuonyo, Kasipul, Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem.[1] These lineages all claim patrilineal descent by a recognized genealogy from Awandu the wife of Jook, an ancestor from nine to twelve generations of ascent from elders still alive. This is an exceptionally large exogamous group and has no parallel even among the Luo, with their very wide tracing of marriage bars. Its present population is about 120,000, including a small percentage of settlers (*jodak*) from other lineages. The ban on intermarriage is still observed throughout this group except for the *jodak*. Its major segments would



probably have separated from one another completely and ceased to claim effective common descent, if it had not been for the tendency of European administration to crystallize the relations of maximal lineages at about the stage they had reached when outside control was first imposed over half a century ago. Since that time the population of the group has probably doubled to reach its present size. It is regarded by all the Luo as one of the most important and most authentically Luo groups among them. Since, as the map shows, the territories of its major segments are not contiguous, but form three separate blocks, their day-to-day activities have become similarly divided; I deal chiefly with the block formed by the locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, which have a population of 90,000. The lineages of both these locations claim agnatic descent from Rachuonyo, and will be referred to together as Karachuonyo. (They were, in fact, called East and West Karachuonyo by the British administration until recently.) Karachuonyo people can intermarry with the lineages of the surrounding locations—Nyakach, Gem, Kanyada, and Kagan (see map, Fig. 3)—as well as with the groups of *jodak* who have been permitted by them to settle within their territory.[2]

Cases of murder between Karachuonyo and other lineages would—before the British administration—have occasioned blood-feuds between them in which the

[1] Wanjare is also included, but these people separated from the Luo and were incorporated into the Banta Kisii.

[2] There are only three considerable groups in Karachuonyo which are not agnatic descendants of Rachuonyo: Kanyadhiang' (1157), Wagwe (1734), and Kanwala (400); see Fig. 1. Tradition accounts for them as descended either from wanderers who became dependants of Karachuonyo families or from orphan castaways discovered and reared by them. In either case they married Karachuonyo girls, as is almost inevitable in a system of localized exogamous lineages. They therefore rank as sister's son's lineages to Karachuonyo.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

613 lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage
628 in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled.
613 When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment
673 of the maximal lineage, it is *nuru*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his
682 relative and stay by the grave until *chulo* (the first mourning period) is finished. He
688 must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

613 The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to
582 the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which
584 hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ode* (in-laws) and *nanga* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

585 The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simbo* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruok kode* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simbo*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home.
[583] The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *Ariewo* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is viewed in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and sentiments given in marriage prevention. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 3–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur and, probably, the Acholi.

422 less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest
582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing
595 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister
428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson
597 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead titular owner of all

583 1. *Cattle of the shrine*

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses

Most to *mikayi*, next to *ayachiro*, rest among *rero* wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rach kuk* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *atoke* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of scoring cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from these received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

592 Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and
613 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and
554 preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

769 Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young,
778 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer
782 command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used
[797] to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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V

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Preliminary Considerations

One difference between the older traditional kind of marriage and marriage as it is conducted nowadays lies in the part played by relatives to make the venture a success. Individual initiative was formerly negligible, the greater part of the marriage negotiations being undertaken by the relatives of both parties. This had the effect of reducing the importance of the bridegroom whose initiative gave way to a dependence upon the good will of his relations to whom the task of negotiation was left.

At present the tendency in marriage is towards individualism, although it is still a matter where society plays a considerable part. But since the individual man and woman are taking a greater part in deciding whom they shall marry, there is now a greater opportunity to develop an attachment genuinely based upon love. Steps are still usually taken, however, to ensure that the man's family has sufficient wealth to pay a satisfactory dowry, and the co-operation of the society in which the girl lives is needed if the relationship is to be successfully established. Great care is also taken to see that the marriage of the couple would not go against the normal stratification of relationships already in existence.

The marriage of a member of A-B family to C-D family* excludes the children of G and H from intermarrying with any member of the lineage of the maternal grandparents. So long as connection with the

*See diagram on p. 44.

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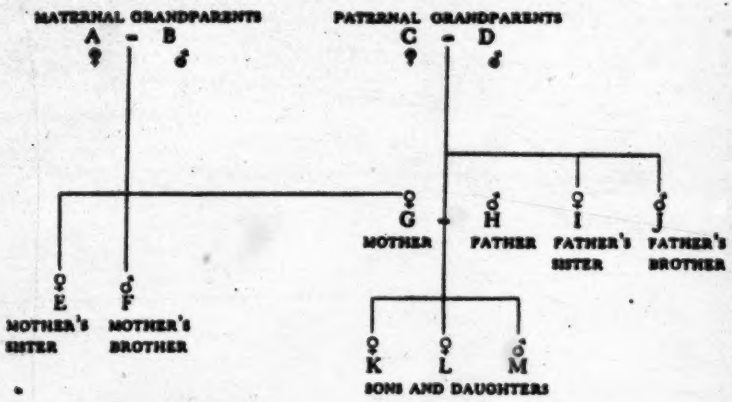

maternal grandparents can be traced, descendants of G-H family will not marry the person concerned.

But E may be married to H's brother and *I* too may marry E's brother. Should F's son wish to marry from the community in which G has been married it would be G who would take the responsibility of looking for a young woman from among the daughters of her brothers-in-law and not from among her sisters-in-law. In the same way, the sons of G's brothers-in-law cannot marry any of G's sisters or sisters by relation (daughters of her uncles). The method of acting through a relative in establishing a marriage connection is still in use, although personal initiative is increasingly taking its place.

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The Position of a Betrothed Woman

The life of a betrothed woman presents a busy time of conflicting and disturbing news. Information of much discomfort to both parties comes and goes and is forgotten. To the girl such information is of great importance, and her attitude is often affected by it. Each time a

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20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

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The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

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In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

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Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
614 name of the clan or larger lineage *ma* and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(neko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. The *dho keny*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

583 certain relatives. According to Shaw these represent the conventional payment which is made without question or discussion.(1) They are the basic minimum required if the marriage is to be concluded. One or two at a time are transferred over a period of about two years.

2. The *dho i keny*: additional cattle, the number of which is determined after lengthy negotiations between the husband's people and the wife's people. They average about 5 to 7. A number of goats are also handed over. If the two families are very friendly the transfer of the last animal may be postponed until the marriage of a daughter of the union.(2)

The father of the bride gets the bulk of the animals, most of which will be used as bridewealth for the marriages of his sons. The bride's maternal uncle gets a heifer and, according to Shaw, her paternal uncle gets a bull and heifer.(3) Usually the bride's family make some return gifts to the bridegroom's people, amounting to at least three head of cattle.

586 If there is a divorce the husband can demand the return of the cattle with their progeny. Usually every effort is made to avoid repaying bridewealth and the wife is often replaced by a sister or cousin. If two children have been born no bridewealth cattle would be returned if the wife died or left her husband; if there were only one child the bridewealth would be returned but two or three beasts would be retained.

Marriage Ceremonies

583 According to Evans-Pritchard, there are two forms of marriage: *por* and *neko*.(4) *Por* is marriage by elopement, and is regarded as shameful. Usually the girl's parents accept the situation and the union is regularised by the acceptance of some cattle - but fewer than is normal. *Neko* is the correct and usual form of marriage; a long chain of events intervenes between the time of obtaining the parents' permission to marry, and the marriage itself. It takes several months to complete a marriage, sometimes several years, according to the individual family circumstances.(5)

585 When the parents on both sides agree to the proposal of marriage, there follows the ceremonial capture of the bride - the *nako nyako*. A mimic fight occurs between the bride's people and the bridegroom's party, and the bride resists to show that she is not eloping. She goes to the bridegroom's village and is deflowered in the presence of witnesses. She is given a girdle with a tail *(cieno)* which she wears as a sign of her new status.

The *diero* and *lupo* ceremonies take place within a few weeks and are followed by the *duoko* party, which consists of a visit to the bride's parents and the paying of respects to her mother. There is feasting, singing and drinking through the night, and a few days later the bride returns to her parents' home. The bride now spends part of her time with

(1) Shaw, *JEAINHS*, 1932, Nos.45-6, p.45.
(2) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, 1950, p.139.
(3) Shaw, *op.cit.*
(4) Evans-Pritchard, *op.cit.*, p.132.
(5) Shaw, *op.cit.*

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

Por

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *por* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *simba* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his sweetheart run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhako ma por* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding.

Meko

Meko is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unrelated girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *simba* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagam* or *jatelo*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *simba*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagam* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage.

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the kraal. The *jagam* enters the homestead and goes to the *suvindhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *pim*, and he shouts to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagam* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *simba*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one

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she has left. The bridegroom keeps away from her—they are shy together and do not converse when in company.

After the bride has been dragged from her home the girls of her homestead follow after her singing. This singing party of girls, called *jodariya* or *omower*, arrives at the bridegroom's home in the evening. Now takes place the defloration of the bride in the presence of her sister, called *jadong*, perhaps accompanied by another girl of her home, and one of the bridegroom's married brothers. The *jadong* lays an ox-hide on the floor of the hut and draws the bride and bridegroom, both naked, towards it. She puts out the fire and in the darkness the marriage is consummated, though without orgasm. The witnesses rekindle the fire and by its light examine the man's member for the *ring ruoh*, the hymen. When the *jadong* sees it she shouts the news to the girls of the singing party outside, who then enter and beat the bridegroom, saying: 'You have killed our sister.' He gets out quickly and goes away. The visiting girls and the young men of the home sing together all night, the bride remaining with them in the *simba*. If the bride is found not to have been a virgin there is no singing because of the shame. However, it makes no difference to the validity of the rite and if there is subsequently a divorce, a cow called *dher dwong nyako*, the cow of the maiden's honour, has to be paid by the bridegroom's people whether his bride was a virgin or not.

Early next morning the party of girls return home, taking the hymen with them and singing all the way. When they enter the bride's homestead all the people of the home throw ashes towards her father and mother. The girls then eat, for they are very hungry, not having eaten at the bridegroom's home. His parents took no notice of them, either by providing them with food or in any other way. 'They are enemies.' The bride remains in the bridegroom's home, and the *jadong* with her to keep her company. Still no bridewealth has been paid and there has been no discussion about it.

Shortly after the marriage has been consummated the bridegroom's people give the bride a *ciemo*, a girdle with what looks like a tail, made of fibrous material, at the back, to wear as a sign of her new status. They present her with a goat at the same time. They also give her a small pubic covering.

Dierro

A large party, called *jodiro*, now—generally on the day after the defloration, I believe—goes singing from the bride's district to the home of the bridegroom. There may be more than a hundred young men and girls in this party, the men bearing clubs and shields and wearing ostrich-feather head-dresses. They wait outside the bridegroom's homestead and send the bride's brother to call her out. When she comes her brother asks her: 'What do you think? Do you agree that we ask for a bull? Are you willing to stay with your husband and be his wife?' The *jadong*, who has come out with her, knows her mind and answers for her. The brother reports to his companions that she agrees. They enter the kraal and point to an ox and say that they want that one. The bridegroom's father may do no more than promise them an ox but generally he gives it to them right away, though not the animal they have chosen for they will have picked out the best he has. After argument they agree to accept the one he gives them and take it home with them. It is kept by the bride's father and counts as part of the bridewealth. Two or three days after the visit of the *jodiro* party

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the bride's sisters visit her, bringing porridge. Often her parents kill a goat and cook it and send the meat with the porridge, and it is eaten by the bride and the bridegroom's sisters. The bride's sisters return home the same day if they live near, on the following day if they live far away. The bride generally returns to her parents after this visit.

Lupo

About a week later takes place the *lupo* ceremony. The bride's family kill a bull and sometimes also a goat or sheep and some fowls. If they are rich they may kill two bulls. Apart from one foreleg, the head, and the skin, which they keep for the elders of their own household, the carcase is taken raw to the bridegroom's home by the bride's young kinsmen in advance of her young kinswomen who follow with the cooked intestines, some meat off the ribs, and porridge. The bearers of the meat take it to the hut of the bridegroom's mother where it is divided into customary portions among the people of his home. When the bride's kinsmen have put it down they fling their clubs at the fowls till they have killed a cock, which they roast in the dung fire and eat. They shout to the people of the bridegroom's home demanding porridge to eat with it, but this is not always provided. They then return home, passing the girls who are bringing the cooked meats.

The girls wait a few hundred yards away from the bridegroom's homestead and send a girl to the *siwbe* to summon the bride to come and eat. She asks the messenger whether the other girls of the home have been told about it and the messenger replies: 'No, it is for you to collect your people together.' The bridegroom's people, and not the people of her parents' home, are her people now. The bride shouts to the girls of the homestead, chaffing them: 'Come out and eat. We want to feed you. You never see good meat in this homestead. Now you have married a rich man's daughter and will get meat.' The bride comes out of the homestead with the *jadong*, who has been with her all the time, and her husband's sisters. They sit down and eat the meat, the bride herself eating only a morsel, while the visiting girls sing in the kraal. When they have finished their meal they join the visitors with whom they fix a day for the next ceremony, the *duoko*, the returning of the bride to her parents. The visitors then return home.

Duoko

This ceremony is called *ter* to the south of the Kavirondo Gulf. It takes place a few days after the *lupo* ceremony. The husband's people and their friends form a party, called *joduokayako* or *joterayako*, to visit the wife's parents. Before setting out the women of the home smear the wife and the *jadong* with butter at the entrance to the hut of the husband's mother and throw sesame over them. The sister of the husband brings a twig and hands it to her brother and tells him to beat his wife. He gives her a stroke with it. The sister then hands it to the wife who strikes her husband with it. The party now set out, often taking a goat with them. The husband's sister leads the procession, followed by the wife and her *jadong*. When they reach the wife's homestead its womenfolk rush out and prevent them from entering it. An old woman, preferably the bride's grandmother, pierces the lower beak of a fowl, threads a cord through it, and ties it round the wife's neck. She then cuts off the lower beak and throws the

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583 585 fowl to the ground. The small boys of the home kill it and afterwards eat it. The visiting party now enter the kraal and pay their respects to the wife's mother. The night is spent in eating, drinking, singing, and flirting. If the owner of the homestead is rich he may kill an ox in the morning for the visitors to feast on. The visitors then return home, taking with them the wife, or bride, but not her *jadong*. The wife returns to her parents after spending a few days in her husband's home.

So far there has been no talk about cattle, but after this ceremony the husband, or his father, begins to pay bridewealth and the wife's parents put pressure on him to expedite payment by encouraging their daughter to return home on frequent visits. The husband cannot prevent her departure, nor can he demand her return, but he has the right to send his brothers to seize her and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his home whenever he sees her at a public gathering, to-day often at a market. The husband pays an animal, then the wife returns to her parents, then he pays another animal, and so on, till the parents are satisfied and let him take his wife for good.

Powo

The husband starts paying the bridewealth after the *dwoko* ceremony by sending to his parents-in-law a young bull called *dher powo* because his father strikes it with a twig of the *powo* tree before dispatching it to them. The wife remains with her parents for about a month after this payment, and then takes place the *dwoko powo*, the returning of the twig, when the wife returns to her husband in the company of her *jadong*. She stays with him a few days and returns to her parents.

Riso

As the husband is anxious to start a home of his own and cannot do so while his wife is constantly running back to her parents he now pays the cattle as fast as he can. When he has paid from six to twelve head of cattle he sends his *jagam*, the go-between who negotiated the marriage, with his brothers to tell his father-in-law that he has now paid the bridewealth and wants the *riso* ceremony to be held. He says that he will pay later the cattle still owing. After this ceremony his wife will remain with him and be a full wife to him in both a domestic and a legal sense. She will cook for him and he will have redress if she has sexual intercourse with other men in the *simba*. The *riso* is the binding act of marriage.

When the *jagam* and the husband's brothers make their request the wife's people laugh at them: 'What are twelve (maybe) head of cattle? You are playing a game. You can go and tell your brother to come and take his cattle back.' The *jagam* refuses to make any more payments, so they tell him to go back and tell his friend to remove his cattle. When the husband hears this he asks his relatives and friends to accompany him to his parents-in-law. They take a heifer or young bull with them to placate them. The husband assumes a downcast expression and makes himself appear as miserable as he can. He does not cheer up even when his parents-in-law send him beer to drink in their *simba*. The visitors ask for their wife and her father may consent to her going if they promise to pay the rest of the cattle soon, but usually he is obdurate. He says: 'Go and get that cow. You are still playing a game. I don't want to keep the girl here. It rests with you when you take her. You can take her to-day if you like, but you must first bring the rest of the cattle.' The *jagam* and the father argue. Everyone

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knows more or less what is going to happen. If the husband is really poor the father will eventually give way. If he has a number of cattle the *jagam* gives way and promises one more beast. It is very rare for a marriage to be broken off on account of cattle at this stage. If the father is very obstinate the husband's people return home leaving the husband behind to sulk in his father-in-law's *simba*. He refuses to eat the food his mother-in-law sends him there and gets an occasional meal with friends in the vicinity. After several days his father-in-law says to him: 'Hello, are you still here? What are you doing here?' The young man replies: 'I want to die here in your kraal.' The father-in-law says: 'You can't do that. Get out.' He refuses to go without his wife and finally the father-in-law says: 'I am tired of you both. Get out and take your wife with you, and mind you pay that cow quickly', and he calls his daughter and tells her to get out with her husband as he is tired of seeing him there. He pushes them both out of the homestead.

The ceremony of *riso* is then held in the husband's homestead, where he has collected all his relatives and friends. It is a day of great gaiety. The wife and a party of girls from her home come singing to her husband's home. When they are a few hundred yards from his homestead the wife and two of her friends hide themselves. The other girls come on in a body, enter the kraal and go straight to the *simba*. One of the husband's brothers asks where are the rest of the party, meaning the wife. The wife's eldest sister replies: 'I don't understand what you are talking about. There is no one missing. We are all here.' Some youths are sent out to scout round to see if they can find the wife. They move softly, looking about them and listening for sounds. When they find the wife they pull her to the entrance of the kraal. Here she says: 'I don't want to enter your homestead. You give me what you know.' He promises to give it to her later in the *simba*, but she refuses to enter without a payment, so he gives her an arm-ring, called *manyonge* in Alego and *onyonge* in South Luoland. At the entrance to the *simba* she says she must have something in return for bending down to enter it and they often make her another gift for this purpose, though a rough brother of her husband may just take her by the scruff of the neck and push her in. In the hut she says that she is very tired and wants to sit down. One of the men forces her to sit.

The visiting girls spend the night at the husband's home. Some of them may spend it with local youths in their bachelor-huts. Next morning the husband's people bring a bull or an ox and call the senior girl of the wife's people and ask her to accept it. She always says that it is too small, but when the husband pleads poverty she accepts it. The visiting girls take some of the meat home with them on the following day, but they eat most of it that night in the *simba* after the husband's people have given the wife an ornament in return for that privilege. They must give her another present to enable her to sit down there. All the husband's people bring her gifts. She sits with her legs tucked under her and has to be given a present to stretch them. She says she wants to spit and they give her something to enable her to do so. She says that soot from the roof may fall in her eyes, and they give her something to compensate her for the risk. They also give her a number of other presents, each of which has its name: *ra yanji mavo*, a goat to pay in advance for any insulting remarks the husband may make about his mother-in-law; *ra luor tawo*, a goat for the wife to place her husband's daily gruel respectfully before him; *gir bangala higa*, an ornament for the burns a wife

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585 431 may incur while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ngolo olawo*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will always be expectorating on the floor; *gir logo*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir teno wic*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kom*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *diend then*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *juro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *riso* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: 'You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also.' The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *riso* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

585 591 After the *riso* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise, her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miaha*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gango* in Southern Luoland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simba* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simba*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

585 The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloha

583 The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloha*, *dho nyombo*, and *dho keny*. The number of

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animals paid varies according to the circumstances of the time. From the information recorded by early authorities (Johnston, Hobley, Northcote, Stam, and Hartmann) it appears that before cattle plague had destroyed much of the Luo livestock at the end of last century, anything between twenty and forty head of cattle were paid. Since then, until recently, bridewealth has fluctuated between two or three and six or seven head of cattle. One gathers from Shaw's account that in 1932 round about twenty cattle were regarded as a suitable bridewealth. My own inquiries in 1936 led me to believe that at that time the number of cattle paid might be expected to be somewhere between fifteen and twenty.

They fall into two parts, the *dho keny* and the *dho i keny*. The *dho keny*, the animals the husband pays first, are those which are named and earmarked for certain relatives of the bride. They comprise the basic minimum which has to be paid if the marriage is to be concluded. These are the *dher maro gi nyatheni*, the cow of the mother and its calf, *dher wuoro gi nyatheni*, the cow of the father and its calf, *dher atum*, the cow of the bow, a female calf which goes to the father's brother, *dher ciwo*, the cow of the fresh milk, *thum dhok*, a bull for the father, *ruath pala*, the calf of the knife, which is paid so that if any of the bridewealth cattle die in the home of the bride's parents they may eat the meat—before it is paid they send the meat to the bridegroom and he has to replace the beast; *ruath dier*, the ox provided for meat at the *diero* ceremony, and *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, an animal killed by the bridegroom's people to provide the mother of the bride with meat—it is killed in her home but there is no special time when it has to be presented. Except for the cow, and perhaps a calf with it, which goes to the paternal uncle and the ox slain to feast the visiting girls at the *diero* ceremony, all these animals are taken by the parents. The terms by which they are described differ in different parts of Luoland.

I believe that to the south of the Kavirondo gulf no distinction is made between the named and the unnamed cattle, but it is a very important distinction in Alego, where the husband's *jagam* and brothers are most careful, when they take the named animals to the home of the bride's father, to leave no doubt in his mind which particular animals he is receiving. He cannot then get an additional animal by claiming later that one of those which must in all marriages be paid has not been paid. The husband pays one or two of the *dho keny* at a time and it generally takes about two years for him to hand them all over. In addition he has to pay the *dho i keny*. The number of these extra cattle is not fixed and is reached by negotiation between the husband's people and his father-in-law. Nevertheless there is a conventional average, in 1936 between five and seven head of cattle. It is about the odd extra beast or two that the lengthy discussions take place. Some of the *dho i keny* are paid shortly after the *dher powo* (which counts as one of them) has been handed over but the husband does not pay them, if he can avoid it, until he has settled all the named claims, as he may otherwise find that he has to give more cattle than he bargained for. In addition to cattle the husband's people pay a number of goats, between five and ten. The husband may not be able to pay all these animals for some years, and if his father-in-law is friendly he will not press him too hard to settle a small outstanding debt. The final animal perhaps will not be paid till the wife's daughter is married.

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Although the father of the bride gets the bulk of the bridewealth, most of the animals will be used to marry wives for his sons, and he may give one or two to his

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583 brothers. The bride's maternal uncle generally gets a heifer, the *dher nyakwo*, the cow of the sister's daughter, but it is not, I think, regarded as being part of the bridewealth and the payment in no way concerns the father of the bride. It is given to the maternal uncle in return for gifts, may be a ram, some chickens, and some eleusine, and for hospitality to the husband; for a well-disposed maternal uncle invites him to his home. The uncle has no legal right to the heifer. The Luo say that the *ner* is only an *ora*, the maternal uncle is only an in-law (of the father of the bride).

The last of the animals to be paid seems to be the *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, to which I have earlier referred. It is also called *hedho* and by other names. This ox is sometimes not paid till several years after the bride has been through the final rites of marriage. The husband's people drive it to the mother-in-law's home, arriving very early in the morning before the people are up, and they take the further precaution of severing the tendon of one of its legs as they drive it into the kraal, so that the young men of the home cannot seize it and add it to their herd. It is meat for the mother and not an ox for the herd of her husband and sons. It is then killed in front of the mother's hut. The wife's parents probably make the husband's party a return present of a sheep. They eat part of it in the home of the wife's parents and take the rest of the meat back with them to their own people.

It should be noted that the bride's family have to make return gifts to the husband's people and that these are also called *miloka*. Some of the gifts are animals slaughtered during the marriage rites, but it seems that they also have to pay one or two other beasts at various times to the husband's people. I was told that they hand over at least three head of cattle altogether, or as many as five if they are rich, including those killed for meat during the ceremonies. This is a point that invites further inquiry.

586 Everything paid by the husband's people to the wife's family counts as bridewealth and should there be a divorce the husband can demand their return, together with the progeny of the animals of the bridewealth. However, Luo regard divorce as a grave misfortune, and if the breach is occasioned by the wife's misbehaviour or is due to her running away from her husband, her parents make every effort to maintain the alliance they have entered into with the husband's people by replacing her by a sister or cousin. Also, if a wife dies the return of her bridewealth is regarded as a last and most undesirable resort. Instead, her parents try to replace her by a sister or cousin. This is known as *apongo dhwonga*, the filling of the basket. The husband may have to wait many years before he gets his new wife. He has to go through the full ceremonies of marriage with her and to pay bridewealth, though only a few cows, perhaps five or six. More are asked for if the replacement is from a different family. In the event of the bridewealth being returned, two or three head of cattle, according to the circumstances of the case and the sex of the child, are retained by the wife's people for any child she bore her husband, the child remaining with him. I believe that after the birth of a second child no cattle would be returned. However, even when a wife dies leaving several children behind her, her parents try to give the husband a relative in her place to keep up the alliance.

Ci liend

587 When a marriage has been completed, that is to say after a child has been born, it is regarded by Luo as a union which should not in any circumstances be broken. If the

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765 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [726] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [555] [536] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 ●583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of millet porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

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village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and much drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 586 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 583 [622 619] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, smoke pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 286

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Oriadi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use clubs and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other rparts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *wuoye*,
885 that for a married man *jaat*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *musombe*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
● 585 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

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were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala* = homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource.

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilised, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

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When the *dho golo onyimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochiemo*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

583 585 with him three or four cows. The party entered the *dala* very slowly feigning indifference and reluctance. The bridegroom made himself as inconspicuous as possible, and tried to conceal himself in the midst of his companions. No ceremonies took place on the day of arrival, but the guests were given food and spent the night in the *simba* hut. On the following day the bridegroom was taken to the hut of the bride's mother and made formally known to her. Meat was killed and the day was spent feasting and drinking. Finally in the evening the bridegroom and the bride's father sat down together and the [533] bargaining began. The rest of the gathering were entertained by a professional minstrel who sang topical songs, some composed to meet the occasion. His fee, incidentally was a goat, which, for some reason I could not discover, had to be presented to him by the bride. He was also given presents by the girl's father and mother.

During the bargaining the bride's father tried to get as large a payment as possible out of the bridegroom. If he was too greedy the negotiations were broken off, and the bridegroom paid compensation for the expenses incurred in entertaining his party and for the loss of the bride's virginity. But if the two came to an agreement that agreement was final, and no further demands on the father's part or subtractions on the part of the bridegroom were allowed, unless the former demanded to see the cattle before accepting them. This was sometimes done, and if the cattle were unsatisfactory he might refuse to proceed with the marriage. If, on the other hand, he trusted the bridegroom, the negotiations were considered closed, and he might even consent to receive a proportion of the bride-price after instead of before the final marriage feast had taken place, and the girl left her home for good. In this case the bridegroom had to give an extra bull, known as the *ruadh kirisya*, which was sent over for inspection before the feast took place. If it was accepted the final ceremonies were then carried through.

583 In most cases the bride-price itself was paid by instalments over a period that varied with the ability of the bridegroom's father to meet his liabilities. Usually some months elapsed before the whole number of cattle had been handed over, and it might even be a year or two before the girl's father received all that was due to him. During this period it was customary for the girl to pay her future husband a visit from time to time. She was always accompanied on these visits by one or two girl friends, and was expected to stay for several days. She slept in the *simba* hut with her betrothed, and intercourse took place. It sometimes, though rarely, happened that the girl conceived [844] on one of these occasions. This was bad luck for the girl's parents, but fortunate for the bridegroom, for it was absolutely necessary that the child should be born in his *dala*. He could in consequence hurry on the marriage, which could now take place before the whole of the

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dowry had been paid; he was thus enabled to spread his payments of the bride-price over a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. Also the fact that the girl was with child prevented her from being carried off by any other man; apparently a not unheard of occurrence. 583

The wedding feast itself—the *kirisya*—took place in the bridegroom's *dala*. The bride arrived accompanied by her sisters, or, if her sisters were too young to go with her, by her brothers' wives. She was also attended by one older woman, perhaps a married sister, who acted as a chaperone. It was the special duty of this older woman to see that the bride was properly treated, and to make herself polite to the father and mother of the bridegroom. But with this excepion older men and women were never included in the bride's party. Any man who attached himself to it would have been laughed at for mixing himself up with an affair that concerned women only. On the other hand not only did the bridegroom's sisters attend the feast but, as well, all his brothers, half brothers, and first cousins (in other words all the people he called " brother "), the wives of his brothers, and all his male friends. 585

As a rule the wedding feast lasted only one day, but if the guests had come long distances, it might last two or even three days. The feast consisted of porridge and meat. The young people were not given beer, but the bridegroom's mother usually brewed a small quantity for her husband and his brothers.

The meat provided consisted of the flesh of a bull which was cut up and apportioned according to certain definite rules. The division was the duty of the bridegroom's father, who first of all cut a small piece from the neck and sent it into the bridegroom's mother, who waited in her hut to receive it. He then cut more small pieces from the neck and scattered them outside and inside her hut. This was an offering to the ancestral spirits, and was accompanied by the following prayer:— 585 782

Dho waniego dhiang mar dhakonye juogi duto ubi ucham bad jachien aketo nü ticloka kwara gi woura gidega umi ringere nyani okwe natu kiringia marach obed man gima maber dalo duto.

Prayer and offering were together intended to placate the ancestral spirits and to persuade them to bless the marriage. After this the right fore leg was cut off and placed in the centre of the mother's hut. This fore-leg had a special name, *badjachien* and was a gift to all the ancestral spirits. It was afterwards eaten by the bridegroom's father and mother, and part of it was dried and sent to the bride's mother.

The whole of the breast, with the exception of a small piece reserved for the bridegroom's brothers, is sent to the brothers of the 585 184

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845 852 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; [831 786 535] scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 831 535 786 *Miend Kumu* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well [882] *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the paricular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

● 583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

583 585 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

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ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simba,* where they spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest. 585

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new- [431]
"chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the [292]
occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi,* others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament [431]
round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about $^1/_2$ of an inch [301]
in diameter *(ataka)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a powo-tree. With this stick

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585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid
● 583 off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass
[301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over
273 with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from
[533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparations

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g.. an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—EDITOR.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects.

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers.

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers.

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
604 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period
593 they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today. 721 674 583 178

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son. 422 428 595

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle. 428 [587]

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned. 437

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273
234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu
326 Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst
439 the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes
[564] constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu
411 neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed,
278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived
534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands
584 at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken
585 by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already
587 paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with
586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after
583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

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husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters. The latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

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583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats,
[852] though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is
551 also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ochieng*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieh*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obonyo*—the man like a locust.

763 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *nuoro*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chode* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ochi* (in-laws) and *nuoga* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simbo* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to peove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruoth kode* (the "heifer of the stick"), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simbo*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kisera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and sustenance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that [illegible] coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acholi.

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to his home and continue to live in the *simba*, the bride not cooking on her own, 585
but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riso* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *aliech* and his mother-in-law the goat of *aum thunda*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ataka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simba* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman 583
without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simba* and was sent straight to her lover, or [554]
on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity [178]
to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies 587
of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences 586
rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there 422
are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

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less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the abila*
Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Most to milkpot, next to sparkles, rest among new wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *ruoth kode* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ateko* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

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VI. RITUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAGE STRUCTURE

It is among the *oganda* segments subordinate to minimal *dhoot*, which have not had time to become too unequal in size, that the strictest adherence to the theory of co-ordination is practised. As an illustration of this I give here an account of the performance of *rite*—a ritual transaction between a husband and his wife's mother—at which I was present. It is a typical example of the co-ordinate activity of class B segments. The diagram (Fig. 7, facing p. 53) is a continuation of the chart (Fig. 6), and shows the members of the *dhoot* of Mboya (98) who participated or were represented on this occasion. Female as well as male members of the lineage participate; consequently the personnel of the smallest *oganda* segments includes both the wives and daughters of male lineage members, and so coincides with that of the extant elementary families. But in the genealogy of dead ancestors the daughters of members are omitted, as having normally married and become ancestresses in other lineages and so lost significance in their own, while the wives of members still have to be included for their structural importance.

Since a lineage tends to act ritually at two levels simultaneously—the superordinate lineage deployed into its major segments[1]—it is all the easier to picture it, even at its remoter ancestral levels, as a family divided into its component cells (see above, p. 51, 'compression'). It was the woman 'A' whose *rite* was being performed. She belongs to the elementary family of her mother Osiru, a minimal *oganda* segment. Osiru's two childless co-wives and the five others, with their sons, represent the compound polygynous family of Akoko-Ochieng', now dead. The compound family of his father, Ochieng'-Akoko, contained the four elementary families of Nyanewa, Bware, Owira, and Modi. Ochieng''s father Akoko-Mboya had been by one wife only, the elementary family of Agulo. Akoko-Mboya and his brother Ogwano together represent the elementary family of their mother Abiero, whose agnatic descendants constitute the *oganda* of Kabiero within which the *rite* was performed. Mboya had other wives besides Abiero, but their descendants are very few and do not live in the *gweng'* called after Mboya. The result is that the descendants of Abiero can call themselves *dhoot* Kamboya, since they have successfully claimed Mboya's name for it, but in ritual situations such as this it is more correct for them to call themselves *oganda* Kabiero, for *oganda* Kamboya would include the descendants of Mboya's other wives, who had no share in the occasion.

Rite is said to be a *singruok* (promise) with the mother of one's wife. Until it is performed the wife is technically free to go to her home and associate with other men, visiting the *simbe* (see p. 19) if she likes, but after *rite* has been performed she can no longer do so, and her own lineage would prevent her. The husband kills a bull, retains one foreleg for himself, and sends the rest to his wife's mother for division by the elders of the *oganda*. The senior living elder of *oganda* Kabiero is Dondi-Ochieng'. The first round of meat distribution (marked I on the diagram) was the taking of their shares by Dondi, Asumo, and Ojuok, senior living elders of the *oganda* segments of Bware, Owira, and Modi. Each of these, after taking his share home, made a subsidiary division of it to his senior brothers or to the eldest

[1] *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 51.

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sons of senior brothers who were dead; thus Dondi to Ong'wena, Dea, Nyagol, and Ogendo; Aconi to 'Ogwang' and to the eldest sons of Agalo and Oyuko who were dead; Oyuok to Were and Oyugi. This completed the major segments of the *ayanda* of Ochieng'-Akoko except for that of Nyaswa, the actual grandmother of the woman; this segment, as host, came last. The lineage of Ochieng'-Akoko has as its co-ordinates those of Mingwa, Okun, Geya, and Mboya. There were no representatives of Okun or Geya present, but Randa and Omolo were there for Mingwa and Mboya, and their taking of shares completed the distribution to the major segments of the *ayanda* of Akoko-Mboya (marked II on the diagram). This latter has one co-ordinate in the *ayanda* of Ogwena, which was represented by Ogwena's senior grandson Osimbo, who took his portion to share it with Owade and Ogwena, younger brothers, and Obora, eldest son of his dead brother Were. Thus the senior structure of *ayanda* Kabiero (marked III on the diagram) was represented in the ritual. There followed the distribution within the 'host' *ayanda* of Nyaswa, the woman's own grandmother (IV on the diagram). First the woman's half-brothers Obware, Kaswa, Osano, Otula, Awuor, Hezra Mboya, and Alooch took their portions; then there was a separate distribution in the *ayanda* of Osiro (V on the diagram) to the woman's senior brothers Paulo Mboya,[1] Nyaswa, and Ogego.

During the morning, before the actual distribution was made, all the elders present ate together certain other portions of meat[2] which by custom have to be eaten raw on this occasion. Besides this there was the customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother; the neck and top ribs to be cooked by the woman's mother for her brothers to eat together with any friends they like to call; the kidneys to be cooked by the woman's sisters who are still in their mother's house, and eaten by them together with any friends they like to call, and the liver and remaining ribs and offal to be eaten by all the women of the homestead where the division is made. The division of the animal might be tabulated as follows:

1. Fore foreleg: for the daughters, husband of the woman.
2. Second foreleg: for all the descendants of the woman's father (except those who receive under 4).
3. Fore hindleg: (*a*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of each of the co-wives of the woman's paternal grandmother, and to be shared by them with their surviving senior brothers and the eldest sons of any deceased senior brothers;
   (*b*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the senior brothers of the woman's paternal grandfather and similarly shared by them;
   (*c*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the senior brothers of the woman's paternal great-grandfather and similarly shared by them. (No intermediate division to the heads of the houses of the co-wives of the woman's great-grandmother because Agalo was the only wife of Akoko-Mboya.)
4. Second hindleg: for the woman's mother and her sons.
5. Neck and top ribs: for the woman's brothers and their friends.

[1] Paulo Mboya was Chief of Kanaboneyo from 1921 to 1948, and since then has been Executive Secretary of the Local Native Council of South Kavirondo. In 1948 he was appointed to represent Kenya Africans on the East Africa Central Assembly. I was deeply indebted to him for much kind assistance during my stay in Kanaboneyo.

[2] These were *dwon (kuonyi), chuel ng'o (shins), chuel apuru (rump), ulwa, and adudo. Obi, adudo, and uringo are eaten after they have been cooked by the method of bale—roasting by holding them over the open fire.*

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6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the women's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends.
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother. 583 ●
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bule*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every 613
case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. 782
These are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indi- 769
cated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of rite.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is 613
also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceed- 574
ingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 273
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage. [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage seg- 613
ments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 574
order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the repre- 576
sentatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices [illegible] with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

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159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

[682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however,
● 583 had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a pongo and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
682

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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, when the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a *panga* in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

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583 injured and not infrequently death results. Indigenously the
682 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue these arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Whenever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

682 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
[262] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Luo women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

586 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

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762 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 159 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Joluo.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

• [583] It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 159 595 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

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848 source of much social rejoicing to discover that a
[836] married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a
[585] bride was given a high prestige among the other women.
[554] In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate
child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man
[595] with a number of wives. There was no possibility of
occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and
[583] the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was
taken by the man who legally married her, but she was
not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything
was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

848 Examples of such pregnancies are very common at
17.8 present. But although social disapproval is still keenly
684 felt, modern conditions have become more favourable
to women in this situation, and an increasing number
of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some
communities, no death punishment was ever given. If
the occurrence takes place between close relatives the
matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple
could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

871 Progress in the education of adolescent girls is ham-
883 pered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suit-
562 ability to the environment of their women. To the
178 majority, modern education is associated with clerical
work and the many other jobs that men take up after a
school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not
clearly envisaged.

[582] The social importance attached to marriage is having
to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the
raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability
to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high
esteem for the traditional education which it tends to
interrupt and weaken.

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group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

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Aspects of Marriage

Dowry. The payment of a dowry takes place when the suitor of a young woman has formally presented himself to her parents and obtained their consent. Having agreed to marry him, the woman arranges the interview with the parents. The news of his coming is generally communicated to the father through the mother. In certain matters relating to her sexual life, the girl might confide in her mother, with whom she naturally feels very much at home.

The traditional marriage. The traditional marriage, which has undergone considerable modification in many respects, is characterized by a number of ceremonies. The ceremonies which follow take place after the 'meko' or 'catching', a term applied to the act of seizing a girl and dragging her to her husband's home. This 'catching' is arranged by the husband and his relatives. Normally the girl is aware of it long before it takes place. The time when it will occur can be estimated by considering the number of cattle paid in—between seven and eight according to my own experience. After this time arrives the girl must restrict her movements lest she tempt her suitor to 'catch' her.

Having decided to 'catch' her, he tries by several methods to get her out of the reach of her brothers, who would normally put up a strong fight before allowing their sister to go. If the bridegroom's friends fail to lure her away from her home, they attempt to 'catch' her in it. But this can be done only where there is no strong force of young men to match the raiders. In such an event, arrangements would be secretly made with the woman in whose hut the girl sleeps; and a small payment having been made to her, the bride is seized in the dark.

Sometimes the father gives permission for his daughter

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to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let
583 his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

585 Among the majority of young women an unwilling-
152 ness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violet outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

585 *The traditional ceremonies.* The news that a particular girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a
[836] group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the

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meat to be shared among the different families within the larger lineage to which the husband belongs. This is followed by a big feast at the girl's home where people spend a whole night outside, drinking, eating, and singing. When the girl returns to his home it is time for the husband to continue paying dowry as demanded by her parents.

The final ceremony marking the completion of the dowry and indicating the husband's satisfaction with his wife is called 'riso'. At this the husband slaughters an animal and gives a great feast to his relatives.

Variants of traditional marriage customs. With the introduction of modern ideas and the widening of the people's physical environment, a large number of special marriages now occur which omit various features of the traditional ceremony. This is especially true of marriages where there is a strong basis of love. In such instances a young woman may go to her suitor without ceremony after making some private arrangement.

Christian influence has greatly modified marriage. Like the traditional marriage the Christian version is characterized by many ceremonies, some new and some old. Thus in the traditional marriage the husband is required at each stage to make several payments in live animals to cover certain procedures, and in Christian marriage he can cover all of them at once by paying a live animal or some money.

The violence which characterized former marriages is absent from the Christian ceremony. In reality, what happens inside the church is purely western, but what occurs outside is a blend of modified traditional practices and certain features of western life. Christian marriage is distinguished from traditional marriage by the large expense involved. Thus, contrary to what might be expected, it is among the Christians that people exist who

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585 demand very high dowries for their daughters. Like the
177 traditional marriage it[1] is also accompanied by con-
[583] siderable emotional strain, felt more by the mother and
[152] female children than by the male members of the family.

[1] [i.e. Christian marriage. – Analyst]

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

Par

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *par* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *simbe* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his sweetheart run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhako mo par* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding.

Mako

Mako is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unrelated girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *simbe* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagaw* or *jatula*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *simbe*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagaw* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage.

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the kraal. The *jagaw* enters the homestead and goes to the *rawindhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *jaw*, and he shouts to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagaw* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *simbe*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala* = homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource.

Between the permission to marry, however and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilized, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

● 584 system should be borne in mind by those who are inclined to argue that because primitive marriage customs are governed chiefly by practical considerations those who submit to them must necessarily be lacking in what are known as " the finer feelings."

After the choice of a wife had been made and approved on both sides the next step, until as late as ten years ago, was the ceremonial capture of the bride. This was known as *mako nyako* (literally " the catching of the fmaiden "). The man and one or two of his friends armed with clubs and shields would lie in wait for the girl as she went to work in the fields or draw water from the river, and when she came they would take her away with them to his village. She was expected to resist her capture, but not too seriously. As soon as it was known that she had been carried off she was followed by her sisters and as many of her friends as cared to go. On the night of her capture, and in the presence of her friends intercourse would take place between her and her future husband in the *simbabut* (the *simba* hut is the hut inhabited by the unmarried men of the family). The man expected to find her a virgin. If he was disappointed she fell into permanent disgrace. Her parents were furiously angry with her; her husband held her unchastity against her for the rest of her life, and she returned to her village on the following day in silence and shame. But the marriage was not abandoned nor was the bride-price diminished on this account. If she was found to be virtuous she returned to her home surrounded by her sisters and friends singing songs and rejoicing, and the whole party were smeared with sim-sim oil, ghi and ashes on their arrival by the bride's mother. This triumphal return was called *omu wer*. Before it could take place, however, two other ceremonials had first to be carried out at the bridegroom's *dala*. The first, called *diero*, began with the arrival there, on the day following the capture of the girl, of a party of young men belonging to her clan. The party was composed of her brothers and some of their friends, armed with clubs and shields. They were met outside the *dala* by the bridegroom and his brothers and some of his friends and a sham fight usually took place between the two bands of young men, though sometimes they did not trouble to stage the traditional mock battle. After the encounter the visitors chose a bull and a heifer from the family herd. The cattle chosen need not necessarily belong to the bridegroom's father; they might be the property of some other member of the family, and if this was so they were replaced later by beasts belonging to the former and sent to the bride's father. This bull and this heifer were known as the *dho diero* and were not delivered until a much later stage in the proceedings.

After the bull and the heifer had been chosen a ceremony of an obviously sacrificial nature took place. A hen was brought by the bridegroom's grandmother (his father's mother). A string was passed through a hole pierced in the lower part of the hen's beak, and the

grandmother then hung the bird, still alive, round the neck of the girl. 584
Hanging there it was then killed, and immediately afterwards removed by cutting away the lower part of the beak through which the string was passed, leaving this portion still hanging round the girl's neck. The bird was afterwards roasted and eaten by the men in the *dala*.* After the fowl had been removed the girl put on a small apron about 584
six inches square made of strips of leather hanging free from a sup- 292
porting strip decorated with beads and cowrie shells. Aprons of this kind were manufactured by a man whose special trade it was. The [463]
beads on it were made of *mukongo* and the apron itself of cow-hide. The apron given to the bride was not a new one. It was borrowed for her from one of the bridegroom's married sisters, and she took it away with her and wore it until he sent her a new one of her own. At the same time she put on a small "tail" of cactus fibre. This tail, like the larger one worn by married women, was known as *chieno*, and the plant from which it was made was called *twore*. If there was no fibre ready in the *dala* from which the *chieno* could be made, a fresh supply was gathered after the girl's arrival, and the *chieno* was constructed by a woman married either to one of the bridegroom's full brothers, half brothers, or to one of his first cousins, i.e. to any of the men whom he called "brother." The small *chieno* was presented to the bride by the bridegroom, who first, however, gave her a goat. This goat (*diend chieno*) was in turn presented by the girl to her best friend who had accompanied her from her home and who was expected to remain close to her side until she returned to her mother's care. The bride wore the small tail until certain cattle, known as the *dho golo onyimbo* (the cattle of the casting away of the *onyimbo*) were paid to her father. She then took off both the *chieno* and the *onyimbo*, and they were burnt. I did not, at the time, 584
enquire into the motives and beliefs underlying this ceremony, as enquiries of this kind made through an interpreter seldom have any satisfactory results, but the ceremony is obviously a *rite de passage* marking a stage in the girl's progress from the virgin state to that of a married woman. After the night in the simba but she was no longer entitled to the name of *nyako*—a maiden—but was referred to as *miako*—a bride—a designation that was applied to her until she finally left her father's *dala* for that of her husband.

After these ceremonies she was sent back to her home with her companions and to the accompaniment of the songs and rejoicings I have already described (*omu wer*), taking with her a goat given her by her father-in-law. This goat was called the *diend buombwe* because it was decorated for the journey with festoons of the creeper called *buombwe*, which was also used in this way on other occasions of rejoicing. The goat was given by the girl to her father who could

* Women were forbidden to eat fowls (or sheep) for fear that if they did so they would contract chicken-pox (*fere*). [262]

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Lue FL11

dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tere nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwendha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the dala was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwendha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lopo* then took place in the bridegroom's dala, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

After the *tere nyako* and the *lopo* had taken place a bull known as the *dho pelo cwiembo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them he sent a new *cwiembo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *cwiembo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chiewo* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chiewo* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre string was all that a Lue woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

* Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the dala sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional nakedness adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtain details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel apparently has matrimonial properties. For if any man accosts her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

When the *dho gole onyimbe* had been paid the bull and the heifer 584
—the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle
outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, 586
after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull.

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the 585
ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage.

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochiemo*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the 585
bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute 422
property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to 428
allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son.

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted 583
that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without 585
question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point.

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

and possibly was invented to keep women in subjection. It has only partly succeeded. Something more potent than a creation story is required to keep many of the LUO women down. Two illustrations suffice to show this. The first in Church. The collection is being taken up, and a man finds himself without any cash. He crosses over to the women's side, whispers a few words to his wife, whereupon she gives him a cent for the collection. Like many a wife in other lands, she holds the purse strings. The second the Law Court. A wife pleads for a divorce from her husband on the ground that he has become a polygamist. She gets her divorce.

Much of the apparent inequality is only apparent, not real. The thing which, more than any other, has been quoted as showing the inferior position accorded to women, is the manner in which girls are given in marriage. But this is not so much a matter of sex as of age. If it be true that girls are sometimes given in marriage without their wishes being consulted in the matter, it is also true that many a young man is provided with a wife without his wishes being consulted either. Not so long ago I asked a man what the girl to whom he was engaged was like. He replied that he had never seen her, that the marriage had been arranged by his father. This kind of thing is quite common. And it must not be forgotten that the girl's mother is taken into the fullest consultation when the question of her daughter's betrothal is raised. It is not decided by the man only. And generally there is some form of consultation with the girl. Long and bitter experience has taught the community that to force some girls beyond a certain point is only to lay up trouble for the future. Only three weeks ago a father came to me to ask me to try to mediate in his daughter's affairs. She had been betrothed when quite a young child to a man old enough to be her aged father. He had in due course taken her to wife, and there were two children by the union. Then she left him and consorted with another man, more nearly her own age. I saw the woman, went into the matter and found that the old man was so uncongenial to her, that even the fact that she had born him two children was not strong enough to reconcile her to her lot. She had much of my sympathy, though I could not condone the desertion of her children.

Not even the very strongest bonds can bind a woman who wishes to break them. The most binding form of betrothal known to the LUO, is that which is the outcome of an alliance between two families. The Luo have a proverb which runs " Osiep otho, to wat chotho." In English it would run " friendship dies, but relationship does not die." So, as in other lands, the heads of two Luo families may desire to cement their friendship by ties of intermarriage. A feast is provided by one of the parties, generally by the one taking the initiative in

the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar ceeke," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties, mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposed to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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582
There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595]
may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom
he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836
woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883
careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried
women have their own quarters in a village and the young
men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse
than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however,
from another village pay visits to the young women during
the day and make love to them, and in the evening the
women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with
them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene
character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is
not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is
a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848]
relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed.
When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584
a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to
the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the
amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents
consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been 585
paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the
young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during
this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house
where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part
in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents
give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast
the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in
turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter.
The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to
obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee.
During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837]
to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to
live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as
before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride
claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste.
The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591
village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

845 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and
852 each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks
and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance,
[834 scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs,
[786 which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal
535] where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay
over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 *Mimi Kama* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has
831 given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some con-
535 siderable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last
786 as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman,
and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after child-
birth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

●584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married
tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the
father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make
his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites
a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well
[882] *(jatiele)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the
simbu i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simbu* or the girls of the place go to greet
the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or
prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatiele* goes to the hut
of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his
daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatiele* what kind of lad the boy is,
whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether
he can pay a decent dowry, etc.

If the father agrees the *jatiele* goes back to his friends in the *simbu* and re-
ports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and
then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then
all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night.
They sleep in the *simbu* separately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl
after she had left the *simbu*, and take her to her fiancé's village *(make)*. On account
of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this
practice is no longer adhered to.

583 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day
send the *jatiele* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry,
585 usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they
catch *(make)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have
had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her
out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys
from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

273 234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu
326 Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst
474 the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes
[564] constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu
411 neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their spears have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed,
278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived
534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the
584 years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken
585 by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having
587 borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his deceased *wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with
586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after
583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the *Jaluo* notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the *Jaluo*, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons. If a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and B his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile B has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the deposed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats,
[852] though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it
551 was born, *e.g.*, *enyange*, morning; *eching*, noon; *adiombe*, afternoon; *eticos*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *ehele*—the man who owned much *cotoms*; *ehich*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *chongo*—the man like a bursa.

763 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *nertre*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chulo* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ode* (in-laws) and *nenge* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simbo* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *nuk kode* (the "heifer of the stick"), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simbo*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *Ariewo* is held. This completes the customary twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and sustenance given to marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very regular, and it is certainly not controversial amongst the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 1–11. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of levirate marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenyan Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acholi.

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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respected sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he was regarded as a junior

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Suicide Case No. 4.

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A young lad aged about 23 years was being married to a girl from a neighboring location. He had paid a portion of bride-wealth and many of the early ceremonies had been performed. His bride had returned to her home as is the custom until he had paid the remainder of the bride-wealth. He went to his father-in-law to discuss the last and final payment, with his *jagues* as witness, and the father-in-law agreed that a milch cow would complete the payment. He returned in high spirits to the home of his father and asked for the cow, stating that this was all the father-in-law demanded. His father told him that if he had not paid enough, then the father-in-law must be a bad man and the girl was not worth having. The father and the son quarreled, and during the quarrel the son threatened suicide if he did not get the animal. The next day the son took a cow by force, while his father was absent, and sent it off to his father-in-law by a group of herd boys. When the father returned, he was furious at what his son had done and went after the cow himself. He caught up with the boys and brought the cow back to the village.

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The son had warned his father that, if he should take this course, he would hang himself, and, as he saw the father returning in the distance, he hanged himself from a tree which stood just outside his father's village. This tree, as is the custom, was completely uprooted and destroyed.

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The next cases are two which were due to modern circumstances but which in a sense involve the loss of status and therefore brought shame to the individual.

Suicide Case No. 5.

A young man eloped with the wife of a Kikuyu in Nairobi, far from his homeland. Whereas in Luo customary law to run off with the wife of another man is not considered to be particularly serious, in Kikuyu customary law it is regarded as

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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

9. This example is used time and time again by the Luo to prove the point that the tendency to commit suicide is inherited or caused by ancestors. 159 762 828

I was able to follow one particular series of events in connection with Luo marriage laws and customs over three years, which began with the elopement of a girl and her lover, and ended in suicide only a month before this chapter was written.

Marriage in Luo is traditionally arranged by the family of the boy and the family of the girl. Not infrequently, because of debt or close friendship, a father may promise his daughter in marriage to a friend or creditor while the girl is still very young. He obtains the animals to which he is entitled (*dho i keny'*) approximately one half of the final bride-wealth, at that time and the girl is known as *nyar kiecke*, "the wife of the beer reed," as this arrangement is usually contracted and finalized at a beer party. So it was in the case we are about to describe. 584 159 762

Suicide Case No. 10.

The girl in this case had been promised by her father when she was but three years of age to a friend of his own age group. The father, Opio*, was a well educated Joluo, and by the time his daughter, Akech, was ready to be taken in marriage, at the age of 18, he was employed as the headmaster of an intermediate school administered by a local mission. He had insisted that his daughter be educated to enhance the final payment (*dho mitahini*) of her bride-wealth. She was, for an African woman, a well educated girl. She had received a secondary school education where, in this particular segment of the Joluo tribe, fewer than 1 per cent of the girls have had as much education. [871]

Akech had been prepared for this event all her life. She knew her future husband and from a child, each time he visited

* All names are fictitious, but common Joluo names.

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762 the village, she would be teased and chided pleasantly about
159 the fact that he was her future husband. Perhaps she would
584 have been married sooner, had her future husband, Opala, not been employed in a city many hundreds of miles away. He returned on his long leave to consummate the marriage at the time when the girl had just finished her secondary education and was about 18 years of age.

While at school, however, Akech had fallen in love with a teacher, Okare, in a neighboring technical school and he was determined to marry her. He went to her father and pleaded to be allowed to repay the bride-wealth animals her father had received years before and to complete the bride-wealth payments to marry the girl by Luo law and custom. Opio adamantly refused, and her brothers threatened Okare with physical violence if he should try to see the girl again. Okare was heartbroken and returned to his place of employment. Akech, however, had other ideas. When she was told that the date of her wedding had been fixed, she pleaded and tried every traditional way of breaking the marriage, but was unsuccessful. Her father and her prospective husband remained adamant.[9]

159 The night before the wedding, she ran away from home to
762 join Okare at his place of employment. Both knew that they
584 would be pursued by the girl's brothers and by her father, so
689 they hired a car and fled to the boy's village in a distant Luo tribe, some 200 miles away. Her father, brothers and future husband pursued the lovers to Okare's village where the father had him arrested for taking Akech from his custody. Okare's brothers, however, took the girl to Nairobi to hide her pending the result of the case. One of the brothers was then arrested for aiding and abetting the elopement.

Now the essence of this case goes to show that the father

[392] [9] By tradition, a girl may run off to the home of a "bride," thus to marry will produce sterility. She may climb a tree *bonde*, an *euphorbia*, which is believed to be closely associated with the ancestors. There are several other ways, all of which would cancel an ordinary wedding, but none is effective in the case of *oper kiseke*.

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wanted the best of two worlds. Traditionally, elopement (*pur*) is justified and is legal, albeit more difficult in cases of *nyar kieke*, providing that the young man has stated his willingness to pay bride-wealth and has been refused. Moreover, it is the last remaining traditional way by which a young woman, forced to marry against her will, is able to break the arrangement. Today, however, because there are so many illegal unions, the African courts take a serious view of young men and women running off to the towns without the slightest intention of paying bride-wealth.

While Okare and his brother were retained in gaol, pending the case, the girl's father and her brothers went to Nairobi, where they found the girl after some difficulty and took her back to her village by force. There they married her to Opala and he, with two of her brothers, took her by force to the place of his employment which was in another territory nearly 700 miles away.

Opio, who was an influential man in his district, then proceeded with the case against Okare and his brother. The Court decided in favor of Opio, ordered compensation for the expenses he had incurred securing the return of his daughter. Okare and his brother were heavily fined for having taken the girl from the protection of her father. The compensation and the fine amounted to a very large sum of money and the boy appealed to the District Officer's Court. Pending the Appeal, he went to search for new employment at Nairobi. Akech, in the meantime, had arrived at the home of her husband in the far away city, only to find that he was already married and that his first wife, as a Christian, refused to have her in her home. Quarrels and arguments began in earnest, with the result that Opala had no alternative but to send the girl back to her father and to demand a divorce. Akech, however, did not go home but returned to Nairobi to Okare.

The father heard what had happened and, in the shame and humiliation, hanged himself in a classroom at the school

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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide.

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing."

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof.

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife.

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents.

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

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762 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her hus-
191 band. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed
584 suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 11.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her hus-
191 band. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In
571 evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Jukun.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the re-
[583] turn of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she al-
191 leged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual
595 pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

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883 On the whole, girls dislike those men whose chief object
864 is sexual satisfaction. Their caution is often the result of
881 talks on the nature of sexual relationship which girls hold in their communal sleeping places, and with older women.

When newly-married women return to their maternal homes, they freely discuss among themselves—especially during sleeping hours—their experiences with their husbands. This affords an opportunity for the unmarried adolescent girl to obtain first-hand information on the nature of relationships in married life.

883 *Opportunities for contact.* The normal first meeting between girls and those with whom they may have sexual relations, takes place by conscious or deliberate arrangements made by the parties concerned, at marriage ceremonies or in public places like market centres or towns. They first make each other's acquaintance somewhere between the girl's and the man's house, particularly when the two live in close proximity. These are distinguished from any other meetings in that they are arranged between the male friends and the older adolescent girls or those on the threshold of adolescence.

The meetings which take place during marriage ceremonies are observed with great interest by girls of the nursing age, who watch the older girls' behaviour towards their men friends with keen curiosity. In many instances introductions are managed through the brothers of the girls. Introductions resulting in marriage
●584 may also come about through a girl first acquainting
883 herself with sisters who introduce their brother to her. Brothers of adolescent girls would, like all members of the family, disapprove of a prolonged friendship without any sign of betrothal and would do all they could to persuade the girl to look for another friend.

881 *Sex education of adolescent girls.* Girls in the old tradi-
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raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

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V

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Preliminary Considerations

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One difference between the older traditional kind of marriage and marriage as it is conducted nowadays lies in the part played by relatives to make the venture a success. Individual initiative was formerly negligible, the greater part of the marriage negotiations being undertaken by the relatives of both parties. This had the effect of reducing the importance of the bridegroom whose initiative gave way to a dependence upon the good will of his relations to whom the task of negotiation was left.

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At present the tendency in marriage is towards individualism, although it is still a matter where society plays a considerable part. But since the individual man and woman are taking a greater part in deciding whom they shall marry, there is now a greater opportunity to develop an attachment genuinely based upon love. Steps are still usually taken, however, to ensure that the man's family has sufficient wealth to pay a satisfactory dowry, and the co-operation of the society in which the girl lives is needed if the relationship is to be successfully established. Great care is also taken to see that the marriage of the couple would not go against the normal stratification of relationships already in existence.

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The marriage of a member of A-B family to C-D family* excludes the children of G and H from intermarrying with any member of the lineage of the maternal grandparents. So long as connection with the

*See diagram on p. 44

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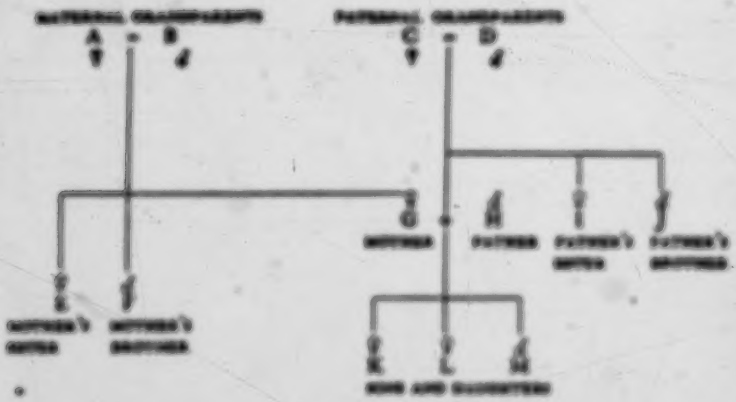

maternal grandparents can be traced, descendants of G-H family will not marry the person concerned.

But E may be married to H's brother and *I* too may marry E's brother. Should F's son wish to marry from the community in which G has been married it would be G who would take the responsibility of looking for a young woman from among the daughters of her brothers-in-law and not from among her sisters-in-law. In the same way, the sons of G's brothers-in-law cannot marry any of G's sisters or sisters by relation (daughters of her uncles). The method of acting through a relative in establishing a marriage connection is still in use, although personal initiative is increasingly taking its place.

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The Position of a Betrothed Woman

The life of a betrothed woman presents a busy time of conflicting and disturbing news. Information of much discomfort to both parties comes and goes and is forgotten. To the girl such information is of great importance, and her attitude is often affected by it. Each time a

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group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

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•574. on their own initiative, the object being to familiarise
881 them with the relationship between husband and wife and with the prospective husband's moods and to establish a good understanding. At this time there is no instruction on the care of babies, such knowledge being acquired after the woman has given birth.

871 The difference between the traditional training of
178 brides and their modern education, even in its elemen-
[881] tary stages, is tremendous. While traditional education is constantly weakening, modern education tends to develop along its own independent lines, omitting rather than assisting those elements it is intended to improve. It is likely that a stronger foundation could be built through modern education if the latter paid more heed to those features of community life which most urgently require improvement, but which in themselves provide a groundwork of practical knowledge.

The pace of progress in Luo society is bound to be slow while the sphere of women's life remains still radically conservative. It is arguable that modern education emphasizes literary theory too much, yet the traditional education which stresses practical work from early childhood, gives only a limited time for theory, even in maturity. However this may be, there is no doubt that
[881] there now exists too much ignorance of the requisite knowledge about sex, for girls and young women can be met who plainly profess ignorance on certain fundamental features of the traditional training.

It therefore seems necessary that if education is to be of real use and interest to girls, some features of practical value to society should be included. This presupposes a thorough study of the subject concerned and a wise selection of those elements which would inspire the pupils to improve themselves and the society in which they move.

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Aspects of Marriage

Dowry. The payment of a dowry takes place when the suitor of a young woman has formally presented himself to her parents and obtained their consent. Having agreed to marry him, the woman arranges the interview with the parents. The news of his coming is generally communicated to the father through the mother. In certain matters relating to her sexual life, the girl might confide in her mother, with whom she naturally feels very much at home.

The traditional marriage. The traditional marriage, which has undergone considerable modification in many respects, is characterized by a number of ceremonies. The ceremonies which follow take place after the 'meko' or 'catching', a term applied to the act of seizing a girl and dragging her to her husband's home. This 'catching' is arranged by the husband and his relatives. Normally the girl is aware of it long before it takes place. The time when it will occur can be estimated by considering the number of cattle paid in—between seven and eight according to my own experience. After this time arrives the girl must restrict her movements lest she tempt her suitor to 'catch' her.

Having decided to 'catch' her, he tries by several methods to get her out of the reach of her brothers, who would normally put up a strong fight before allowing their sister to go. If the bridegroom's friends fail to lure her away from her home, they attempt to 'catch' her in it. But this can be done only where there is no strong force of young men to match the raiders. In such an event, arrangements would be secretly made with the woman in whose hut the girl sleeps; and a small payment having been made to her, the bride is seized in the dark.

Sometimes the father gives permission for his daughter

583 certain relatives. According to Shaw these represent the conventional payment which is made without question or discussion.(1) They are the basic minimum required if the marriage is to be concluded. One or two at a time are transferred over a period of about two years.

2. The *aho i kony*: additional cattle, the number of which is determined after lengthy negotiations between the husband's people and the wife's people. They average about 5 to 7. A number of goats are also handed over. If the two families are very friendly the transfer of the last animal may be postponed until the marriage of a daughter of the union.(2)

The father of the bride gets the bulk of the animals, most of which will be used as bridewealth for the marriages of his sons. The bride's maternal uncle gets a heifer and, according to Shaw, her paternal uncle gets a bull and heifer.(3) Usually the bride's family make some return gifts to the bridegroom's people, amounting to at least three head of cattle.

586 If there is a divorce the husband can demand the return of the cattle with their progeny. Usually every effort is made to avoid repaying bridewealth and the wife is often replaced by a sister or cousin. If two children have been born no bridewealth cattle would be returned if the wife died or left her husband; if there were only one child the bridewealth would be returned but two or three beasts would be retained.

Marriage Ceremonies

583 According to Evans-Pritchard, there are two forms of marriage: *por* and *mako*.(4) *Por* is marriage by elopement, and is regarded as shameful. Usually the girl's parents accept the situation and the union is regularised by the acceptance of some cattle - but fewer than is normal. *Mako* is the correct and usual form of marriage; a long chain of events intervenes between the time of obtaining the parents' permission to marry, and the marriage itself. It takes several months to complete a marriage, sometimes several years, according to the individual family circumstances.(5)

585 When the parents on both sides agree to the proposal of marriage, there follows the ceremonial capture of the bride - the *mako nyako*. A mimic fight occurs between the bride's people and the bridegroom's party, and the bride resists to show that she is not eloping. She goes to the bridegroom's village and is deflowered in the presence of witnesses. She is given a girdle with a tail *(cieno)* which she wears as a sign of her new status.

The *diero* and *lupo* ceremonies take place within a few weeks and are followed by the *dunko* party, which consists of a visit to the bride's parents and the paying of respects to her mother. There is feasting, singing and drinking through the night, and a few days later the bride returns to her parents' home. The bride now spends part of her time with

(1) Shaw, *JEAORNS*, 1932, Nos.45-6, p.45.
(2) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, 1950, p.139.
(3) Shaw, *op.cit.*
(4) Evans-Pritchard, *op.cit.*, p.132.
(5) Shaw, *op.cit.*

the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridewealth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to return he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognized as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home.

The *rim* ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to redress if the wife has intercourse with other men. As the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents, he presses for the *rim* ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The *rim* ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each gift being named as it is presented to her. She herself keeps some of them and they are taken by the girls of the *rim* party from her parents' village.

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband tells his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to built an *ot* - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut *(siwin)*. Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT *(LUO)*

The Luo practice extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation.

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2)

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, VI, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*

Per

These notes refer to the ordinary form of Luo marriage. There is another and rare form called *per* which is marriage by elopement, and is regarded with shame and ridicule. A man brings a girl to the *siwke* where he penetrates her. She remains in his home and cooks in his mother's hut, a sure sign that a woman regards herself as a wife. Or a man and his *yweetheart* run away to a distant tribe and cohabit there. The girl's family may try to make her return to them, but if she refuses to do so they regularize the union by accepting some cattle from her lover, though he does not pay as many cattle as he would have done had the marriage been negotiated in the usual manner. A girl married to-day by Christian rites is sometimes referred to disparagingly as a *dhoko ma per* because she cooks in her husband's home immediately after her wedding. 583 [579]

Mole

Mole is the correct form of marriage, and the word is also used for the first phase of it, the abduction of the bride and her defloration before witnesses. A youth, having obtained his father's consent, looks for a suitable wife. He may already have his eye on a local girl, but frequently he goes with a friend to look for a bride from the home of a distant kinsman in whose neighbourhood there are plenty of unmarried girls. When he hears of a nice girl he visits her home and sits in its *siwke* till she and the other girls of her home come to chat with him. If he likes the girl he later returns to her home accompanied by two friends, one of them, called *jagow* or *jatob*, being a friend of both families whose business it is to negotiate between them. The young man asks the girl to marry him. If she is unwilling the marriage is unlikely to take place, even though her parents are agreeable to it. If she favours him she tells him to discuss the matter with her parents. When they consult the parents the suitor sits between his two friends so that the people of the home can tell at a glance, if they look into the *siwke*, which of the visitors it is who is asking for the hand of their daughter. The suitor leaves the *jagow* to do the talking. As he is a friend of the girl's family her father knows that he would not have undertaken to act as go-between unless the suitor had enough cattle. There is no mention of cattle at this stage. 583 584

The next phase is the abduction of the bride. The young men of the bridegroom's home come to the girl's home in the early morning and wait outside the entrance to the kraal. The *jagow* enters the homestead and goes to the *suwindhi*, the girls' dormitory in charge of an old woman called the *pim*, and he shouts to this old woman that he wants their bride. After being promised a present the old woman opens the door. The girl at once begins to make trouble. She holds on to the old woman and screams and struggles as the *jagow* drags her away. The young men of the village come to her assistance and a mimic fight takes place between them and the youths from the bridegroom's home. It is seldom that a bride is averse to going to her husband, who may have long been her lover, but she must resist with as much noise as she can to show that this is not an elopement but a proper marriage. Once she is out of earshot of her home she goes quietly with the young men. When they arrive at the bridegroom's home she goes straight to the *siwke*, where his brothers and sisters entertain her, the sisters chaffing her and telling her that their home is a much better place than the one 583 585

583 she has left. The bridegroom keeps away from her—they are shy together and do not
585 converse when in company.

After the bride has been dragged from her home the girls of her homestead follow after her singing. This singing party of girls, called *jodiriyo* or *ouanor*, arrives at the bridegroom's home in the evening. Now takes place the defloration of the bride in the presence of her sister, called *jodong*, perhaps accompanied by another girl of her home, and one of the bridegroom's married brothers. The *jodong* lays an ox-hide on the floor of the hut and draws the bride and bridegroom, both naked, towards it. She puts out the fire and in the darkness the marriage is consummated, though without orgasm. The witnesses rekindle the fire and by its light examine the man's member for the *ring rock*, the hymen. When the *jodong* sees it she shouts the news to the girls of the singing party outside, who then enter and beat the bridegroom, saying: "You have killed our sister." He gets out quickly and goes away. The visiting girls and the young men of the home sing together all night, the bride remaining with them in the *ciaba*. If the bride is found not to have been a virgin there is no singing because of the shame. However, it makes no difference to the validity of the rite and if there is subsequently a divorce, a cow called *dhar duong ayuba*, the cow of the maiden's honour, has to be paid by the bridegroom's people whether his bride was a virgin or not.

Early next morning the party of girls return home, taking the hymen with them and singing all the way. When they enter the bride's homestead all the people of the home throw ashes towards her father and mother. The girls then eat, for they are very hungry, not having eaten at the bridegroom's home. His parents took no notice of them, either by providing them with food or in any other way. "They are enemies." The bride remains in the bridegroom's home, and the *jodong* with her to keep her company. Still no bridewealth has been paid and there has been no discussion about it.

Shortly after the marriage has been consummated the bridegroom's people give the bride a *cone*, a girdle with what looks like a tail, made of fibrous material, at the back, to wear as a sign of her new status. They present her with a goat at the same time. They also give her a small public covering.

Dare

A large party, called *jodiro*, now—generally on the day after the defloration, I believe—goes singing from the bride's district to the home of the bridegroom. There may be more than a hundred young men and girls in this party, the men bearing clubs and shields and wearing ostrich-feather head-dresses. They wait outside the bridegroom's homestead and send the bride's brother to call her out. When she comes her brother asks her: "What do you think? Do you agree that we ask for a bull? Are you willing to stay with your husband and be his wife?" The *jodong*, who has come out with her, knows her mind and answers for her. The brother reports to his companions that she agrees. They enter the kraal and point to an ox and say that they want that one. The bridegroom's father may do no more than promise them an ox but generally he gives it to them right away, though not the animal they have chosen for they will have picked out the best he has. After argument they agree to accept the one he gives them and take it home with them. It is kept by the bride's father and counts as part of the bridewealth. Two or three days after the visit of the *jodiro* party

the bride's sisters visit her, bringing porridge. Often her parents kill a goat and cook it and send the meat with the porridge, and it is eaten by the bride and the bridegroom's sisters. The bride's sisters return home the same day if they live near, on the following day if they live far away. The bride generally returns to her parents after this visit.

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Lupo

About a week later takes place the *lupo* ceremony. The bride's family kill a bull and sometimes also a goat or sheep and some fowls. If they are rich they may kill two bulls. Apart from one foreleg, the head, and the skin, which they keep for the elders of their own household, the carcase is taken raw to the bridegroom's home by the bride's young kinsmen in advance of her young kinswomen who follow with the cooked intestines, some meat off the ribs, and porridge. The bearers of the meat take it to the hut of the bridegroom's mother where it is divided into customary portions among the people of his home. When the bride's kinsmen have put it down they fling their clubs at the fowls till they have killed a cock, which they roast in the dung fire and eat. They shout to the people of the bridegroom's home demanding porridge to eat with it, but this is not always provided. They then return home, passing the girls who are bringing the cooked meats.

The girls wait a few hundred yards away from the bridegroom's homestead and send a girl to the *simbo* to summon the bride to come and eat. She asks the messenger whether the other girls of the home have been told about it and the messenger replies: 'No, it is for you to collect your people together.' The bridegroom's people, and not the people of her parents' home, are her people now. The bride shouts to the girls of the homestead, chaffing them: 'Come out and eat. We want to feed you. You never see good meat in this homestead. Now you have married a rich man's daughter and will get meat.' The bride comes out of the homestead with the *jadong*, who has been with her all the time, and her husband's sisters. They sit down and eat the meat, the bride herself eating only a morsel, while the visiting girls sing in the kraal. When they have finished their meal they join the visitors with whom they fix a day for the next ceremony, the *dusko*, the returning of the bride to her parents. The visitors then return home.

Dusko

This ceremony is called *ter* to the south of the Kavirondo Gulf. It takes place a few days after the *lupo* ceremony. The husband's people and their friends form a party, called *jadusknyako* or *jotornyako*, to visit the wife's parents. Before setting out the women of the home smear the wife and the *jadong* with butter at the entrance to the hut of the husband's mother and throw sesame over them. The sister of the husband brings a twig and hands it to her brother and tells him to beat his wife. He gives her a stroke with it. The sister then hands it to the wife who strikes her husband with it. The party now set out, often taking a goat with them. The husband's sister leads the procession, followed by the wife and her *jadong*. When they reach the wife's homestead its womenfolk rush out and prevent them from entering it. An old woman, preferably the bride's grandmother, pierces the lower beak of a fowl, threads a cord through it, and ties it round the wife's neck. She then cuts off the lower beak and throws the

J: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1934) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

fowl to the ground. The small boys of the house kill it and afterwards eat it. The visiting party now enter the kraal and pay their respects to the wife's mother. The night is spent in eating, drinking, singing, and flirting. If the owner of the homestead is rich he may kill an ox in the morning for the visitors to feast on. The visitors then return home, taking with them the wife, or bride, but not her *jadieng*. The wife returns to her parents after spending a few days in her husband's home.

So far there has been no talk about cattle, but after this ceremony the husband, or his father, begins to pay bridewealth and the wife's parents put pressure on him to expedite payment by encouraging their daughter to return home on frequent visits. The husband cannot prevent her departure, nor can he demand her return, but he has the right to send his brothers to seize her and drag her, screaming and struggling, to his home whenever he sees her at a public gathering, to-day often at a market. The husband pays an animal, then the wife returns to her parents, then he pays another animal, and so on, till the parents are satisfied and let him take his wife for good.

Puro

The husband starts paying the bridewealth after the *dudo* ceremony by sending to his parents-in-law a young bull called *dher puro* because his father strikes it with a twig of the *puro* tree before dispatching it to them. The wife remains with her parents for about a month after this payment, and then takes place the *dudo puro*, the returning of the twig, when the wife returns to her husband in the company of her *jadieng*. She stays with him a few days and returns to her parents.

Rito

As the husband is anxious to start a home of his own and cannot do so while his wife is constantly running back to her parents he now pays the cattle as fast as he can. When he has paid from six to twelve head of cattle he sends his *jagaw*, the go-between who negotiated the marriage, with his brothers to tell his father-in-law that he has now paid the bridewealth and wants the *rito* ceremony to be held. He says that he will pay later the cattle still owing. After this ceremony his wife will remain with him and be a full wife to him in both a domestic and a legal sense. She will cook for him and he will have redress if she has sexual intercourse with other men in the *simbo*. The *rito* is the binding act of marriage.

When the *jagaw* and the husband's brothers make their request the wife's people laugh at them: 'What are twelve (maybe) head of cattle? You are playing a game. You can go and tell your brother to come and take his cattle back.' The *jagaw* refuses to make any more payments, so they tell him to go back and tell his friend to remove his cattle. When the husband hears this he asks his relatives and friends to accompany him to his parents-in-law. They take a heifer or young bull with them to placate them. The husband assumes a downcast expression and makes himself appear as miserable as he can. He does not cheer up even when his parents-in-law send him beer to drink in their *simbo*. The visitors ask for their wife and her father may consent to her going if they promise to pay the rest of the cattle soon, but usually he is obdurate. He says: 'Go and get that cow. You are still playing a game. I don't want to keep the girl here. It rests with you when you take her. You can take her to-day if you like, but you must first bring the rest of the cattle.' The *jagaw* and the father argue. Everyone

knows more or less what is going to happen. If the husband is really poor the father will eventually give way. If he has a number of cattle the *jagaw* gives way and promises one more beast. It is very rare for a marriage to be broken off on account of cattle at this stage. If the father is very obstinate the husband's people return home leaving the husband behind to sulk in his father-in-law's *siwba*. He refuses to eat the food his mother-in-law sends him there and gets an occasional meal with friends in the vicinity. After several days his father-in-law says to him: 'Hello, are you still here? What are you doing here?' The young man replies: 'I want to die here in your kraal.' The father-in-law says: 'You can't do that. Get out.' He refuses to go without his wife and finally the father-in-law says: 'I am tired of you both. Get out and take your wife with you, and mind you pay that cow quickly', and he calls his daughter and tells her to get out with her husband as he is tired of seeing him there. He pushes them both out of the homestead.

The ceremony of *rice* is then held in the husband's homestead, where he has collected all his relatives and friends. It is a day of great gaiety. The wife and a party of girls from her home come singing to her husband's home. When they are a few hundred yards from his homestead the wife and two of her friends hide themselves. The other girls come on in a body, enter the kraal and go straight to the *siwba*. One of the husband's brothers asks where are the rest of the party, meaning the wife. The wife's eldest sister replies: 'I don't understand what you are talking about. There is no one missing. We are all here.' Some youths are sent out to scout round to see if they can find the wife. They move softly, looking about them and listening for sounds. When they find the wife they pull her to the entrance of the kraal. Here she says: 'I don't want to enter your homestead. You give me what you know.' He promises to give it to her later in the *siwba*, but she refuses to enter without a payment, so he gives her an arm-ring, called *manyonge* in Alego and *onyonge* in South Luoland. At the entrance to the *siwba* she says she must have something in return for bending down to enter it and they often make her another gift for this purpose, though a rough brother of her husband may just take her by the scruff of the neck and push her in. In the hut she says that she is very tired and wants to sit down. One of the men forces her to sit.

The visiting girls spend the night at the husband's home. Some of them may spend it with local youths in their bachelor-huts. Next morning the husband's people bring a bull or an ox and call the senior girl of the wife's people and ask her to accept it. She always says that it is too small, but when the husband pleads poverty she accepts it. The visiting girls take some of the meat home with them on the following day, but they eat most of it that night in the *siwba* after the husband's people have given the wife an ornament in return for that privilege. They must give her another present to enable her to sit down there. All the husband's people bring her gifts. She sits with her legs tucked under her and has to be given a present to stretch them. She says she wants to spit and they give her something to enable her to do so. She says that soot from the roof may fall in her eyes, and they give her something to compensate her for the risk. They also give her a number of other presents, each of which has its name: *ra yanyi maro*, a goat to pay in advance for any insulting remarks the husband may make about his mother-in-law; *ra lwor tawo*, a goat for the wife to place her husband's daily gruel respectfully before him; *gir bangala higa*, an ornament for the burns a wife

585 may come while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ogolo olaun*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will
431 always be expectorating on the floor; *gir lego*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir tuo wo*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kow*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *dieud thou*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *yuro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *rice* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: "You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also." The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *rice* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepe

585 After the *rice* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise,
541 her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miche*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepe*, called *gengo* in Southern Lookland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simbe* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simbe*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

585 The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloka

583 The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloka*, *dho nyuambo*, and *dho kuny*. The number of

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Lue FL11

765 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The oldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral
[122] rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink made for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the
846 house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the
608 birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat;
[304] having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if
[553] a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut
[553] but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly).
[536] The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalized by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go
583 to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of women's porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Loo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and much drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stay with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a *chief* or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and work for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 595] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *beale* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Loo FL11

When the *dho gelo engimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 587 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochieno*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

583 with him three or four cows. The party entered the dala very slowly
585 feigning indifference and reluctance. The bridegroom made himself as inconspicuous as possible, and tried to conceal himself in the midst of his companions. No ceremonies took place on the day of arrival, but the guests were given food and spent the night in the simba hut. On the following day the bridegroom was taken to the hut of the bride's mother and made formally known to her. Meat was killed and the day was spent feasting and drinking. Finally in the evening the bridegroom and the bride's father sat down together and the
[533] bargaining began. The rest of the gathering were entertained by a professional minstrel who sang topical songs, some composed to meet the occasion. His fee, incidentally was a goat, which, for some reason I could not discover, had to be presented to him by the bride. He was also given presents by the girl's father and mother.

During the bargaining the bride's father tried to get as large a payment as possible out of the bridegroom. If he was too greedy the negotiations were broken off, and the bridegroom paid compensation for the expenses incurred in entertaining his party and for the loss of the bride's virginity. But if the two came to an agreement that agreement was final, and no further demands on the father's part or subtractions on the part of the bridegroom were allowed, unless the former demanded to see the cattle before accepting them. This was sometimes done, and if the cattle were unsatisfactory he might refuse to proceed with the marriage. If, on the other hand, he trusted the bridegroom, the negotiations were considered closed, and he might even consent to receive a proportion of the bride-price after instead of before the final marriage feast had taken place, and the girl left her home for good. In this case the bridegroom had to give an extra bull, known as the *ruadh kiriqya*, which was sent over for inspection before the feast took place. If it was accepted the final ceremonies were then carried through.

583 In most cases the bride-price itself was paid by instalments over a period that varied with the ability of the bridegroom's father to meet his liabilities. Usually some months elapsed before the whole number of cattle had been handed over, and it might even be a year or two before the girl's father received all that was due to him. During this period it was customary for the girl to pay her future husband a visit from time to time. She was always accompanied on these visits by one or two girl friends, and was expected to stay for several days. She slept in the simba hut with her betrothed, and intercourse took place. It sometimes, though rarely, happened that the girl conceived
[844] on one of these occasions. This was bad luck for the girl's parents, but fortunate for the bridegroom, for it was absolutely necessary that the child should be born in his dala. He could in consequence hurry on the marriage, which could now take place before the whole of the

dowry had been paid; he was thus enabled to spread his payments of the bride-price over a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. Also the fact that the girl was with child prevented her from being carried off by any other man; apparently a not unheard of occurrence. 583

The wedding feast itself—the *kiriga*—took place in the bridegroom's *dala*. The bride arrived accompanied by her sisters, or, if her sisters were too young to go with her, by her brothers' wives. She was also attended by one older woman, perhaps a married sister, who acted as a chaperone. It was the special duty of this older woman to see that the bride was properly treated, and to make herself polite to the father and mother of the bridegroom. But with this exception older men and women were never included in the bride's party. Any man who attached himself to it would have been laughed at for mixing himself up with an affair that concerned women only. On the other hand not only did the bridegroom's sisters attend the feast but, as well, all his brothers, half brothers, and first cousins (in other words all the people he called "brother"), the wives of his brothers, and all his male friends. 585

As a rule the wedding feast lasted only one day, but if the guests had come long distances, it might last two or even three days. The feast consisted of porridge and meat. The young people were not given beer, but the bridegroom's mother usually brewed a small quantity for her husband and his brothers.

The meat provided consisted of the flesh of a bull which was cut up and apportioned according to certain definite rules. The division was the duty of the bridegroom's father, who first of all cut a small piece from the neck and sent it into the bridegroom's mother, who waited in her hut to receive it. He then cut more small pieces from the neck and scattered them outside and inside her hut. This was an offering to the ancestral spirits, and was accompanied by the following prayer:— 585 782

Dho waniego dhiang mar dhakonye juogi duto ubi ucham bad jachien aketo nü tieloke kwara gi woura gidega uml ringere nyani ohme natu kiringia marach obed man gima maber dalo duto.

Prayer and offering were together intended to placefe the ancestral spirits and to persuade them to bless the marriage. After this the right fore leg was cut off and placed in the centre of the mother's hut. This fore-leg had a special name, *badjachien* and was a gift to all the ancestral spirits. It was afterwards eaten by the bridegroom's father and mother, and part of it was dried and sent to the bride's mother.

The whole of the breast, with the exception of a small piece reserved for the bridegroom's brothers, is sent to the brothers of the 585 184

585 [189] bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*prepaepo-bachelors*) may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gom, Alego, Sieme, Ugoma, Asembo, Kadimu and Ugenya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the elder men living in the dala, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the elder men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This connection was called *bichart* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs [189] of Alego, Gom, Sieme, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadimu, and Ugenya on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *bichart* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The hump was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women [D62 753] guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *hydrocele*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 After the *bisirpa* was over the girl was regarded as having finally 591 passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the *siwka* hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachira*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were 585 [431] in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

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large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten pots full, and 585
when the girl returned to her husband's dale, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents.

On her return a ceremony known as the *rapac dipo* took place. It was also known as the new *dipo*. *Rapac* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the dale. *Wro* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the dipo and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *rapac* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom so dusk, she swept the wro into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was seen with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the *rapac dipo* she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until 591
her own hut was ready. The framework was built by her husband, [593]
and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She 591
was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the 606
laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older woman. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the 595
husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately 606
relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly-

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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582 [585] There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried women have their own quarters in a village and the young men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however, from another village pay visits to the young women during the day and make love to them, and in the evening the women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848] relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed. When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584 a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents 585 consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter. The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee. During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837] to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste. The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591 village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

895 [illegible] a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the boat, and
852 each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks
and waist with *buombue*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance,
[834 scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs,
[786 which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal
535 where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay
over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 *Mond Kama* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has
[illegible] given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some con-
535 siderable size. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last
986 as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman,
and some beer is brewed for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after child-
birth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married
tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the
father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make
his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites
a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well
[882] *(jatiele)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the
sindu i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *sindu* or the girls of the place go to greet
the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or
prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatiele* goes to the hut
of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his
daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatiele* what kind of lad the boy is,
whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether
he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatiele* goes back to his friends in the *sindu* and re-
ports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and
then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then
all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night.
They sleep in the *sindu* separately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl
after she had left the *sindu*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account
of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this
practice is no longer adhered to.

583 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day
send the *jatiele* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry,
585 usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they
catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have
had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her
out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys
from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

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ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simba*, where they spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest. 585

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new "chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi*, others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness. [431] [292]

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about $^1/_2$ of an inch in diameter *(ataka)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings. [431] [301]

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a powo-tree. With this stick

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585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 583 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass [301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 273 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from [533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparations

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would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yeath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects. 231 262

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers. 231 583 554 431

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers. 583

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked 583 585

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
604 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother
593 in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

273
234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

326 The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu
439 Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst
[564] the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu
411 neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed,
278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived
534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands
584 at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken
● 585 by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already
587 paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with
586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after
583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *masira*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chola* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ochi* (in-laws) and *wasigu* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simba* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruoth kode* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simba*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kisera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

to his home and continue to live in the *simba*, the bride not cooking on her own, but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riso* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *alioch* and his mother-in-law the goat of *awa thunda*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ataka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simba* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simba* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls. 589 595

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction. 594 513 882 [177] [602] [842]

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend. 593 835

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a 836 848 [585] [554]

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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

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Aspects of Marriage

Dowry. The payment of a dowry takes place when the suitor of a young woman has formally presented himself to her parents and obtained their consent. Having agreed to marry him, the woman arranges the interview with the parents. The news of his coming is generally communicated to the father through the mother. In certain matters relating to her sexual life, the girl might confide in her mother, with whom she naturally feels very much at home.

The traditional marriage. The traditional marriage, which has undergone considerable modification in many respects, is characterized by a number of ceremonies. The ceremonies which follow take place after the 'meko' or 'catching', a term applied to the act of seizing a girl and dragging her to her husband's home. This 'catching' is arranged by the husband and his relatives. Normally the girl is aware of it long before it takes place. The time when it will occur can be estimated by considering the number of cattle paid in—between seven and eight according to my own experience. After this time arrives the girl must restrict her movements lest she tempt her suitor to 'catch' her.

Having decided to 'catch' her, he tries by several methods to get her out of the reach of her brothers, who would normally put up a strong fight before allowing their sister to go. If the bridegroom's friends fail to lure her away from her home, they attempt to 'catch' her in it. But this can be done only where there is no strong force of young men to match the raiders. In such an event, arrangements would be secretly made with the woman in whose hut the girl sleeps; and a small payment having been made to her, the bride is seized in the dark.

Sometimes the father gives permission for his daughter

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to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

Among the majority of young women an unwillingness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violet outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

The traditional ceremonies. The news that a particular girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the

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meat to be shared among the different families within the larger lineage to which the husband belongs. This is followed by a big feast at the girl's home where people spend a whole night outside, drinking, eating, and singing. When the girl returns to his home it is time for the husband to continue paying dowry as demanded by her parents.

The final ceremony marking the completion of the dowry and indicating the husband's satisfaction with his wife is called 'riso'. At this the husband slaughters an animal and gives a great feast to his relatives.

Variants of traditional marriage customs. With the introduction of modern ideas and the widening of the people's physical environment, a large number of special marriages now occur which omit various features of the traditional ceremony. This is especially true of marriages where there is a strong basis of love. In such instances a young woman may go to her suitor without ceremony after making some private arrangement.

Christian influence has greatly modified marriage. Like the traditional marriage the Christian version is characterized by many ceremonies, some new and some old. Thus in the traditional marriage the husband is required at each stage to make several payments in live animals to cover certain procedures, and in Christian marriage he can cover all of them at once by paying a live animal or some money.

The violence which characterized former marriages is absent from the Christian ceremony. In reality, what happens inside the church is purely western, but what occurs outside is a blend of modified traditional practices and certain features of western life. Christian marriage is distinguished from traditional marriage by the large expense involved. Thus, contrary to what might be expected, it is among the Christians that people exist who

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demand very high dowries for their daughters. Like the traditional marriage it[1] is also accompanied by considerable emotional strain, felt more by the mother and female children than by the male members of the family.

[1] [i.e. Christian marriage. – Analyst]

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VI

MARRIED LIFE

WITH the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

583 certain relatives. According to Shaw these represent the conventional payment which is made without question or discussion.(1) They are the basic minimum required if the marriage is to be concluded. One or two at a time are transferred over a period of about two years.

2. The *dho i keny*: additional cattle, the number of which is determined after lengthy negotiations between the husband's people and the wife's people. They average about 5 to 7. A number of goats are also handed over. If the two families are very friendly the transfer of the last animal may be postponed until the marriage of a daughter of the union.(2)

The father of the bride gets the bulk of the animals, most of which will be used as bridewealth for the marriages of his sons. The bride's maternal uncle gets a heifer and, according to Shaw, her paternal uncle gets a bull and heifer.(3) Usually the bride's family make some return gifts to the bridegroom's people, amounting to at least three head of cattle.

● 586 If there is a divorce the husband can demand the return of the cattle with their progeny. Usually every effort is made to avoid repaying bridewealth and the wife is often replaced by a sister or cousin. If two children have been born no bridewealth cattle would be returned if the wife died or left her husband; if there were only one child the bridewealth would be returned but two or three beasts would be retained.

Marriage Ceremonies

583 According to Evans-Pritchard, there are two forms of marriage: *por* and *neko*.(4) *Por* is marriage by elopement, and is regarded as shameful. Usually the girl's parents accept the situation and the union is regularised by the acceptance of some cattle - but fewer than is normal. *Neko* is the correct and usual form of marriage; a long chain of events intervenes between the time of obtaining the parents' permission to marry, and the marriage itself. It takes several months to complete a marriage, sometimes several years, according to the individual family circumstances.(5)

585 When the parents on both sides agree to the proposal of marriage, there follows the ceremonial capture of the bride - the *neko nyako*. A mimic fight occurs between the bride's people and the bridegroom's party, and the bride resists to show that she is not eloping. She goes to the bridegroom's village and is deflowered in the presence of witnesses. She is given a girdle with a tail *(ciemo)* which she wears as a sign of her new status.

The *diero* and *lupo* ceremonies take place within a few weeks and are followed by the *duoko* party, which consists of a visit to the bride's parents and the paying of respects to her mother. There is feasting, singing and drinking through the night, and a few days later the bride returns to her parents' home. The bride now spends part of her time with

(1) Shaw, *JEANS*, 1932, Nos.45-6, p.45.
(2) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, 1950, p.139.
(3) Shaw, op.cit.
(4) Evans-Pritchard, op.cit., p.132.
(5) Shaw, op.cit.

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

583 brothers. The bride's maternal uncle generally gets a heifer, the *dhor nyakwa*, the cow of the sister's daughter, but it is not, I think, regarded as being part of the bridewealth and the payment in no way concerns the father of the bride. It is given to the maternal uncle in return for gifts, may be a ram, some chickens, and some eleusine, and for hospitality to the husband; for a well-disposed maternal uncle invites him to his home. The uncle has no legal right to the heifer. The Luo say that the *nur* is only an *ora*, the maternal uncle is only an in-law (of the father of the bride).

The last of the animals to be paid seems to be the *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, to which I have earlier referred. It is also called *budho* and by other names. This ox is sometimes not paid till several years after the bride has been through the final rites of marriage. The husband's people drive it to the mother-in-law's home, arriving very early in the morning before the people are up, and they take the further precaution of severing the tendon of one of its legs as they drive it into the kraal, so that the young men of the home cannot seize it and add it to their herd. It is meat for the mother and not an ox for the herd of her husband and sons. It is then killed in front of the mother's hut. The wife's parents probably make the husband's party a return present of a sheep. They eat part of it in the home of the wife's parents and take the rest of the meat back with them to their own people.

It should be noted that the bride's family have to make return gifts to the husband's people and that these are also called *miloka*. Some of the gifts are animals slaughtered during the marriage rites, but it seems that they also have to pay one or two other beasts at various times to the husband's people. I was told that they hand over at least three head of cattle altogether, or as many as five if they are rich, including those killed for meat during the ceremonies. This is a point that invites further inquiry.

586 Everything paid by the husband's people to the wife's family counts as bridewealth and should there be a divorce the husband can demand their return, together with the progeny of the animals of the bridewealth. However, Luo regard divorce as a grave misfortune, and if the breach is occasioned by the wife's misbehaviour or is due to her running away from her husband, her parents make every effort to maintain the alliance they have entered into with the husband's people by replacing her by a sister or cousin. Also, if a wife dies the return of her bridewealth is regarded as a last and most undesirable resort. Instead, her parents try to replace her by a sister or cousin. This is known as *ayuga dhanga*, the filling of the basket. The husband may have to wait many years before he gets his new wife. He has to go through the full ceremonies of marriage with her and to pay bridewealth, though only a few cows, perhaps five or six. More are asked for if the replacement is from a different family. In the event of the bridewealth being returned, two or three head of cattle, according to the circumstances of the case and the sex of the child, are retained by the wife's people for any child she bore her husband, the child remaining with him. I believe that after the birth of a second child no cattle would be returned. However, even when a wife dies leaving several children behind her, her parents try to give the husband a relative in her place to keep up the alliance.

Ci bond

587 When a marriage has been completed, that is to say after a child has been born, it is regarded by Luo as a union which should not in any circumstances be broken. If the

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and *tembo* drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 545] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *tembo* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

When the *dho golo onyimbo* had been paid the bull and the heifer —the *dho dier*—chosen by the bride's brothers after the mock battle outside the bridegroom's *dala* were sent over by the bridegroom. If, after the *dho dier* had been received, the marriage was broken off by the bridegroom he had to pay compensation to the bride's father for the meat and beer consumed at the feast of the *tero nyako*, and he was also bound to pay one bull for the loss of the girl's virginity. Even if the girl, or her father refused the marriage at this stage, the bridegroom was still bound to pay this bull. 584 586

With the payment of the *dho dier* what may be regarded as the ceremonies of the betrothal were completed, and the marriage process entered on a new stage. 585

The stage was marked by various presents of cattle made by the bridegroom to certain of his future relatives. He gave a number (sometimes as many as fifteen) known as the *dho ikeny*, to the bride's full brothers. If she had no brothers the *dho ikeny* passed into the possession of her mother who might, if she wished, allow them to be used in the payment of bride-price for one of her husband's sons by another wife. (In this case the young wife was expected to treat her step-mother-in-law as she would treat her own husband's mother, and to help her in the fields and the home.)

In addition to the *dho ikeny*, the bridegroom sent a bull and a heifer (the *dher wuon nyako*) to the bride's father, and another bull and heifer (the *dho jochiemo*) to her uncles on the father's side.

Finally a cow and a calf (the *dher min nyako*) were sent to the bride's mother. These, with their offspring, became her absolute property. She could, if she chose, use them to contribute towards the payment of bride price for her sons, or equally could refuse to allow them to be used in this way. After her death they were inherited by her youngest son. 585 422 428

When all these had been handed over, and it should be noted that they were, apparently, conventional payments, made without question or discussion so long as they were within the means of the parties concerned, like our own engagement rings and wedding presents, then the discussions began about the number of cattle to be paid over in return for the transfer of the girl from one family to another—the true bride price itself. I believe that in some parts the number to be paid over was settled by discussion between the heads of the two families before the girl had been ceremonially captured. But the elders at Nyahera told me that there the custom was that the bridegroom conducted the discussion with the bride's father himself at this much later point. 583 585

He went over himself to the bride's *dala*, accompanied by his brothers and friends to the number of fifteen or sixteen, and taking

562 and possibly was invented to keep women in subjection. It has only partly succeeded. Something more potent than a creation story is required to keep many of the LUO women down. Two illustrations [593] suffice to show this. The first in Church. The collection is being taken up, and a man finds himself without any cash. He crosses over to the women's side, whispers a few words to his wife, whereupon she gives him a cent for the collection. Like many a wife in other lands, she holds the purse strings. The second the Law Court. [586] A wife pleads for a divorce from her husband on the ground that he has become a polygamist. She gets her divorce.

584 Much of the apparent inequality is only apparent, not real. The thing which, more than any other, has been quoted as showing the inferior position accorded to women, is the manner in which girls are given in marriage. But this is not as much a matter of sex as of age. If it be true that girls are sometimes given in marriage without their wishes being consulted in the matter, it is also true that many a young man is provided with a wife without his wishes being consulted either. Not so long ago I asked a man what the girl to whom he was engaged was like. He replied that he had never seen her, that the marriage had been arranged by his father. This kind of thing is quite common. And it must not be forgotten that the girl's mother is taken into the fullest consultation when the question of her daughter's betrothal is raised. It is not decided by the men only. And generally there is some form of consultation with the girl. Long and bitter experience has taught the community that to force some girls beyond a certain point is only to lay up trouble for the future. Only three weeks ago a father came to me to ask me to try to mediate in his daughter's affairs. She had been betrothed when quite a young child to a man old enough to be her aged father. He had in due course taken her to wife, and there were two children by the union. 586 Then she left him and consorted with another man, more nearly her own age. I saw the woman, went into the matter and found that the old man was so uncongenial to her, that even the fact that she had born him two children was not strong enough to reconcile her to her lot. She had much of my sympathy, though I could not condone the desertion of her children.

581 Not even the very strongest bonds can bind a woman who wishes to break them. The most binding form of betrothal known to the LUO, is that which is the outcome of an alliance between two families. The Luo have a proverb which runs " Osiep otho, to wat okotho." In English it would run " friendship dies, but relationship does not die." So, as in other lands, the heads of two Luo families may desire to 584 cement their friendship by ties of intermarriage. A feast is provided by one of the parties, generally by the one taking the initiative in

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 595 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time, [765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies 304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a 352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the 852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls 844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house 846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

326 The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu
431 Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst
[564] the Ja-luo. They are called "Yothetth," and among some of the tribes constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu
411 neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed,
278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived
534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands
584 at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the
585 years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already
587 paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her *is* returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with
586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after
583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

to his home and continue to live in the *simbu*, the bride not cooking on her own, but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riso* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *aliech* and his mother-in-law the goat of *aum thunda*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ataka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simbu* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded.

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simbu* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match.

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead.

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

583 injured and not infrequently death results. Indigenously the
682 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue these arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Whenever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

682 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
[262] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Luo women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

• 586 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

wanted the best of two worlds. Traditionally, elopement (*por*) is justified and is legal, albeit more difficult in cases of *nyar kiseke*, providing that the young man has stated his willingness to pay bride-wealth and has been refused. Moreover, it is the last remaining traditional way by which a young woman, forced to marry against her will, is able to break the arrangement. Today, however, because there are so many illegal unions, the African courts take a serious view of young men and women running off to the towns without the slightest intention of paying bride-wealth.

While Okare and his brother were retained in gaol, pending the case, the girl's father and her brothers went to Nairobi, where they found the girl after some difficulty and took her back to her village by force. There they married her to Opala and he, with two of her brothers, took her by force to the place of his employment which was in another territory nearly 700 miles away.

Opio, who was an influential man in his district, then proceeded with the case against Okare and his brother. The Court decided in favor of Opio, ordered compensation for the expenses he had incurred securing the return of his daughter. Okare and his brother were heavily fined for having taken the girl from the protection of her father. The compensation and the fine amounted to a very large sum of money and the boy appealed to the District Officer's Court. Pending the Appeal, he went to search for new employment at Nairobi. Akech, in the meantime, had arrived at the home of her husband in the far away city, only to find that he was already married and that his first wife, as a Christian, refused to have her in her home. Quarrels and arguments began in earnest, with the result that Opala had no alternative but to send the girl back to her father and to demand a divorce. Akech, however, did not go home but returned to Nairobi to Okare.

The father heard what had happened and, in the shame and humiliation, hanged himself in a classroom at the school

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

Childless marriages. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children.

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up.

Women's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby.

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *rethship*, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

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THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

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According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

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INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

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MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

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1. The *dho keny*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

583 brothers. The bride's maternal uncle generally gets a heifer, the *dher nyakewo*, the cow of the sister's daughter, but it is not, I think, regarded as being part of the bridewealth and the payment in no way concerns the father of the bride. It is given to the maternal uncle in return for gifts, may be a ram, some chickens, and some eleusine, and for hospitality to the husband; for a well-disposed maternal uncle invites him to his home. The uncle has no legal right to the heifer. The Luo say that the *ner* is only an *ora*, the maternal uncle is only an in-law (of the father of the bride).

The last of the animals to be paid seems to be the *ruath ringo*, the ox of the meat, to which I have earlier referred. It is also called *kedho* and by other names. This ox is sometimes not paid till several years after the bride has been through the final rites of marriage. The husband's people drive it to the mother-in-law's home, arriving very early in the morning before the people are up, and they take the further precaution of severing the tendon of one of its legs as they drive it into the kraal, so that the young men of the home cannot seize it and add it to their herd. It is meat for the mother and not an ox for the herd of her husband and sons. It is then killed in front of the mother's hut. The wife's parents probably make the husband's party a return present of a sheep. They eat part of it in the home of the wife's parents and take the rest of the meat back with them to their own people.

It should be noted that the bride's family have to make return gifts to the husband's people and that these are also called *miloha*. Some of the gifts are animals slaughtered during the marriage rites, but it seems that they also have to pay one or two other beasts at various times to the husband's people. I was told that they hand over at least three head of cattle altogether, or as many as five if they are rich, including those killed for meat during the ceremonies. This is a point that invites further inquiry.

586 Everything paid by the husband's people to the wife's family counts as bridewealth and should there be a divorce the husband can demand their return, together with the progeny of the animals of the bridewealth. However, Luo regard divorce as a grave misfortune, and if the breach is occasioned by the wife's misbehaviour or is due to her running away from her husband, her parents make every effort to maintain the alliance they have entered into with the husband's people by replacing her by a sister or cousin. Also, if a wife dies the return of her bridewealth is regarded as a last and most undesirable resort. Instead, her parents try to replace her by a sister or cousin. This is known as *apongo dhuonga*, the filling of the basket. The husband may have to wait many years before he gets his new wife. He has to go through the full ceremonies of marriage with her and to pay bridewealth, though only a few cows, perhaps five or six. More are asked for if the replacement is from a different family. In the event of the bridewealth being returned, two or three head of cattle, according to the circumstances of the case and the sex of the child, are retained by the wife's people for any child she bore her husband, the child remaining with him. I believe that after the birth of a second child no cattle would be returned. However, even when a wife dies leaving several children behind her, her parents try to give the husband a relative in her place to keep up the alliance.

Ci liend

587 When a marriage has been completed, that is to say after a child has been born, it is regarded by Luo as a union which should not in any circumstances be broken. If the

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jamwa*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *pater*. His brother is only their *genitor*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*dher nysolo* or *dher oding*). Also, one does not use the verb *kendo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *atero* or *alago*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ci liend*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Lwr

Luo practise very extensive avoidance, as part of a general attitude of respect (*lwr*), of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kaoca* (my in-laws). If a man meets either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *wangatek*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *ocw*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *simba* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagam* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kaswga*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and *tembo* drink; the bridegroom does not go. 585

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife. 583 585

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister. 583 587

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself. 586 583 [622 595] [582]

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, *tembo* pots, etc. 323

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 281 386

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use simés and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but 411

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
●587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maduong*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailled by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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234 Both sexes drink the *beer* which is made from grain, but the women never drink with the men. The women make the *butter*.

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439 The men do not *smelt iron*, but obtain it in pig form from the Bantu Kavirondo. There is even a certain prejudice against *blacksmiths* amongst the Ja-luo. They are called "Yotheth," and among some of the tribes [504] constitute a separate caste called "Uvino." They *forge* spears, knives, bill-hooks, and axes, but their hoes are imported from their Bantu neighbours. *Shields* are made of buffalo or ox hide, and also of ambatch 411 wood. Their *spears* have small heads, and shafts of tremendous length. They use *clubs*, and also long leaf-shaped swords, which they have borrowed from the Masai or Nandi. Bows and arrows are still employed, 278 but the arrows are no longer poisoned. Poison was said to be derived 534 from the venom of snakes, and also from certain herbs. Their musical instruments are very similar to those of the Kavirondo Bantu.

583 Girls are betrothed at the age of seven, and go to their husbands 584 at the age of ten or eleven, payment being made by degrees over the 585 years elapsing between the betrothal and the *marriage*. The girl is taken by her unmarried girl companions to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat, together with a quantity of sorghum porridge, to the bridegroom's house to provide a *wedding feast*. On the following day the bridegroom's brothers, and his other wives, if he has any, take the newly wedded wife back to her father's village, where there is another great feast. The bridegroom does not attend. The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat, and she returns to her husband, who continues to make payments to his father-in-law. The total amount of the marriage payment may reach to six cows, or their equivalent. If the man stops paying, his wife will leave him and go back to her father's village until the payments are resumed. If within a year of the marriage the woman does not bear a child, the husband may stop his payments, but he has no claim to the return of what has been already 587 paid, so long as his wife remains with him. If a wife dies without having borne children, the amount paid for her is returned, unless the husband agrees to accept one of his *deceased wife's sisters*, for whom only a small complimentary present is paid. If a woman refuses to stop with 586 her husband, she is given to another man, and whatever this man gives for her is paid over to her first husband. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated, she may leave her husband, but must leave her child behind with the father. If the child be a boy, when he grows up and the mother gets old she generally returns to live with her son. If after 583 a marriage has been arranged an avaricious father is loth to part with his daughter, the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If, however, the girl after capture refuses to stop with her

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
● [587] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[231] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a *healthy people*.

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when they pass outside; this happens before the [illegible] and is a sort of honour to the dead.

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The wife or wives of the deceased person go to the sons, the eldest having preference, but in no case does a son take his own mother, and any property of the deceased man is taken by the sons in the proportion of the dowry originally paid by the father for the wife which each son has claimed.

Should a wife of the dead man have a daughter, or several daughters and sons, the dowry received in the event of one of them being married will go to the girl's brother, and not to the step-father; but in the event of the girl having no brother, the step-father will claim the dowry.

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[p.55]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

to his home and continue to live in the *simbi*, the bride not cooking on her own, but in the veranda of her mother-in-law's hut, and her food not being eaten by her husband (who continues to eat his mother's food) but only by the young men. Later still the ceremony of *riw* is performed, which is considered a final confirmation of the marriage contract by the two families. However, further ceremonies follow, in which the husband gives his father-in-law the bull of *aliech* and his mother-in-law the goat of *auw thundu*. Then the father-in-law settles upon his daughter the heifer of *ateka*, a bull, two goats, and a hoe, in token that he now gives up all claim upon his daughter as long as the marriage continues. Eventually husband and wife move out of the *simbi* into a new hut built for her by him, and she begins to cook on her own and he to eat her food. The sequence of ceremonies associated with marriage is thus complicated and protracted. There is no specified time schedule, but the bride may have given birth several times before they are concluded. 585

Less prestige attaches to the form of marriage contracted by a man and woman without prior formal approval from their respective families. This occurred in the past if a girl was made pregnant in the *simbi* and was sent straight to her lover, or on the elopement of a married woman with her adulterer, or on the remarriage of a divorced woman. This type of marriage is becoming very common today, when adherence to traditional ritual is lax, and when the young are able with impunity to short-cut both the tedious formalities and the great expenses of the most approved form of marriage. In this form of marriage cattle are still claimed by the bride's father, or by the former husband in the case of divorce and remarriage, but they are fewer in number. The essential differences from the first type of marriage are that the bride loses her virginity before any sort of marriage negotiation has taken place between the two families, and the contract eventually made between them is a recognition of a *fait accompli* instead of the careful planning of a mutually approved match. 583 [554] [178]

A dead man's widows are normally taken up by his kinsmen at the final ceremonies of the funeral, a year or more after the death. These kinsmen are nearly always husband's brothers or stepsons to the widows and they would certainly never be kinsmen from outside the dead man's minimal class A lineage; but the Luo do not consciously relate the matter of widow inheritance to a specific grade of lineage. Among their husband's close kinsmen widows are allowed considerable freedom of choice. It was considered desirable that a man should replace a wife who had died, or a wife who was barren, by a sister of hers, which he could usually do for an amount of bridewealth far smaller than that of the original marriage. Ritual offences rather than infidelities were considered grounds for divorce. If the wife was judged guilty the husband claimed back the bridewealth cattle, less deductions of one head for the wife's work during the marriage, two for each girl, and three for each boy born of it, and others to replace those consumed in the marriage ceremonies. But if the husband was at fault he might be prevented from claiming any cattle back by a brother demanding the woman in his stead. 587 586

As has been stated, the cattle of a homestead are all herded together, but there are clearly recognized divisions in the ownership of the herd. There are three main categories: the cattle owned by the father, the cattle owned by his wives, and the cattle held in trust by them for the marriages of their sons. Though the father cannot interfere with the two latter categories except by agreement, he is regarded none the 422

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 762 propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

762 159 556 754 The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

152 ## Suicide Case No. 9.

[587] The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *libamba*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

762 159 828 The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out [854] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

Restrictions on the suckling of babies. It is considered a [784] breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her [761] neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a [177] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been aban- [603] doned. One exception to the restriction, however, is that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

853 595 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 [177] The social restriction with regard to the suckling of infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the policican importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original *won dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. The *dho keny*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* XX, 1950, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

585 may incur while cooking; *gir ote*, an ornament for the errands the husband will send his wife on; *gir ngolo olawo*, an ornament for cleaning up the spittle her husband will 431 always be expectorating on the floor; *gir logo*, a present for the water a wife brings her husband to wash his hands with; *gir teno wic*, a present to enable the husband to sleep with his head on his wife's arm; *gir tingo kom*, a present for fetching her husband's stool; *diend then*, a goat to enable her to cook in her husband's home; and perhaps others. These gifts are made to the wife by her *yuro*, the paternal kinsfolk of her husband, particularly by his brothers. Each gift must be named when it is presented to her. The wife herself keeps none of these gifts. They are taken by the girls of the *riso* party and others of her kinswomen.

Next morning the husband chaffs his sisters-in-law, asking them where they have spent the night. They reply: ' You are bad people and you have done us an injury. You are enemies, you and your wife also.' The girls have a midday meal and leave for home taking with them the *riso* gifts and the remainder of the meat. To the south of the gulf the husband's people send the meat to the bride's home before the ceremony, except for the portion they keep for the girls of her home who attend it.

Sepo

585 After the *riso* the wife remains with her husband. She may visit her parents after two or three months, but she does not constantly return to them as before. Likewise, 591 her husband's people cannot now seize her when they see her at a public gathering, for she is now a *dhako*, wife, and not a *miaha*, bride. A few months later takes place the final ceremony of marriage, the *sepo*, called *gango* in Southern Luoland. One day the husband says to his wife that he wants her to cook for him instead of cooking in the hut of his mother, which up to this time she has used for the purpose, she and her husband making the *simba* their dwelling-place. The younger brothers of the husband have in the meanwhile built themselves a new *simba*. Now the husband—usually after the birth of his first child—begins to build an *ot*, a proper dwelling-hut. The wife goes back to her parents to tell them that her husband wants her to do her cooking in her own hut. They raise no objection. The husband's father also gives his consent.

585 The wife returns once more to her parents to collect household utensils with which to start a home of her own. They give her pots, gourds, a wooden spoon, and other utensils. If they are rich they also give her an ox, if poor a sheep or a goat and some fowls and flour. Only a few girls accompany her to her husband's home to help her carry these things. When they arrive there her husband's brother's wife brings three cooking-stones and calling the wife tells her that she wants to teach her how to cook. She goes through the usual actions preliminary to cooking a meal and when all is prepared the wife cooks it and serves it to her kinswomen who have accompanied her. Sometimes they have brought a sheep or goat with them from the wife's home so that she can serve them with meat.

Miloha

583 The marriage has been successfully brought about by the succession of ceremonial stages described. Had sufficient cattle not been paid the parents of the wife would not have permitted the rites to proceed to a conclusion. There seem to be several words for bridewealth among the Luo: *miloha*, *dho nyuombo*, and *dho keny*. The number of

585 bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*yanyuoye* = bachelors)
[184] may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugoma, Asembo, Kadimu and Ugenya the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the older men living in the *dala*, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the older men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This concoction was called *kichuri* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the
[184] bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugoma, Sakwa, Kadimu, and Ugenya on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *kichuri* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The hump was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women
[262 guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men
753] are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *hydrocele*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 After the *kirisya* was over the girl was regarded as having finally passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still
●591 certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the *simba* hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachien*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as
585 other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were
[431] in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten pots full, and when the girl returned to her husband's *dala*, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *rayue dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wen dipo*. *Rayue* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the *dala*. *Wen* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *rayue* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wen* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the *rayue dipo* she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The framework was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older woman. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly- 591 593 591 606 595 606

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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582
There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595]
may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom
he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836
woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883
careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried
women have their own quarters in a village and the young
men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse
than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however,
from another village pay visits to the young women during
the day and make love to them, and in the evening the
women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with
them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene
character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is
not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is
a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848]
relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed.
When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584
a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to
the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the
amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents
consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been 585
paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the
young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during
this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house
where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part
in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents
give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast
the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in
turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter.
The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to
obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee.
During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837]
to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to
live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as
before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride
claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste.
The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591
village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

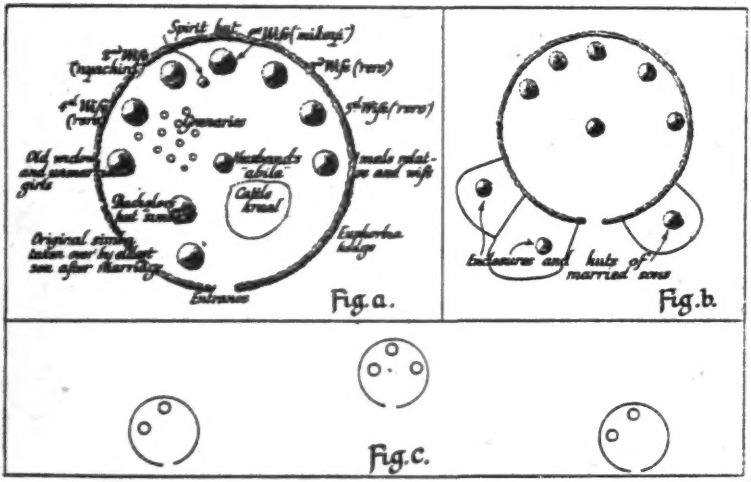
17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.[1] The title of the first wife is *mikayi*, that of the second *nyachira*, and of all subsequent wives *rero*.

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at typical phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted from the other figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described above as an arbitrary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

PHASE 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring.

2. The eldest son matures, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*simbu*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*).



3. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead hedge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the compound polygynous grand family. (Fig. *b*.)

4. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate ones of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their stepsons or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or ablest of the dead man's sons as head, the sons' homesteads now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.)

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family

[1] It is the possessive form of *nam* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'greediness'.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

minimal status to operate as superordinate of the newly formed segments. The process is an extension on a larger scale, of that which begins whenever married sons leave their father's homestead and form separate ones of their own. Custom sets limits to the period within which this occurs. A son cannot leave his father's homestead and form one of his own till he himself has a son able to 'carry the axe' in the ritual of opening a new homestead. On the other hand, a son is not supposed to stay on in his father's homestead after he has a daughter who is nubile. When this occurs while he still has no son, he must move to the homsetead of one of his father's brothers or other agnatic relative. If his father dies before he has been able to establish his own homestead he must then sacrifice to his father before doing so. Within these limits the splitting apart of married sons from their father's homestead will depend on their relations with one another, their character and ambition, the contrary pulls of allegiance to a common father matched by the jealousy of sons of different mothers, and the rivalries between brothers matched by the need to unite in competiton with other sibling groups. These human relations will always be further pointed by the need of every family for its own building, arable, and grazing land. When a family segments it may be able simply to divide its land correspondingly to satisfy all the segments, or else the latter must collectively occupy a larger area than before. Similarly, when a *gweng'* splits into several new *gwenge* it may simply divide its territory or have to occupy more at the same time. The net result of all these integrative and disintegrative forces is worked out within the framework determined by the Luo adherence to an agnatic basis of social grouping. Throughout, the behaviour of segments is largely a repetition on the group plane of certain attitudes of individuals within the family, the people themselves regarding the lineage system as a magnified reflection of the family process. Both are, of course, the product of human biological growth and reproduction interacting with a particular set of values expressed within a limiting physical environment. It is therefore misleading to represent them only by a formal analysis which omits intrinsic causes of variation.

Given the structure of the Luo family as earlier described, if a man marries several women and begets sons who repeat the process, the result is bound to be the multiplication of homesteads. To the extent that the families of a whole settlement act in this way, the result is bound to be the multiplication of settlements. Conversely, if families fail to multiply, homesteads either disappear or are merely replaced, and the membership of a settlement is also merely replaced, with no change of structure except an increase in genealogical depth. The rivalry noted between individuals and groups within the family is repeated on a larger scale in the natural divergence of interests and weakening of sentiments of solidarity between different *anyuola* segments. Complementary to this general weakening of bonds which predisposes fission must be the appearance of initiative in some individual suitably placed to lead his group in the establishment of a new settlement. This positive factor is the necessary precipitating agent of the process in which the new *dhoudi* of the primary settlements are formed. The size of each co-ordinate resulting from the fission of a superordinate segment must be adequate in adult male membership to support the responsibilities of a separate settlement.

Finally, there must be adequate land available in which the new *gwenge* can be

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

VI

MARRIED LIFE

With the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

[text continues on p. 53]

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

IV

After Mr. Onyango had spoken, others said their piece, and I asked the opinions of some of the women, who will never speak unless they are directly asked. One replied, through an interpreter, in these words:

'I was against consolidation. My own land was fertile and I did not want to lose it and have other land not as good as mine. I tried to persuade my husband. We had many arguments, and the peace of our house was destroyed. At last I saw that I must give in if our home was to become peaceful again. We exchanged gardens, and then I saw that the new gardens were as fertile as my own. Now the men are helping women on the land and this is something that has never happened before. Men and women are working together. This is because the men see that there is money in growing crops and that bigger crops will make them rich.'

A second woman—both were middle-aged—spoke after her.

'I was not of that opinion. I wanted consolidation before it came here. If you have land near your home, you can work to improve it. If it is a long way off, you cannot put on manure. I understood the value of manure by seeing crops grown by the Better Farmers. Before, I had four *shambas* and one was over a mile away. Now they are all together and near my home. There is only one difficulty. Our custom is, when a son gets married, he leaves his father's *shamba* to start one of his own. I do not want to break this custom, but now I have a married son and there is nowhere for him to go.'

And a third woman, rather older, added her piece.

'I was in favour of consolidation too. The boundaries of land have caused many disputes and quarrels amongst us. When there are fixed boundaries, these quarrels fade away. So I wanted consolidation before it came, and my husband agreed. Now I can farm properly and put manure on the *shamba*; we have a shed for the cattle to stay in at night. Besides that, my husband employs two men. When he goes away I supervise them and the work is not so hard. Men and women never worked together before. Now they do, and this is a big Thing.'

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The intersection of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the political importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headmen, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

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THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pachu* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

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According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a *bachelors'* hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original man *dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

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INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ci lieul*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

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MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given, in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

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1. The *dho kony*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* IX, 1936, p.161. (2) *Ibid.*, p.139.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

2

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations: North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 515), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo: Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,041 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Joiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jooko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Maka*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Lango*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry [illegible] no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 3) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awandu, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

The most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dala* or *wuon pacho*; *jadwong* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Luo family has a 'house-property complex' of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often striking in ritual. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

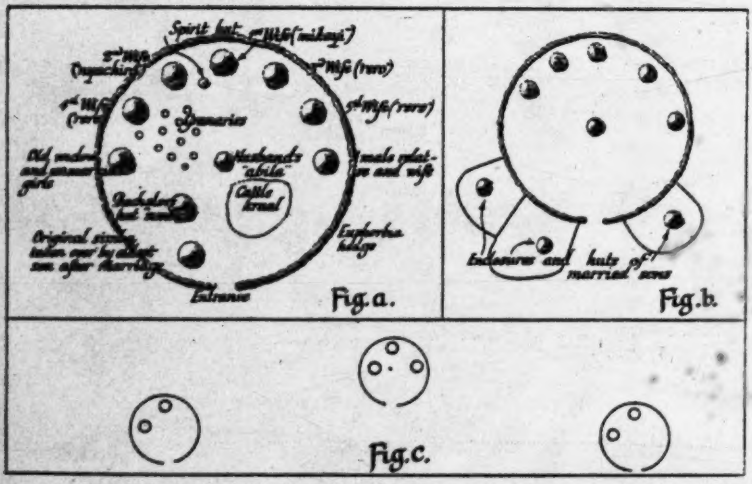
17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.[1] The title of the first wife is *mikayi*, that of the second *nyachira*, and of all subsequent wives *rero*.

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at typical phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted from the other figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described above as an arbitrary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

PHASE 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring.

2. The eldest son matures, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*simba*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*).



3. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead hedge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the compound polygynous grand family. (Fig. *b*.)

4. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate ones of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their stepsons or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or ablest of the dead man's sons as head, the sons' homesteads now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.)

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family

[1] It is the possessive form of *nwon* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'grandiness'.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (Dholuo *jopidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would sustain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 133.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the* abila		*Cattle of the wives' houses*
Strict property of homestead head.		Most to *mikayi*, next to *nyachira*, rest among *rero* wives.
Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head. Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters. All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.	2. Cattle strictly property of the wives. Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house. All derived from the heifer called *rueh kode* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *atake* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.	3. Cattle held for sons' marriages. Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house. All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.
Milk from these used by the homestead head.	Milk from these used by the wives.	

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

606 The people of the home press them to eat, but they refuse, so a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat.
574 The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Cieno

291 It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small pubic covering and a
593 *cieno* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament at public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *cieno* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *cieno*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *cieno* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

000 La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est défloréе en présence de sa sœur et d'autres jeunes filles de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten pots full, and when the girl returned to her husband's *dala*, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *rayue dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wen dipo*. *Rayue* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the *dala*. *Wen* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *rayue* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wen* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the *rayue dipo* she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The framework was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older woman. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly- 591 [593] 591 606 595 606

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
578 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is
285 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is " dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the
[431 custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the
791] Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
462 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a " thigo " or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Lack of seed, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

422 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
583 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called " mondo." The head of the family would have his own " mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

case of the main store being depleted. Grown up unmarried sons and also daughters could have each his or her own " mondo." In case of necessity their grain went into the family store, but from it they were allowed to barter grain for the personal ornaments which were common in the tribe. Grain which was still in store when the new crop came in was at the disposal of the woman, who frequently used it in barter for domestic animals. This custom is called " rundo," and the beast procured, if a cow or heifer is called " dher tekre." It was the woman's own property, subject to the limitations of absolute ownership which pertain to all notions of property among primitive peoples. It could not be bequeathed away from her by her husband. In case of famine she could take of its offspring and barter it for grain. Once having acquired the beast she did not readily part with it, but kept it for her children.

As at the present day so also in days gone by, there was no tribal organization of food supplies as a provision against famine. During the last two or three years when crops have been short through damage by locusts there has been one word which was heard very frequently. The word is " kisuma." It means to journey away from the home locality in search of food for the family. In days gone by domestic animals were taken to those who had food to dispose of, and bartered for grain. A man without stock would marry off his girl child, and with the cattle get food. This was the only way in which famine conditions were met. Needless to say when famine was widespread, very much suffering was entailed.

Rotation of crops is practised to a limited extent. The order of rotation is decided largely, by the period of the year in which the first crop is put down. If virgin or fallow land is prepared for the autumn sowing, then the first crop is one which ripens quickly, such as simsim or beans. When this is harvested, the land will be put under a slower growing crop, like millet or maize. Before being allowed to revert to fallow land, it may be put under sweet potatoes. If the land is first prepared for the spring sowing then the order is reversed. But it must not be taken that what has been written above is the invariable rule. I have known a field to be put down first in sweet potatoes and then followed by a second crop of potatoes before being planted with maize. Also where the land is very rich, as in certain valleys, year after year maize or millet may be put down until the land shows signs of exhaustion. It then reverts to fallow. There is no strict rule governing the length of time it rests. Some allow a rest of three, some of five, years. It depends upon the amount of land available and the pressure of population upon it.

The names used by the Luo for the different phases are as follow:— Virgin soil, " Okang." Land under rotation, " Tiang." Fallow

562 and possibly was invented to keep women in subjection. It has only partly succeeded. Something more potent than a creation story is required to keep many of the LUO women down. Two illustrations suffice to show this. The first in Church. The collection is being [593] taken up, and a man finds himself without any cash. He crosses over to the women's side, whispers a few words to his wife, whereupon she gives him a cent for the collection. Like many a wife in other lands, she holds the purse strings. The second the Law Court. [586] A wife pleads for a divorce from her husband on the ground that he has become a polygamist. She gets her divorce.

584 Much of the apparent inequality is only apparent, not real. The thing which, more than any other, has been quoted as showing the inferior position accorded to women, is the manner in which girls are given in marriage. But this is not as much a matter of sex as of age. If it be true that girls are sometimes given in marriage without their wishes being consulted in the matter, it is also true that many a young man is provided with a wife without his wishes being consulted either. Not so long ago I asked a man what the girl to whom he was engaged was like. He replied that he had never seen her, that the marriage had been arranged by his father. This kind of thing is quite common. And it must not be forgotten that the girl's mother is taken into the fullest consultation when the question of her daughter's betrothal is raised. It is not decided by the men only. And generally there is some form of consultation with the girl. Long and bitter experience has taught the community that to force some girls beyond a certain point is only to lay up trouble for the future. Only three weeks ago a father came to me to ask me to try to mediate in his daughter's affairs. She had been betrothed when quite a young child to a man old enough to be her aged father. He had in due course taken her to wife, and there were two children by the union. 586 Then she left him and consorted with another man, more nearly her own age. I saw the woman, went into the matter and found that the old man was so uncongenial to her, that even the fact that she had born him two children was not strong enough to reconcile her to her lot. She had much of my sympathy, though I could not condone the desertion of her children.

581 Not even the very strongest bonds can bind a woman who wishes to break them. The most binding form of betrothal known to the LUO, is that which is the outcome of an alliance between two families. The Luo have a proverb which runs " Osiep otho, to wat okotho." In English it would run " friendship dies, but relationship does not die." So, as in other lands, the heads of two Luo families may desire to 584 cement their friendship by ties of intermarriage. A feast is provided by one of the parties, generally by the one taking the initiative in

587 the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the [273] beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment [675] to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar oseke," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties, 584 mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the 789 parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposd to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

789 Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger ●593 position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this 241 stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of 841 women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women
791 who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
252 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great.
462 Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax.

593 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are these lads when they return to the Reserves, though some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 178 There is nothing in the social life of the Luo in the way of organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the [166] younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 178 651 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax, we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Luo. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
606 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of
abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period
• 593 they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simbi*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbi* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*mera*) and father's sister (*nyar*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

857 As the child grows older it begins to play by itself.
593 Parents also amuse their children, but because they are generally away from the village, the children must either play with the nurses or by themselves. Before the child has learnt to talk, the play between it and the nurse is that of inducement to laughter or fright. Older children between two and five merely copy what the nurses do. These nurses, who are sometimes the children's own sisters, act as their instructors and demonstrators in the different play activities.

857 *Play activities.* Dolls like those existing in European
524 society are unknown among Luo children. The children play with things they pick up, like stones, leaves—dry or green—and many other natural articles. In short, they adapt their environment to their own needs. They mostly prefer bright objects, and after the end of the day's play they return home with a load of playthings. These they keep in some corner, ready for the next day. Thus the younger children go on day after day bringing in new toys and throwing away the old. As we shall see later, the older children, or nurses, make their own dolls.

857 Once the children can walk and understand other
526 children's language, the older ones may hide, calling for the younger ones to try to find them—a game resem-
867 bling 'hide and seek'. Some parents maintain that a child of five is able to tell lies merely becuase he or she has had contact with older children already able to tell lies. But the habit of giving wrong interpretations to what they perceive is very common. Thus Otieno, having once suffered from a thorn-prick, mistook any hard object underfoot for a thorn. He was also fond of giving false alarms. I was frequently interrupted by the announcement of his father's return, and these announcements were often untrue.

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

child. Having in the beginning created the child's liking for her breasts she must resort to crude methods to shift the child's interest to other sources. Hence weaning is not only a break in the time-honoured connection between mother and child, but also a significant psychological factor in the child's development. A closer analytical study of children would help to show how far the fears established during infancy influence their later emotional life.

Parent-child Relationship

The relationship between parents and children from the age of two to six is principally determined by two factors: discipline and the provision of food. Parents feel that children of both sexes tend to prefer their mother partly because of her frequent contact with them, and even more because their food in its ready form is under her control.

In feeding children a mother's sympathies often prevent her from restricting their food, but the reverse situation may exist and sometimes we find a father who loves his child so much that he will give it all the food it desires. If the father is more severe than the mother in this respect the child naturally prefers the mother, and, similarly, a child will prefer a father who feeds it to a mother who restricts its food.

A further complication arises when the grandparents come into the matter. So delicately balanced is this relationship depending on food and discipline that the slightest difference is sufficient to draw the child towards those who favour it. This means that if the grandparents offer it better conditions, the child will stay with them most of the time. Hence, when I was once talking to a couple I know, I was informed that their daughter would not remain with them but preferred her grand-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

parents—a fact which had already struck me during my visits to the family. Although I have frequently visited them, I have seldom found the children there, and even more rarely at meal times. This situation would have become more pronounced when the children were weaned.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to herself as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-
[594] going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

Relationship with older children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

IV

ADOLESCENCE

857 593 In the interim period between childhood and adolescence there comes a time when a girl's ability to deal with domestic work is more advanced than her physical and mental development. It is during this period that the mother, still occupying a central position as adviser and supervisor of the girl's work, finds difficulty in the management of her daughter. Since the domestic work of her household is heavy, the mother uses all kinds of pressure to induce her daughter to do as much as she can.

856 [572] The girl's life at this time is characterized by her increased interest in boys and desire to come into contact with them. The friendships established during childhood with other young girls are weakened by the development of a new object of friendship in the opposite sex. During this time the breasts of most girls develop noticeably. The girls show great interest in this development and employ various means to stimulate it. An instance of this interest can sometimes be seen among those who stuff clothes in their bosoms to exaggerate the size.

On the whole, the period differs only in the fact that the girls definitely aspire to be grown-ups and are also more interested in friendship with boys.

Characteristics of Adolescence

883 This new period is the time when the mother leaves her daughter to bring her knowledge of domestic work to perfection by her own efforts. As compared with the school-going age, there is little or no interference from

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

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882 There is therefore frequent friction between some
593 mothers and daughters.

The father, while maintaining an interest of his own, does not exhibit his liking for his daughter so openly. The economic value of a girl to society is gauged by the extent to which a man may be excused his debts on the ground that after his daughter's marriage he will be able to pay them.

Allowances given to girls are not very generous despite the fact that daughters have a higher economic value than sons. There is a feeling that not much money should be lavished on someone who will not remain in the family to help the father in his old age. The main desire is to see the girl married, and it is a source of worry if she does not associate with men. The girl is also expected to be sociable towards neighbouring women, because if she is unpopular with them they might speak against her in the presence of her suitor or his relatives.

At this time disciplinary control by the parents slackens, since in order to contact men the girl requires a certain amount of freedom. Disciplinary measures may be exercised only in the event of misconduct, such as running away with a young man without notice to parents or having relations which are morally prejudicial to the community life. The mother, however, loses her dominating influence during the school age and the task of disciplining the older girl becomes the duty of the father or her older brothers.

The Sexual Life and Attitude of Adolescents

836 The sexual life of the adolescent is conditioned by the
883 prevailing social conventions on the nature of sexual relationship between males and females. Thus, though it may appear on the surface that Luo society makes no allowance for unrestricted sexual contact, in fact a

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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

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Aspects of Marriage

Dowry. The payment of a dowry takes place when the suitor of a young woman has formally presented himself to her parents and obtained their consent. Having agreed to marry him, the woman arranges the interview with the parents. The news of his coming is generally communicated to the father through the mother. In certain matters relating to her sexual life, the girl might confide in her mother, with whom she naturally feels very much at home.

The traditional marriage. The traditional marriage, which has undergone considerable modification in many respects, is characterized by a number of ceremonies. The ceremonies which follow take place after the 'meko' or 'catching', a term applied to the act of seizing a girl and dragging her to her husband's home. This 'catching' is arranged by the husband and his relatives. Normally the girl is aware of it long before it takes place. The time when it will occur can be estimated by considering the number of cattle paid in—between seven and eight according to my own experience. After this time arrives the girl must restrict her movements lest she tempt her suitor to 'catch' her.

Having decided to 'catch' her, he tries by several methods to get her out of the reach of her brothers, who would normally put up a strong fight before allowing their sister to go. If the bridegroom's friends fail to lure her away from her home, they attempt to 'catch' her in it. But this can be done only where there is no strong force of young men to match the raiders. In such an event, arrangements would be secretly made with the woman in whose hut the girl sleeps; and a small payment having been made to her, the bride is seized in the dark.

Sometimes the father gives permission for his daughter

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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to herself as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-
[594] going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is generaly accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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595 initiative and freedom among women is greater in polygamous families than in monogamous ones. In the latter there is a greater dependence on the father, whereas the father of a polygamous household is relatively free from the many responsibilities imposed upon the heads of monogamous families.

The wife of a monogamist usually has a greater share of her husband's wealth than the wife of a polygamist. In families where there are many wives, the relationship between a husband and any one of his wives depends on the personal attention that he receives. Often the provision of food is a very important factor, because there is a natural tendency to discriminate against those wives who do not give enough of their food to the husband. The polygamous father demands obedience from both his children and his wives but in the main he leaves the women to support themselves.

In this way a sort of individuality develops among the different houses of the one family. In the upbringing of her children each mother aims at instilling a competitive spirit between her children and those of the other houses. Hence contact between the father and his children is rather lessened, while his detached position increases the children's fear of him. The father's personal assistance goes largely to the youngest wife, from whom he gets most of his personal attention, but he normally continues to respect the position of his chief wife.

In the monogamous family the economic fluctuation in the fortune of the father has results which are felt throughout the family, and here, too, there are instances where the family is supported by the mother. In both types of family, however, the disciplinary action of the father is more authoritative than that of the mother, though the children may naturally prefer the parent who is more lenient and sympathetic.

village is a long way off the girl's relations sleep at his village, but if they can 585
manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and beale drink; the bridegroom does not go.

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she 583
returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to 585
his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the man resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife.

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his 583
payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as 587
long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister.

If a woman will not stop with her husband she is married to some 586
one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is ill-treated she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If 583
after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to [622
stay there and cook for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the 595
man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. [582]
They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself.

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Bantu 323
Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, trade pots, etc.

Dyes; tanning.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they tan, but they 281
soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft. 286

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now 481
made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, curving round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of ambatch wood (called *Oriodi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. Use sticks and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but

S: Hobley G-S (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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of the baby, if a boy, and round its left wrist, if a girl. Next morning, the body and head of the quail are cut off, leaving the lower half of the beak of the bird suspended by the string round the child's neck; everyone then knows that it has been named.

Names are often suggested by some event happening at the time.

Mumia was born on the day of an attack by the Wanga or Elgumi people, and was thus named Mumia. Formerly, again, when Europeans were great curiosities in the country, if a child was born on the day a caravan camped at the village, it would often be named after the leader of it, if he chanced to be well known, thus "Jakinia," "Martinia," and "Oldie"[1] are very common.

Tattooing and Tribal Marks.

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These rarely appear to have any special significance, but, among the Ja-Luo people, it is thought that a woman will not bear children unless she is tattooed.

All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel (Fig. 8). When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist. All the men are not marked, it is quite a matter of choice with them. For instance, the head chief of the Kisumu people is not tattooed.

Fig. 8.

The various tribes of the Ja-Luo have slightly differing tattoo marks.

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Among the Kotuh, if a warrior kills an enemy in warfare, on his return he has two rows of round marks tattooed on his right chest and continued upwards over his right shoulder; moreover, upon reaching home, it is considered essential that he should have connection with his wife as soon as convenient; this is believed to prevent the spirit of his dead enemy from haunting and bewitching him.

The Turkana and Suk tattoo rows of spots from the chest over the shoulder, but whether this is significant of the warrior having killed an enemy or not, is not known.

An examination of the Kotuh language affords reasons for believing that there is a strain of Kavirondo or Turkana blood among them, and this peculiar tattooing custom may be additional evidence of the affinity.

The Kotuh women have a number of raised dots tattooed on their stomachs and abdomen arranged regularly in close board fashion. An irritant is rubbed into the cuts to produce weals.

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Numerical Proportion of Sexes.

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In a previous publication[2] I ventured the opinion that the female sex greatly outnumbered the male. My observation was based upon the prevalence of

[1] The native version of the names Jackson, Martin and Hobley.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 19

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

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polygamy, and the deceptive fact that the village headmen and elders generally have large numbers of wives. Though still of opinion that the female sex predominate, their numerical superiority is probably not so great as I thought at first, and having had my attention called from time to time to the large number of unmarried adults in many of the villages, I have collected statistics on the subject.

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The summary of these statistics is as follows:—

Bantu Kavirondo	male births	...	57½	per cent.
	female "	...	42½	"
Nilotic stock: Ja-Luo	male "	...	42	"
	female "	...	58	"
Nilotic stock: Nandi	male "	...	48½	"
	female "	...	51½	"

It thus appears that among the Bantu tribes the number of male births is in excess, and among those of Nilotic origin, particularly among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the female births are in excess.

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The statistics also show the average number of children in a family among the various races.

		Average Number of Children.
Bantu Kavirondo	... ...	7·75
Nilotic stock: Ja-Luo	... ...	10·6
Nilotic stock: Nandi	... ...	2·6

Of course in times past the wastage of male life was extremely heavy, and in spite of the more peaceful times now prevailing, still is so.

In connection with this subject I may mention that as the country settles, and the male sex obtains a better chance of survival, I am hoping that the custom of marriage by purchase, which entirely prevails in this area, will prove an incentive to the younger male population to turn their attention more to the habit of working steadily for hire, in order to obtain the wherewithal to buy their wives, and I hope I am not too sanguine in making the statement that I fancy signs of this movement are becoming apparent.

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten pots full, and when the girl returned to her husband's *dala*, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *reyus dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wen dipo*. *Reyus* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the *dala*. *Wen* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *reyus* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wen* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the *reyus dipo* she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The framework was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older woman. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband would start to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that [illegible] 591 593 591 LDL 595 LDL

595 606 145 461 gamous tribes the women should be contented with a system that deprives them and their children of the exclusive care and attention of the husband and father. But it is easy to see that a young Luo wife might well be glad to share her claims with another in return for a lightening of her domestic burdens. A description of the full nature of these burdens does not lie within the scope of this paper. But I might say here that they are in all cases extremely heavy. There is little doubt that the premature ageing that is such a marked characteristic of the women in all primitive agricultural tribes such as the Luo, is due to the almost unremitting toil incidental to the early years of marriage and child-bearing even where the family circumstances are comparatively prosperous.

(To be continued.)

[the continuation of this article was never published. - Analyst]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595] may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836 woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883 careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried women have their own quarters in a village and the young men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however, from another village pay visits to the young women during the day and make love to them, and in the evening the women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848] relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed. When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584 a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents 585 consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter. The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee. During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837] to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste. The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591 village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

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When A MAN MARRIES

a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

Distinctive dress of married women. Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time, but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. HARTMANN.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

596 The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmaried daughters.

● 595 Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women [833] that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

842 If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kedo)* made [304] all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(tero kedo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kelo kedo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nango misalo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yath agulu)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

[837] In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

844 When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in a *supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

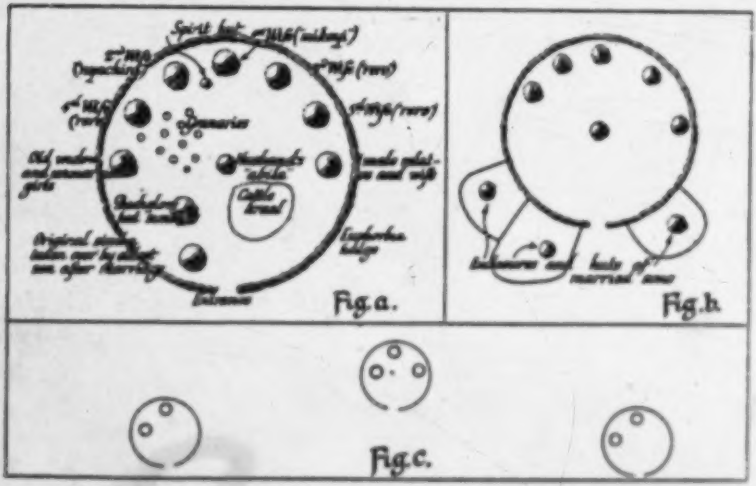
17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.[1] The title of the first wife is *mikayi*, that of the second *nyachira*, and of all subsequent wives *rero*.

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at typical phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted from the other figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described above as an arbitrary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

PHASE 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring.

2. The eldest son matures, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*simbi*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*).



3. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead hedge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the *compound polygynous grand family*. (Fig. *b*.)

4. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate ones of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their stepsons or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or ablest of the dead man's sons as head, the sons' homesteads now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.)

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family

[1] It is the possessive form of *nyo* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'grandfather'.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (*Dhodhos japidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would sustain the definition of a corporate group to Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 152.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., any co-wife, any partner in jealousy.

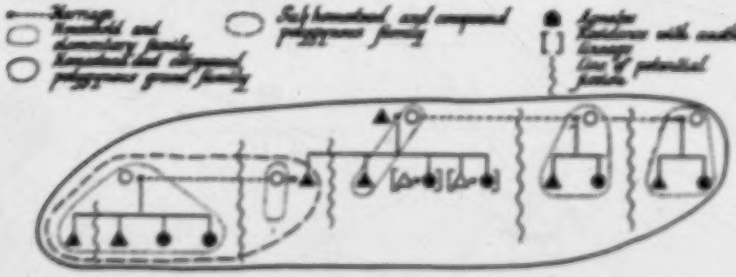
[2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The most valuable comparative statement of family structure from this angle is that of Forde, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, *op. cit.* and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 133-4 note and p. 138.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East African Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. III, 1930, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, or the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

with one maximal lineage, which includes the lineage segments whose territories are marked on the map (Fig. 5) as the locations of Karachuonyo, Kanjpul, Kabooch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem.[1] These lineages all claim patrilineal descent by a recognized genealogy from Awandu the wife of Jook, an ancestor from nine to twelve generations of ascent from elders still alive. This is an exceptionally large exogamous group and has no parallel even among the Luo, with their very wide tracing of marriage bars. Its present population is about 120,000, including a small percentage of settlers (*jodak*) from other lineages. The ban on intermarriage is still observed throughout this group except for the *jodak*. Its major segments would



probably have separated from one another completely and ceased to claim effective common descent, if it had not been for the tendency of European administration to crystallize the relations of maximal lineages at about the stage they had reached when outside control was first imposed over half a century ago. Since that time the population of the group has probably doubled to reach its present size. It is regarded by all the Luo as one of the most important and most authentically Luo groups among them. Since, as the map shows, the territories of its major segments are not contiguous, but form three separate blocks, their day-to-day activities have become similarly divided; I deal chiefly with the block formed by the locations of Karachuonyo and Kanjpul, which have a population of 90,000. The lineages of both these locations claim agnatic descent from Rachuonyo, and will be referred to together as Karachuonyo. (They were, in fact, called East and West Karachuonyo by the British administration until recently.) Karachuonyo people can intermarry with the lineages of the surrounding locations—Nyakach, Gem, Kanyada, and Kagan (see map, Fig. 5)—as well as with the groups of *jodak* who have been permitted by them to settle within their territory.[2]

Cases of murder between Karachuonyo and other lineages would—before the British administration—have occasioned blood-feuds between them in which the

[1] Wuoyan is also included, but these people separated from the Luo and were incorporated into the Bantu Kisii.

[2] There are only three considerable groups in Karachuonyo which are not agnatic descendants of Rachuonyo: Kanyadhiang' (1937), Wagwe (1750), and Kanwala (post); see Fig. 1. Traditions account for them as descended either from wanderers who became dependants of Karachuonyo families or from orphan castaways discovered and reared by them. In either case they married Karachuonyo girls, as is almost inevitable in a system of localized exogamous lineages. They therefore rank as sister's son's lineages to Karachuonyo.

422 less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest
582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing
585 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister
428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson
587 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead titular owner of all

583 1. *Cattle of the shrine*

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses

Must to sadopi, next to qadhiro, one among two wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rach bab* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ataka* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage commences.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

592 Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and
613 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and
554 preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

769 Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young,
778 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer
782 command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the
[783] first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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614 178 very large degree. Their family system remains strong and largely unimpaired by the impact of Western civilization. The patriarch of the extended family unit, the *jokakwero*, remains the local authority. Because a series of family groups together form a territorial unit, the sub-clan, the strength and solidity of the Luo family and lineage structure remain supreme. Obviously there have been changes. Basically, however, the changes are superficial.

562 The role of women in Luo society is a subordinate one. Indigenously they play no part in the major ceremonies or rituals and have never had political authority. They do not organize in age groups or societies as in other cultures, and remain primarily the property of their father and his lineage or, on marriage, the property of their husband and his clan.

●515 Polygyny is still the ideal and goal of the majority of Luo men. A recent village survey showed that taking a sample of 744 homesteads, which varied between a simple monogamous family and the very large unit of the extended polygamous family, 55 per cent were monogamous units, of which 9 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives, thus making them socially polygamous units; 45 per cent were polygamous homesteads, of which 11 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives. Only 27 per cent of the total sample were found to be simple monogamous households, that is one in four of the family type associated with Western culture: a man, his wife and children. The remainder were either polygamous (e had leviratic wives or were of the extended family type. Of this 27 per cent, moreover, it was the ideal of the vast majority to become polygamous later.

871 Education among the Joluo has increased rapidly in recent years, and it was found in our sample that 63 per cent of the boys of school age were either at school or had been to school for more than one year. The figure was 30 per cent for the girls. Of the adult males, however, only 20 per cent had been to school, and of the married females, only 7 per cent. The standard attained, moreover, was not high. More than half the male

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, whom the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a panga in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasions these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762. 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762. 159 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Jokun.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

603 It is significant that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762. 159 585 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

As in the previous case, the woman's family believed that she was murdered and the man's family believed that she committed suicide. It is difficult to say which version is true. It is extremely unusual, however, for a woman to kill herself with a knife, and I have not recorded another case. There was one case among the men, Number 6, but this was a modern "intellectual," who lived in a Council house with a plastered ceiling, which was hardly suitable for hanging in the traditional way. 762. 159

The next case is the one mentioned earlier involving a woman's fear of the consequences of her son's behavior.

Suicide Case No. 16.

The woman in this case was the wife of a squatter who was a servant to an important Chief. The Chief helped him to get married to this woman, a local girl who was in fact related in some way to the Chief. After his establishment as an affine of the Chief, the *jodak* became very wealthy and built his own village on a place allocated by the Chief. He married a second wife after the building of his village and, just before the case we are discussing, married a third wife. The first wife had many children, most of whom were daughters. At the time of her suicide, all but one had married and her house was very wealthy. The houses of the other two wives were therefore extremely jealous. 762. 159 915

One day during the short rainy season, the owner of the village, the husband, wished to make a present of *aim-aim* to his Chief and benefactor in order that he might pay the tax which at that time was calculated on the number of wives and also to pay the traditional tribute to the Chief. The woman's son at about that time invited a large number of guests to his village and demanded that his mother give him *aim-aim* with which to entertain them. She refused because she knew her husband intended to use the entire crop. The son disobeyed [651]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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his mother and took the sin-sin by stealth. When the husband came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large portion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel between him and the boy's mother.

In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for milking, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body cursed it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked to bring hoes, axes, and pangas to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Loo believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

The husband of this suicide had been having considerable trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her daughter with a young man who had neither paid little-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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the local prophet (*jabilo*). When he returned to the village from his visit to the *jabilo*, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okoch, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apoko, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nurse-maid for their first child.*

* This is common practice among the Joluo and often the "nurse" (*japiak*) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters cooperate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the *japiak* will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a *japiak*, she becomes known as *ayer sirocho*, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same hut and trace descent through the older sister. The term *sirocho* is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son; it therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

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Okech decided to marry the nursemaid but his wife adamantly refused to agree. Okech beat her severely and she ran home to her parents where she remained for several weeks. Her sister, Apolo, continued to live in the village and by now cohabited openly with the husband as if they were man and wife. The wife eventually returned and made an effort to accept the situation as it existed. The husband built Apolo her own house as the second wife (*nyachira*) in the customary place in the homestead, but had not paid bride-wealth. In fact, he had not completed (*rise*) bride-wealth of the first wife, which added tension to the situation.

All appeared to go well until one night Okech returned from a beer party and abused his wife. What was more serious, he went to the hut of Apolo to sleep although it was the customary period of the month when he should have gone to the house of his first wife.

Early the next morning, the wife visited the mother of my informant and insisted that she accept as a gift her cooking pot and other household utensils. Her excuse was that she had bought new ones. She returned to her house where she packed the utensils and sent Apolo to carry them to my friend's mother. Meanwhile, Okech was sleeping.

She then hanged herself from a rafter in her hut. The noise of her strangulation awakened Okech, who cut the rope and made frantic efforts to revive her with water and to cane the body in the customary Luo manner. His wailing brought his brothers and relatives from their homesteads nearby.

When Apolo returned she was confronted by the irate brothers of Okech who accused her of being a witch who had brought *chira* to the village and to the lineage. They beat both Okech and Apolo and drove them from the homestead. The hut in which the woman had hanged herself was then immediately destroyed.

Apolo was not allowed to enter the homestead of her father who, with his sons, drove her from the clan area by thrashing

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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her with canes. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two leviratic wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

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This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

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This woman was the second wife (*nyachieu*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to curse him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a [redacted] buried in front of her house to represent her body, for [redacted] certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out
[854] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

Restrictions on the suckling of babies. It is considered a
[784] breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her
[761] neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a
[177] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been aban-
[603] doned. One exception to the restriction, however, is that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

853 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment
● 595 of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 The social restriction with regard to the suckling of
[177] infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that *men* take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

858 142

The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organised. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoot*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

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In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo. While the relationship between the different lineages is characterised by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

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Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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595 initiative and freedom among women is greater in polygamous families than in monogamous ones. In the latter there is a greater dependence on the father, whereas the father of a polygamous household is relatively free from the many responsibilities imposed upon the heads of monogamous families.

The wife of a monogamist usually has a greater share of her husband's wealth than the wife of a polygamist. In families where there are many wives, the relationship between a husband and any one of his wives depends on the personal attention that he receives. Often the provision of food is a very important factor, because there is a natural tendency to discriminate against those wives who do not give enough of their food to the husband. The polygamous father demands obedience from both his children and his wives but in the main he leaves the women to support themselves.

In this way a sort of individuality develops among the different houses of the one family. In the upbringing of her children each mother aims at instilling a competitive spirit between her children and those of the other houses. Hence contact between the father and his children is rather lessened, while his detached position increases the children's fear of him. The father's personal assistance goes largely to the youngest wife, from whom he gets most of his personal attention, but he normally continues to respect the position of his chief wife.

In the monogamous family the economic fluctuation in the fortune of the father has results which are felt throughout the family, and here, too, there are instances where the family is supported by the mother. In both types of family, however, the disciplinary action of the father is more authoritative than that of the mother, though the children may naturally prefer the parent who is more lenient and sympathetic.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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The strongest tie of relationship exists between the children of one mother. This close relationship extends to the maternal as well as the paternal grandparents. Children may be taken to the maternal relatives while they are still young, or they may sometimes go for visits when they are a little older. Although they share the same father, the relationship of the children with those of the other houses is much less close, because the mother in each house thinks first of the future of her own children. For this reason the undue wealth of any one particular house is viewed with alarm in the other houses and a mother will maintain a constant watch on the other sections of the family lest their successes should overshadow her own children. 595 603

When a child goes to stay with its maternal grandparents it is often spoilt by their too readily shown affection and their unwillingness to teach it discipline. Hence parents complain that children who spend most of their time with their maternal relatives are unruly and difficult to manage when they return to their homes. 603 855

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1928) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. Hartmann.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmarried daughters.

Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the hum of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the woman that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions (*hoko*) made all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (*nothing else*). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is looked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about ¼ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about ¼ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself (*tero hoko*) and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *winde* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast (*hong hoko hoko*).

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the sides of burnt herbs, of which she has to take a little morning and night for one month (*turbyo minde*).

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants (*yuth ayuto*) which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

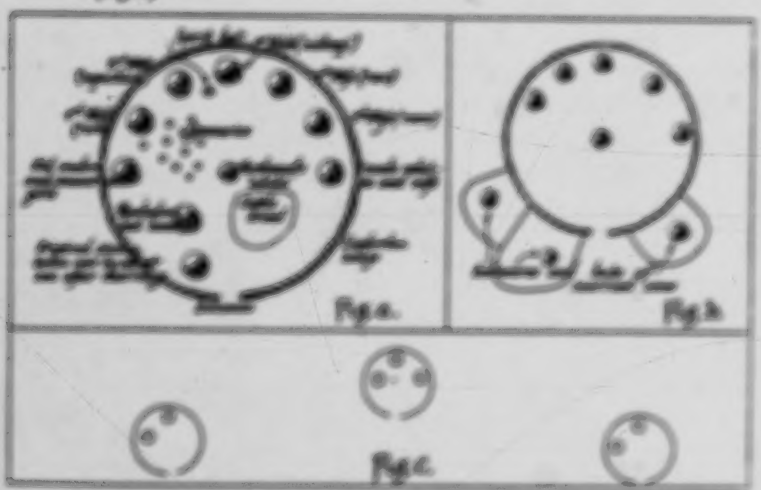
In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyoni*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

and in a number of other sociological contexts, suggests that its primary meaning is that of owner.* The title of the first wife is *ankyi*, that of the second *qaedeva*, and of all subsequent wives *nen*. 512

The diagrams below show the plan of the homestead at typical phases of the family cycle. The fuller details of Fig. *a* are omitted from the other figures. Taking the compound polygynous family as described above as an arbitrary point of departure, the cycle might be charted thus:

Figure 1. The compound polygynous family of husband, wives, and immature offspring. 511
a. The eldest son marries, marries, and at first lives with his wife in the original bachelors' hut (*ciada*) while his younger brothers build a new one next to it. (Fig. *a*). 512



[351]

b. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead badge. His younger brothers marry and follow suit. Offspring are born to them, bringing into existence the compound polygynous grand family. (Fig. *b*.)
c. The sons marry subsidiary wives, gradually splitting off from the original homestead to form separate sons of their own. The head of the original homestead eventually dies, his widows are taken over by their separate or brothers-in-law, and the old homestead is in course of time deserted. There is now an extended family, with the eldest or eldest of the third man's sons as head, the over' homestead's now each having reached phase 1 of the cycle. (Fig. *c*.) 512 516

The head of the compound family is, of course, a member of each of its component elementary families, but the fact that he is common to them all gives each a certain independence in relation to him as well as to one another. The elementary family 515

* It is the possessive form of *nen* which has the meanings 'owner', 'father', 'gentleman'.

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

is a big thing. When we get some money, I shall ask my husband for a better house. We are in the way of progress now, but there is another thing: the Government must help us with our water, we need a scheme to bring it—that is the biggest thing.'

It is often said that women are the most conservative, and in some ways perhaps this may be so—especially in regard to marriage customs; but it struck me, almost everywhere I went, that it is the women who are most anxious to see these basic land reforms brought in, the men who oppose—not the old men so much as the younger, educated ones who have been to cities. Africa so often seems to reverse the expected order of things.

At any rate, there was no doubt of what these women thought about land reform. It is they, after all, the cultivators, the workers, who know where the shoe pinches, and no wonder they are out of patience with those young men of the towns who, while crying for political freedom, do their best to deny to their own women that measure of relief from hard, grinding toil which land consolidation and enclosure can afford.

Among the Luo, everything is done by clans—extended families would be a more correct term. This group is called the *jokakowo* and consists of all the descendants of one grandfather. They hold their land in common and each individual, as he marries, is allocated a *shamba* by the *ligwe*, the land elders. In time he probably inherits cultivation rights over other pieces from various mothers, uncles and cousins, and that is how fragmentation arises. All grazing land is held in common, as among all other tribes.

The *jokakowo* system is at once a strength and a weakness, from a modern point of view. Livestock improvers regard it as an unmitigated curse.

'All the members of the group must agree to any sale of stock by any individual,' a vet told me. 'That makes de-stocking almost impossible, if only out of bloody-mindedness.' The livestock picture generally is a gloomy one. 'We are still trying to get across one or two of the most basic principles, such as dipping or spraying against ticks. Among the Kipsigis,

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

...lone as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the next must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

Cattle of the wife	*Cattle of the sons' houses*
Entire property of homestead head.	Share in subject, more in question, one among one owner.
Used to help sons to brothers' sons to marry, or to marry sons' wives for homestead head. Number ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters. All derived from the cattle and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase. Milk from these used by the homestead head.	1. Cattle entirely property of the wives. Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house. All derived from the cattle and bull received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the cattle of cattle and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies. Milk from these used by the wives.
	2. Cattle held for sons' marriages. Any number inherited by youngest son of each house. All derived from the cattle received as 'daughters' marriages when these three years had ended ; and a

Homestead head has over all dispositions in the original division of incoming cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from marriages ; to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his sister-wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications : primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and jealously, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segments, the predecessor's appointment seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group with to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into disrepute among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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African Homicide and Suicide

614 avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke
682 out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe,
628 Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare
611 the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solu-
768 tion was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not
583 have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan,
and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable
daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer
should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and
through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary
to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at
[597] the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the
clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the epo-
nym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple
is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my
knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an
eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by
her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some
674 idea of the Jolus attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the
775 notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in
the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes,
for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely
to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on
earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short
by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide.
The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal
with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The
more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the after-
world, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Jolus had developed several devices to deal with cases
703 of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a mur-
[illegible] dered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit
[illegible] and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent
[illegible] woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jolowing*)

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, when the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. The child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no son. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a panga in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to two years' hard labor.

The Joko people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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776 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat
782 is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony,
791 but it is performed by a Mosoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amadwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, wuya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor wuya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod wuya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar wuya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, worwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915

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Mother's sister's child (girl), nyamin mar nyina hao, nyamera mar nyina hao 601●

Sister's son's wife (m.s.), chi nyakwoo, chi nyakwowa

Sister's son's child (m.s.), nyakwar, nyakwara

Sister's daughter's husband (m.s.), chwor nyakowa, chwor nyakowa

Sister's daughter's child (m.s.), nyakwar, nyakwara

Father's father, Kwar, kwara

Father's mother, da, dana

Mother's father, Kwar, kwara

Mother's mother, da, dana

Husband, chwor, chwora

Wife's father, or, ora

Wife's mother, mar, mara

Husband's mother, mar, mara

Husband's father, or kwar, ora kwara

Wife's brother, or, ora

Wife's sister, yu or, yu ora

Husband's brother, yu or, yu ora

Husband's sister, yu or, yu ora

Wife's sister's husband, omin, omera

Husband's brother's wife, nyok, nyoka

Son's wife's parents, nyawana, nyawanana

[pp. 294 ff. not processed]

the hands and, by evolution of the age group now above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the ritual which male persons, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the guest hut of a homestead where they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (*Dhotion simbe*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of suitable girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbe* age mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the more effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will normally use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no especial reserve for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relations to one another's children as mother's brother (*mwa*) and father's sister (*nyapi*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidance. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Lovedu are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than one they would ever argue from; there is only machinery for children to associate the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin through of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a sterile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

19: Southall E-9 (1945-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

diagram, p. 10). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the usual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elder of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *ewewe, kang' ewere ankwe*—'our father, call your father and us'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on invoking the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the favour of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being passed at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child dies unusually the diviner (*ganga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of descent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the successive reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

Two special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', Ahombo*, and *siyando*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *siyando* of class B segments only, and *Ahombo* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speakers, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoot*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages closely adjacent to or class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, land, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of dwellings, containing the dwellings and all the land exclusive of a specified social group. The Luo have no village in the sense of recognized aggregation of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

friendly games of *adhola* (Luo hockey) between the smaller segments, through the wrestling and club-fighting of medium segments to the ritual warfare and open conflict of the larger lineages. Etymologically *dhoot* means 'mouth of house' (*dhok*, mouth; *ot*, house) and, as quotations will show, often refers to the issue of children from the doorway of their mother's hut. This might further imply a principle of mortilineal descent, but of this there is not the slightest trace among the Luo. All their lineages are essentially patrilineal, but the original ancestors from whom they spring, and whose names they bear, may be either men or women, depending on whether segmentation took place between brothers of an elementary family or co-wives of a compound family. The significance of this etymology, and of the Luo interpretation of it, seems to be that the unity of uterine brothers in their mother's house is to them symbolic of the solidarity of members of the same *dhoot*. But, as has been previously noted, uterine brothers are also regarded from the opposite point of view, as symbolic in their quarrels of the fission between lineage segments. Nor is this inconsistent, but is in line with the character of all Luo lineage segments, which in one context emphasize their unity against all outsiders and in another their internal divisions. 601 613

The *dhoot* of Karachuonyo is to its members the largest lineage which carries general social functions and which occupies one continuous block of territory. It is subdivided into smaller *dhoot* down to the level of those which are the primary settlement units. This is the class A system of segmentation which, as previously noted, may be from twofold to sixfold, and is usually fivefold in Karachuonyo, according to the particular agnatic line taken. The points of origin of these *dhoot* are only a small selection from the very large number of points of potential segmentation which appear in the whole genealogy of Karachuonyo (see large genealogical chart, Fig. 6, facing p. 32). For all uterine brothers, or co-wives with surviving male agnatic issue, from those of living families back to the earliest ancestors of the genealogy, represent points of fission in the class B segmentation, some of which have achieved class A status as *dhoot*. 613

Karachuonyo as a *dhoot* is thus a group of people claiming common agnatic descent from Rachuonyo and subdivided at several successive levels into a number of smaller *dhoot* all segmentally articulated. Karachuonyo as a continuous block of territory occupied and controlled by this group is also correspondingly subdivided, so that the arrangement of parts into a whole coincides in both cases. It is when they have the territorial aspect of a *dhoot* particularly in mind that the Luo refer to it as *gong'* (pl. *gongo*). The basic connotation is land, but the social group occupying the land is always implicit in the term *gong'*. It would never be used for unclaimed or unoccupied land, which is *thim* (wilderness). Settlement, in the sense defined above is thus a reasonable translation of *gong'*. In Karachuonyo all *gongo* are thought of as being essentially lineage settlements. When the Luo have a territorial unit in mind as being the most inclusive of its kind, as they do in the case of Karachuonyo itself and occasionally in some contexts the *dhoot* which are its major segments also, they refer to them as *piny* (country) rather than *gong'*. The average population of minimal *gongo* is approximately 300. 613 621

Dhoot, which are major segments of the same superordinate lineage, refer to one another as *Dhoot* (pl. *Dhoot*). The etymology of this word is uncertain, and it 601 613

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God, *nesiga*, enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *likambo* all those forces of friction and competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *likambo* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *likambo* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoodi* which stand in the *likambo* relationship to one another which play together at *ndiwa*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of component and elementary families, are constantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a misfortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ajuoga*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble. Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoodi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its *major* segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *ompodo*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *ompodo* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *ompodo* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Talensi concept of *nanor* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 51, 57, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but to the Talensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *likambo* to one another whether their eponymous were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 93. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Talensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 50).

[3] *opad* v., birth; *opado* v., to give birth. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

derived from them. Here again it seems as if a whole series of groups were identified with one symbolic personage, and the ideational qualities of the elementary family cell of mother and children are extended to much larger and differently derived groupings organized upon similar principles of solidarity. When *agnatic* groups act in co-ordinate relationships they also may refer to one another as *lineages* in the same way as is done by *dimodi*. But in the co-ordinate relationships of such class D *lineages* the competitive element is not so marked as the ordered marshalling of articulated segments in the achievement of a common purpose. Competitiveness still appears, however, in the haggling over shares of meat distributed at many rites.

Besides these generic terms lineages are referred to in particular by adding the particle *ka* to the name of the eponymous ancestor. A lineage is said to be *kabeng'ei ei mbisi* —people of one person—and a man's lineage affiliation is indicated by adding the personal particle and the locative particle to the lineage name, as *kabeng'eiengo*—a man of the lineage of Baebeengo.[1] Less pamphonous *ka* as *kaeka* of so-and-so, using *kaeka* in its figurative sense of the social group associated with a homestead, also, with their characteristic relativity, it can refer not merely to an actual homestead and its family, but to any lineage settlement however large, since all such must in theory be ultimately derived from the original homestead in which the eponymous ancestor lived.

Asked for the meaning of *dimo* an elder usually leans back on his stool and points round the homestead at the doorways of his wives' huts as the concrete demonstration of what he says. Thus:

Okuya-Mbuya of Kanyango Adhanja:[2] 'If you have three wives and each has a number of children, and the children with their mothers scatter to different homesteads, they drop your name and take their mothers'.' Okuya-Mbuya is a great-grandson of Onyango Adhanja by his first wife Ambango Nyamngeri. As may be seen from the chart (Fig. 6) Onyango Adhanja (vi) had three other wives besides Okuya's ancestress, and the descendants of all these have actually made separate settlements of their own called Kanyandiero, Kanyajwang', and Kobala, after these three wives. Okuya had also been speaking of his grandfather Mingora, whose descendants also have their own settlement, and saying that as Kanningora grew he would expect it to split up into three settlements named after Mingora's three wives.

Oyugi-Mbuya of Kanyaluo said of *dimo*: 'You get your *dimo* first from your mother, then it changes to the grandchildren to the father. It is just a question of naming you after the mother from whom you were born.' Oyugi is a great-great-grandson of Nyyaino (ix), first wife of Ogwono (x) (Fig. 6). He refers to the fact that the elementary family of the mother's hut is the primary unit in the system of segmentation, within the secondary grouping of descent from a man by all his wives taken together. Derivation from father or mother may alternate in different generations, and where segments are derived from women it is simply a naming device for distinguishing between descent groups all of which are patrilineal, not the result of any special value attached to descent from women as opposed to men.

[1] *ka*, *ei*, *ni*, personal particle; *ng'eni*, a person; *ka*, particle of place; *eshid*, *eno*.

[2] I hyphenate a second name to the first where it is the name of the individual's father; where it is the individual's nickname or a woman's personal name I add it without a hyphen. In either case, the addition of the second name serves to distinguish between the many individuals who have the same personal name.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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for the land of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings chiro to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakowo*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuowo*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

20:Omindo 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygyny, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

17: Southall E-9 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

the hands and, by avoidance of the age groups next above them, slowly acquiring 857
proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the
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19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

Suicide Case No. 23.

An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to touch and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

[pp. 214-272 not processed]

20:Omiade I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out
[154] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

[714] *Restrictions on the suckling of babies.* It is considered a
[961] breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a
[777] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been abandoned. One exception to the restriction, however, is
[609] that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

833 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment
595 of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 The social restriction with regard to the suckling of
[177] infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

20:Omonde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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FL2 child. Having in the beginning created the child's liking for her breasts she must resort to crude methods to shift the child's interest to other sources. Hence weaning is not only a break in the time-honoured connection between mother and child, but also a significant psychological factor in the child's development. A closer analytical study of children would help to show how far the fears established during infancy influence their later emotional life.

Parent-child Relationship

156 593 The relationship between parents and children from the age of two to six is principally determined by two factors: discipline and the provision of food. Parents feel that children of both sexes tend to prefer their mother partly because of her frequent contact with them, and even more because their food in its ready form is under her control.

In feeding children a mother's sympathies often prevent her from restricting their food, but the reverse situation may exist and sometimes we find a father who loves his child so much that he will give it all the food it desires. If the father is more severe than the mother in this respect the child naturally prefers the mother, and, similarly, a child will prefer a father who feeds it to a mother who restricts its food.

155 593 603 A further complication arises when the grandparents come into the matter. So delicately balanced is this relationship depending on food and discipline that the slightest difference is sufficient to draw the child towards those who favour it. This means that if the grandparents offer it better conditions, the child will stay with them most of the time. Hence, when I was once talking to a couple I know, I was informed that their daughter would not remain with them but preferred her grand-

20 Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

parents—a fact which had already struck me during my visits to the family. Although I have frequently visited them, I have seldom found the children there, and even more rarely at meal times. This situation would have become more pronounced when the children were weaned.

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20:Orninde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

The strongest tie of relationship exists between the children of one mother. This close relationship extends to the maternal as well as the paternal grandparents. Children may be taken to the maternal relatives while they are still young, or they may sometimes go for visits when they are a little older. Although they share the same father, the relationship of the children with those of the other houses is much less close, because the mother in each house thinks first of the future of her own children. For this reason the undue wealth of any one particular house is viewed with alarm in the other houses and a mother will maintain a constant watch on the other sections of the family lest their successes should overshadow her own children.

When a child goes to stay with its maternal grandparents it is often spoilt by their too readily shown affection and their unwillingness to teach it discipline. Hence parents complain that children who spend most of their time with their maternal relatives are unruly and difficult to manage when they return to their homes.

the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridewealth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to return he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognized as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home. 585

The *rico* ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to redress if the wife has intercourse with other men. As the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents, he presses for the *rico* ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The *rico* ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each gift being named as it is presented to her. She herself keeps none of them and they are taken by the girls of the *rico* party from her parents' village. [431]

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband tells his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to built an *ot* - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut (*ciete*). Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT (LUO)

The Luo practice extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation. 576 606

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2) 606 [431]

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is 776

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, p.161. (2) *Ibid.*

with *dhu* she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the 587
nyoota is the *levirate*, the raising up *of seed* to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be supported. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *tiere* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jaumo*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's *ghost* is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger.

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a marriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *jater*. His brother is only their *gamer*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the beginning (*ahar nyoth ne ahar ndeg*). Also, one does not use the verb *donde*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *aora ne odiga*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ot dond*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Law

Luo practise very extensive *avoidance*, as part of a general attitude of respect (*luor*), 606
of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kwaro* (my in-laws). If a man meets 576
either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. [611]
A man who neglects these rules is said to be *nongadi*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *wen*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation.

When the wife has borne a child the *rules of avoidance* are relaxed and as the years 606
go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law 574
become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *siedo* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagwe* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kowago*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

The people of the home press them to eat, but they refuse, as a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's oldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Cisa

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small pubic covering and a *cisa* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament at public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *cisa* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *cisa*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *cisa* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est défiorée en présence de sa sœur et d'autres jeunes filles de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est commencé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. 304
If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover 783
does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the 727
fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a 291
child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important 576
matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on [606]
no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to [594]
visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about 301
fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a 304
ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of 301
the variety known as *hiketi*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood [172]
of the Maragolia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Lue FL11

large quantity of beer, even as much as nine or ten gets full, and when the girl returned to her husband's dale, not only this beer, but also a goat or a sheep, or perhaps a large quantity of fish was sent with her as a present for her husband's parents. 585

On her return a ceremony known as the *ngwe dipo* took place. It was also known as the *wee dipo*. *Ngwe* is the name of a plant, and it is also the name for a broom or brush. *Dipo* is the open space in the middle of the dale. *Wee* means the stomach contents of an animal. All these elements enter into the ceremony, which consisted of the following events. The father-in-law killed a bull and one of the front legs provided a feast for the family; the hindquarters and the other front leg were set aside to dry, but the stomach contents were strewn over the *dipo* and left there until the evening. Meanwhile the father-in-law made a brush of *ngwe* which he gave to the girl, and with this broom at dusk, she swept the *wee* into a heap, afterwards laying hot ashes over it to burn it up. In the morning the ash heap was scattered to the wind. When the dried meat was ready the girl was sent with it to her old home where she presented it to her parents. She then went back to her husband and was allowed to carry out two duties hitherto forbidden her. These were the tending of the fire in her mother-in-law's hut, and the preparation of food for her father-in-law. This indicated that she was at last a full member of her husband's family and so might render services that only a member of the family was allowed to perform.

After the ngwe dipo she lived in her mother-in-law's hut until her own hut was ready. The frame-work was built by her husband, and he was expected to thatch the roof himself, but his brothers helped him to prepare the mud for the walls and in building them up. When the hut was finished the girl again visited her parents and brought back with her a ram or a billy goat which was killed to provide a feast to reward the labours of her husband's brothers. Even then, however, the bride might not live independently in her own hut. She was expected to spend the day with her mother-in-law, doing all the laborious parts of the house work and generally holding herself at the beck and call of the older women. This arrangement normally continued only until the birth of a child, but if the two women got on well together it might endure until a second child was born, when it invariably came to an end. On the other hand if one of the husband's full brothers married the younger woman was immediately relieved of her duties to her mother-in-law by the new bride. Failing both this avenue of escape and the birth of a second child she continued in her mother-in-law's service until her husband could afford to take a second wife, when her duties again would devolve upon the new-comer. It is often a cause for wonder to those who are unacquainted with the details of native life and custom, that in poly- 591 591 591 604 595 604

8: Shaw C-9 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Lue FL11

gamous tribes the women should be contented with a system that deprives them and their children of the exclusive care and attention of the husband and father. But it is easy to see that a young Lue wife might well be glad to share her claims with another in return for a lightening of her domestic burdens. A description of the full nature of these burdens does not lie within the scope of this paper. But I might say here that they are in all cases extremely heavy. There is little doubt that the premature aging that is such a marked characteristic of the women in all primitive agricultural tribes such as the Lue, is due to the almost unremitting toil incidental to the early years of marriage and child-bearing even where the family circumstances are comparatively prosperous.

(To be continued.)

[the continuation of this article was never published. - Analyst]

583 and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-
585 in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift
● 604 consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period
593 they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother-in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*weya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

VI. RITUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAGE STRUCTURE

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It is among the *anyuola* segments subordinate to minimal *dhoudi*, which have not had time to become too unequal in size, that the strictest adherence to the theory of co-ordination is practised. As an illustration of this I give here an account of the performance of *riso*—a ritual transaction between a husband and his wife's mother—at which I was present. It is a typical example of the co-ordinate activity of class B segments. The diagram (Fig. 7, facing p. 33) is a continuation of the chart (Fig. 6), and shows the members of the *dhoot* of Mboya (98) who participated or were represented on this occasion. Female as well as male members of the lineage participate; consequently the personnel of the smallest *anyuola* segments includes both the wives and daughters of male lineage members, and so coincides with that of the extant elementary families. But in the genealogy of dead ancestors the daughters of members are omitted, as having normally married and become ancestresses in other lineages and so lost significance in their own, while the wives of members still have to be included for their structural importance.

Since a lineage tends to act ritually at two levels simultaneously—the superordinate lineage deployed into its major segments[1]—it is all the easier to picture it, even at its remoter ancestral levels, as a family divided into its component cells (see above, p. 31, 'compression'). It was the woman 'A' whose *riso* was being performed. She belongs to the elementary family of her mother Osiru, a minimal *anyuola* segment. Osiru's two childless co-wives and the five others, with their sons, represent the compound polygynous family of Akoko-Ochieng', now dead. The compound family of his father, Ochieng'-Akoko, contained the four elementary families of Nyatawa, Buore, Owira, and Modi. Ochieng''s father Akoko-Mboya had issue by one wife only, the elementary family of Agalo. Akoko-Mboya and his brother Ogweno together represent the elementary family of their mother Abiero, whose agnatic descendants constitute the *anyuola* of Kabiero within which the *riso* was performed. Mboya had other wives besides Abiero, but their descendants are very few and do not live in the *gweng'* called after Mboya. The result is that the descendants of Abiero can call themselves *dhoot* Kamboya, since they have successfully claimed Mboya's name for it, but in ritual situations such as this it is more correct for them to call themselves *anyuola* Kabiero, for *anyuola* Kamboya would include the descendants of Mboya's other wives, who had no share in the occasion.

Riso is said to be a *singruok* (promise) with the mother of one's wife. Until it is performed the wife is technically free to go to her home and associate with other men, visiting the *simbe* (see p. 19) if she likes, but after *riso* has been performed she can no longer do so, and her own lineage would prevent her. The husband kills a bull, retains one foreleg for himself, and sends the rest to his wife's mother for division by the elders of the *anyuola*. The senior living elder of *anyuola* Kabiero is Dondi-Ochieng'. The first round of meat distribution (marked I on the diagram) was the taking of their shares by Dondi, Aomo, and Ojuok, senior living elders of the *anyuola* segments of Buore, Owira, and Modi. Each of these, after taking his share home, made a subsidiary division of it to his uterine brothers or to the eldest

[1] *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 31.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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sons of uterine brothers who were dead; thus Dondi to Ong'wena, Dea, Nyagol, and Ogembo; Aomo to Ogwang' and to the eldest sons of Agalo and Oyuke who were dead; Ojuok to Were and Oyugi. This completed the major segments of the *anyuola* of Ochieng'-Akoko except for that of Nyatawa, the actual grandmother of the woman; this segment, as host, came last. The lineage of Ochieng'-Akoko has as its co-ordinates those of Mingusa, Okun, Gaya, and Mboya. There were no representatives of Okun or Gaya present, but Randa and Omolo were there for Mingusa and Mboya, and their taking of shares completed the distribution to the major segments of the *anyuola* of Akoko-Mboya (marked II on the diagram). This latter has one co-ordinate in the *anyuola* of Ogweno, which was represented by Ogweno's senior grandson Osimbo, who took his portion to share it with Owade and Ogweno, younger brothers, and Obora, eldest son of his dead brother Were. Thus the entire structure of *anyuola* Kabiero (marked III on the diagram) was represented in the ritual. There followed the distribution within the 'host' *anyuola* of Nyatawa, the woman's own grandmother (IV on the diagram). First the woman's half-brothers Obware, Kasera, Osano, Otula, Awuor, Hezra Mboya, and Aluoch took their portions; then there was a separate distribution in the *anyuola* of Osiru (V on the diagram) to the woman's uterine brothers Paulo Mboya,[1] Nyatawa, and Ogogo.

During the morning, before the actual distribution was made, all the elders present ate together certain other portions of meat[2] which by custom have to be eaten raw on this occasion. Besides this there was the customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother; the neck and top ribs to be cooked by the woman's mother for her brothers to eat together with any friends they like to call; the kidneys to be cooked by the woman's sisters who are still in their mother's house, and eaten by them together with any friends they like to call, and the liver and remaining ribs and offal to be eaten by all the women of the homestead where the division is made. The division of the animal might be tabulated as follows:

1. First foreleg: for the slaughterer, husband of the woman.
2. Second foreleg: for all the descendants of the woman's father (except those who receive under 4).
3. First hindleg: (*a*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of each of the co-wives of the woman's paternal grandmother, and to be shared by them with their surviving uterine brothers and the eldest sons of any deceased uterine brothers;
   (*b*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the uterine brothers of the woman's paternal grandfather and similarly shared by them;
   (*c*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the uterine brothers of the woman's paternal great-grandfather and similarly shared by them. (No intermediate division to the heads of the houses of the co-wives of the woman's great-grandmother because Agalo was the only wife of Akoko-Mboya.)
4. Second hindleg: for the woman's mother and her sons.
5. Neck and top ribs: for the woman's brothers and their friends.

[1] Paulo Mboya was Chief of Karachuonyo from 1935 to 1946, and since then has been Executive Secretary of the Local Native Council of South Kavirondo. In 1948 he was appointed to represent Kenya Africans on the East Africa Central Assembly. I was deeply indebted to him for much kind assistance during my stay in Karachuonyo.

[2] These were *kuom* (hump), *tiend ng'et* (chine), *tiend ogero* (rump), *chino*, and *aduko*. *Obo*, *adundo*, and *awinyo* are eaten after they have been cooked by the method of *bulo*—roasting by holding them over the open fire.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *riso*. 613 782 769

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage. 613 574 273 [571]

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index 613 574 576

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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VI

MARRIED LIFE

With the exception of those women who move with their husbands to the towns, the majority of rural married women go through a period of living under the close supervision of their mothers-in-law. The duration of this time depends on the mutual feeling between wife and mother-in-law.

The married woman must learn everything possible about her new family. The mother-in-law tells her about the various sources of food and assists her to fit into her new life in the manner desired. Very often this involves unlearning certain things she has learnt at home. Among other things, she must learn the meal hours and individual tastes of those in the new family, and this brief probationary period gives character to her future relationship with them. At this time a mean woman is soon known by her behaviour; moreover, in the earlier stages of her married life a young wife is constantly accompanied by a companion who reports her general attitude to the family.

Other women in the home may also send her on errands wherever they wish, the idea being to test her character in the communal life of women. Hence unpopularity would have a profound effect upon her, and through her, upon her husband. But although she is under the authority of her mother-in-law or someone occupying the same position, her mother-in-law's actions are also open to censure by the other women. The problem of fitting a wife into this new life is thus a family affair.

Great importance is still attached to the traditional

[text continues on p. 53]

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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the local prophet (*jabilo*). When he returned to the village from his visit to the *jabilo*, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okech, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apolo, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nurse-maid for their first child.[4]

[4] This is common practice among the Joluo and often the "nurse" (*japidi*) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters co-operate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the *japidi* will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a *japidi*, she becomes known as *nyar siwoho*, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same hut and trace descent through the elder sister. The term *siwoho* is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son; it therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

765 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [726] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat: having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [553] [535] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *mtuwa* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

437. A MEDICINE MAN FROM NYAKACH, SOUTH SIDE OF KAVIRONDO BAY

When a person *dies*, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is *buried* on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of *mourning* the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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parts owned by its branches are fairly distinct. Intermarriage is the main cause of intersettlement and marriage within this clan is not permitted.

There are a number of stranger lineages in Karacuonyo (Wagwe, Kamwala, Kakmuno, Jokadeio, etc.) but they are small lineages and so much intermarried with the dominant KaRacuonyo clan that they have no territorial and political distinctness. Some attention must now be given to the status of stranger lineages to the dominant lineage within a tribe.

We have noted that in Karacuonyo there are few stranger lineages and that they are weak ones. By far the greater majority of the tribe are members of the dominant clan. Other tribal territories display greater clan admixture and the presence of powerful stranger lineages whose numerical importance is reflected in the tribal myths. A European may not quickly become aware of these stranger elements unless land disputes force his attention to them, for the dominant clan is generally identified linguistically with the tribe. JoAlego means both the tribesman of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego and KaRacuonyo means both the tribesmen of Karacuonyo tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Racuonyo. Therefore if a man of the JoMur stranger lineage in Alego were asked outside Alego to what people he belongs he would reply that he belonged to the Alego folk, but if he were asked within the tribal territory he would say that he was a JoMur, for the JoMur are a distinct agnatic group living in their own portion of country within Alego.

Now, from the point of view of the dominant clan in a tribal area the members of this clan alone are the *jopiny* or *jogweng*, the people of the land and the owners of it, and the rest are *jodak*, the separated people, the strangers: though if they lived among them a long time they speak of them as *jobedo*, for *jodak* is a harsh word.

These stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that through recognition of female links the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. Luo speak of the affiliated lineages as *kaorce*, lineages of in-laws, or as *kaner*, lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children. As the affiliated lineages have taken wives from the dominant clan they also come into the category of *okewa*, sister's son, to its members. In this way every lineage in a tribe, whether of the dominant clan or of stranger stock, has a structural position in the system of lineages of which a tribe is composed and of which the lineages of the dominant clan are the framework.

The lineages of the clan which owns the tribal territory and those affiliated to it seem in the past to have been on a general social equality and to have acted corporately in matters of common tribal interest, particularly in war against other tribes. They were differentiated only in matters of ritual, marriage regulations, and, as explained earlier, in settlement of homicide. In recent years, however, acute differences have arisen about land in those parts of the country where the density of population is greatest, especially in the most northern tribes of Central

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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613
614 Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes betwen a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land; 613 there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration. 614 People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives 609 for their sons. The strangers settled as *orce*, in-laws, and become maternal 578 uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of exogamy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the JoSeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[178] Hence we find to-day in the overcrowed tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal 613 territory and point to their *gundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which 614 are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ances- 578 tors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown nu- 423 merous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area in that they have resided there for many generations and also can point there to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a clan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
776 entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches [782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the ● [609] rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were " of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
791 without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jadak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

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diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*, has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the name of the clan or larger lineage *ma* and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less approved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(neko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only *wasigu* (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy assists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Denge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613● 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *jopiny* or *jogweng* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *jodak* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kaorce* - lineages of in-laws, or *kaner* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *jopiny* and *jodak* are on equal terms and cooperate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 508

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, pp.10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.14.

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The *won gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peacemaker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jakoth* or *won koth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jokoth* or *won koth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *nyieka*, co-wife, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the JoSeje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and

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582 the JoOwila of Uyoma ; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
● 613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuonyo,
614 Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *codo* is permitted. *Codo* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
836 court the girls and bring them to the *simba* or bachelor's hut and sleep
[833] with them there and have relations with them *intra crura*. Thus the Ka-Abudha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *codo* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago ; likewise the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
614 and are beginning to *codo* between them it is done at first with discre-
836 tion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
582 eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*por*) and then the ordinary form (*meko*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the polito-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

582 A man may not marry a *nyakewo*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan,
614 though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards
184 as a *wat*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *wat*, kinsfolk, or *wasigu*, enemies. A man cannot marry kin and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuonyo man of the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

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613 section where are recorded some notes about the JoAlego clan of Alego
614 tribe, the JoOwila clan of Uyoma tribe, the KaNyikal clan of Seme tribe, and the KaRacuonyo clan of Karacuonyo tribe. It must be borne in mind in reference to these examples, as in regard to the rules of exogamy noted earlier, that these clans are associated with tribal territories and that there are many small lineages, many of them of Bantu origin, which have not the same spread in genealogical or physical space and have not the same depth in lineage structure ; also, that all the main clans ultimately trace their descent from the same mythological names of Podho and Ramogi so that it would be possible to place them all on a single chart of descent. Since the smaller stranger lineages have points of graft on the trees of the dominant clans it might be possible to place the whole Luo people on a single chart. The clans, as I have described them, are, however, the largest descent groups which have eponymous ancestors, who are considered by the Luo to be the points at which an exact record of ascent passes into a hazy plane of tradition where a single line of mythological ancestors is finally lost in the beginnings of the world. They are the points at which genealogical structure begins.

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173 In the Alego tribe the dominant clans are the JoAlego with its maximal
613 lineages, the JoSega and the KaDenge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory, apart from small
614 stranger groups and individuals. The two most powerful of these stranger clans are the Karuoth and Kakan (JokAnyango). Other clans or lineages of some importance are the KaLuo, JoMar, JoAgoro, JokOgelo, KaNyinek, KaRapol (JoKato), JoUmala, KaLikada, and JoUyawa. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego and their intra-tribal relations with the JoAlego are accounted for in a number of traditions or myths. These myths relate that when Alego entered the country from the west (Yimbo or Kadimo) he found there a people called Kombekombe and they and Alego's people live together in peace. Then the Kombekombe people began to disperse and were lost and the whole of the land came into possession of Alego and his sons. Then came other clans after Alego into the country but Alego fought them and compelled them to settle elsewhere. Then the elder sons of Mulijuok crossed the gulf and settled in what is now called South Kavirondo and Mulijuok was left with his younger children, Seje, Nyidenge, and three daughters, Nyiwat, Anyango, and Ajonga.

Other clans now entered the country with the permission of the Alego folk (the story is told by them). Came Ragak and married Nyiwat and Anyango and begat the clan of the Kakan, who count as *orche*, in-laws, to the JoAlego. Then came Ager (from Kadhola or Budama) and asked Mulijuok for permission to settle on the land and Mulijuok agreed that he and his people might live on hill Akara. When Mulijuok died Ager plotted to kill his sons Seje and Nyidenge to wrest the soil from them. Seje heard of this plot and summoned Nyinek, Uyawa, Agoro, Ragak, and others (the lineages are personified in the story) to make war against

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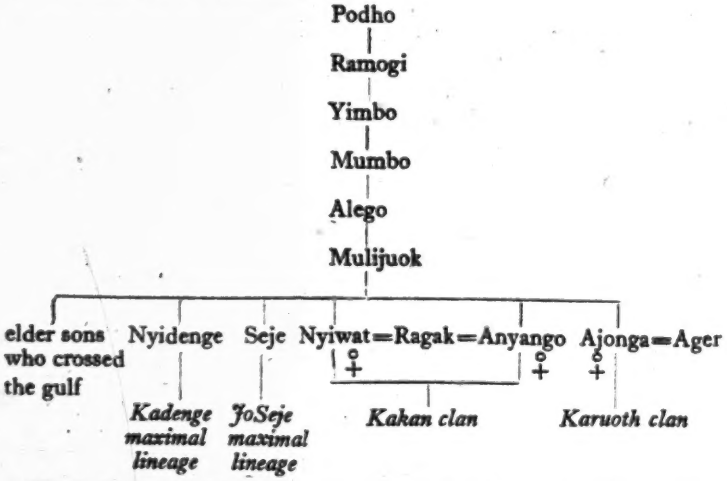
the people of Ager, whom they defeated. Ager later asked for the hand of Ajonga by whom he begat the Karuoth clan, who also stand to the Alego folk as relatives-in-law. The genealogy given below illustrates the story. From Mulijuok to the present day there are nine to ten generations. Other stories, which I do not recount here, explain the relations between the Kakan and the JoUyawa and other clans in Alego tribal territory. In these myths the tribal structure is presented in terms of lineages and the lineages are personified.



The JoAlego genealogy has been presented in its simplest form, pruned of all subsidiary branches. The JoOwila clan is shown in slightly fuller form to illustrate better the lineage structure of a typical Luo clan. The JoOwila are the dominant clan in Uyoma (pop. 11,694, density 91·3). Owila, the ancestor of the clan, came from Alego and brought with him the various clans now living in Uyoma together with the people who now occupy Asembo (where the dominant clan are the Kale) to which country the Uyoma people drove them after a quarrel. Though there are many stranger lineages living in Uyoma its population is probably less mixed than is the case in most tribal areas.

The JoOwila clan divides into four main branches or maximal lineages, as shown in the chart below, the JokOkelo or JokObong being the senior line. These four lineages do not intermarry. Each owns a distinct part of the tribal territory though the members of one lineage are frequently found living in the territory of another. The KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, having the same ancestress regard themselves as a single segment in relation to KoOkelo and KoOkwiri. Genealogical links through females with stranger lineages living with the clan are not shown on the chart.

The relativity of lineage values, to which I have given some attention in my book on the Nuer, may here be touched on, using the JoOwila

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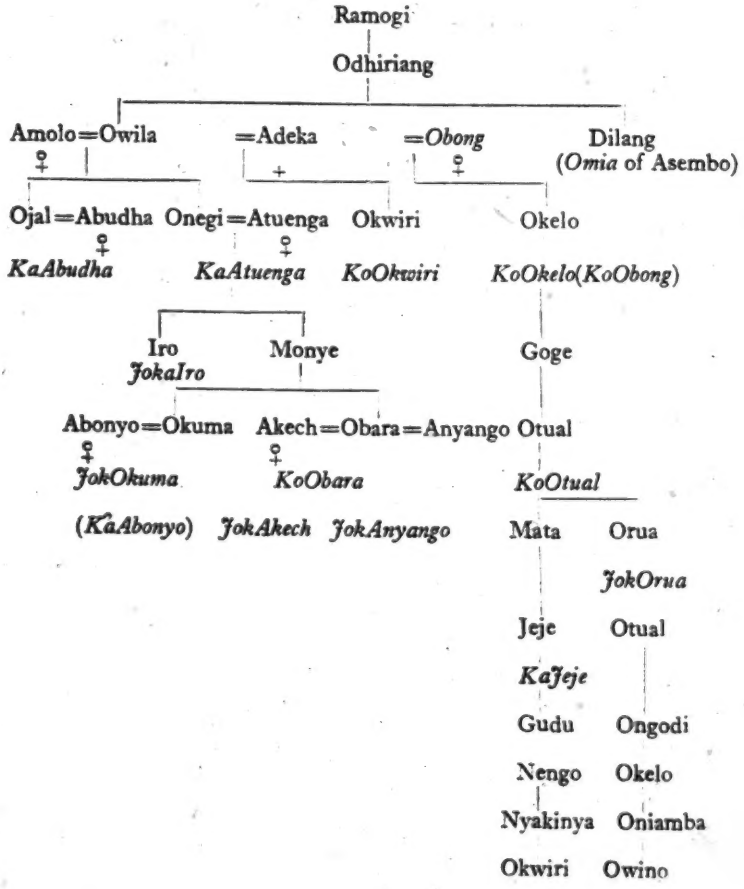
613 614 clan as an illustration. Lineage names are in italics. Only one line is shown to its full depth. When Okwiri is asked what is his lineage in his tribal area he will probably say: '*dho odwa KoOtual*', 'my lineage are the Ko-Otual'. If further asked: 'Which branch of the Ko-Otual?' ('*Ko-Otual ma dho ot mani*') he would reply: '*KoOtual ma KaJeje*' and in situations in which Kajeje stand opposed to JokOrua he would probably give KaJeje as his lineage in the first instance. When speaking of the Jok-Akech or any other medial lineage he would call himself a KoOtual man. In speaking of the KaAbudha or another of the maximal lineages he would call himself a member of the KoOkelo lineage. This feature of the lineage systems is too well known to be elaborated further.



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In Seme (pop. 29,919, density 311·6) the dominant clan is the Ka-Nyikal, the main divisions of which are the Kadepir and the KaGumba, Gumba being a foundling adopted and brought up by Nyikal. I omit a genealogy of this clan for reasons of space but would draw passing attention to the common feature of lineage systems by which stranger lineages are grafted into the structure of the dominant clan of the tribe by mythological fictions. The KaGumba, to whom I have just alluded, is a very powerful lineage. Another strong lineage in Seme are the KaYila. According to the myth Yila was an Alego man who took to the bachelors' hut Amolo daughter of Nyikal and made her pregnant. He then fled the country. Amolo was an Amazon with a will of her own and she later went to fetch her lover and brought him back to Seme with his sons from whom are descended lineages, by a wife whom he had married in his exile. Another big clan in Seme are the Kolunje. Nyikal had a servant called Anam who used to take his sons to the edge of the lake to collect fodder for the calves. One day they found there a man called Onyango. Nyikal adopted this stranger together with Anam, and Kolunje is the joint name for their descendants, the KaAnam and the KoOnyango.

The last clan of the structure of which I shall give an outline are the KaRacuonyo. Jok, who appears to be the same as the Mulijuok of the Alego myth, begat two sons. One of them, Cuanya, is the ancestor of the principal lineages in the tribal areas of Kisumu, Kanyamwa, Kabwoc, Karungu, and Kadem. The other is the ancestor of the KaRacuonyo clan, who are dominant in the locations of Karacuonyo (Kaduong), Mumbo and Kabondo. According to the Alego myth there were two other brothers, Seje and Nyidenge, as has been noted, but these are not given in their genealogies by the people to the south of the gulf. According to some the ancestor of the now Bantuized Wanjare was another of Jok's sons.

The story current to the south of the gulf is that Jok was accidentally killed by his sons in an elephant hunt. A certain man called Cien took Racuonyo and made him his servant and after various adventures together adopted him as his son. When Cien died Racuonyo took one of his wives, Omiri, and by her begat Sepol, who is the ancestor of the dominant lineages in the Kabondo and Mumbo tribal divisions, the Joko-Owidi and the JokOmala. According to Luo custom Sepol was a son of the dead Cien and not of Racuonyo but the sons of Cien said they did not wish him to be known by the name of their father, so he was called after Racuonyo. The descendants of Cien by a different wife claim to be the owners of the Mumbo lands, but they are now a very small people, due it is said to their having insulted their father who haunted them after his death. The descendants of Racuonyo are shown in the chart below. Only the principal lineages are given, except in the line of descent to one man for illustration.

The man Rapemo can, according to the context, describe his lineage as KaMuma, JokOnyango, KaNdaya, KoOkoth, JokOwidi, KaSepol, and KaRacuonyo.

Each of the big lineages of the KaRacuonyo clan owns its own part of the tribal territory and within a section owned by a large lineage the

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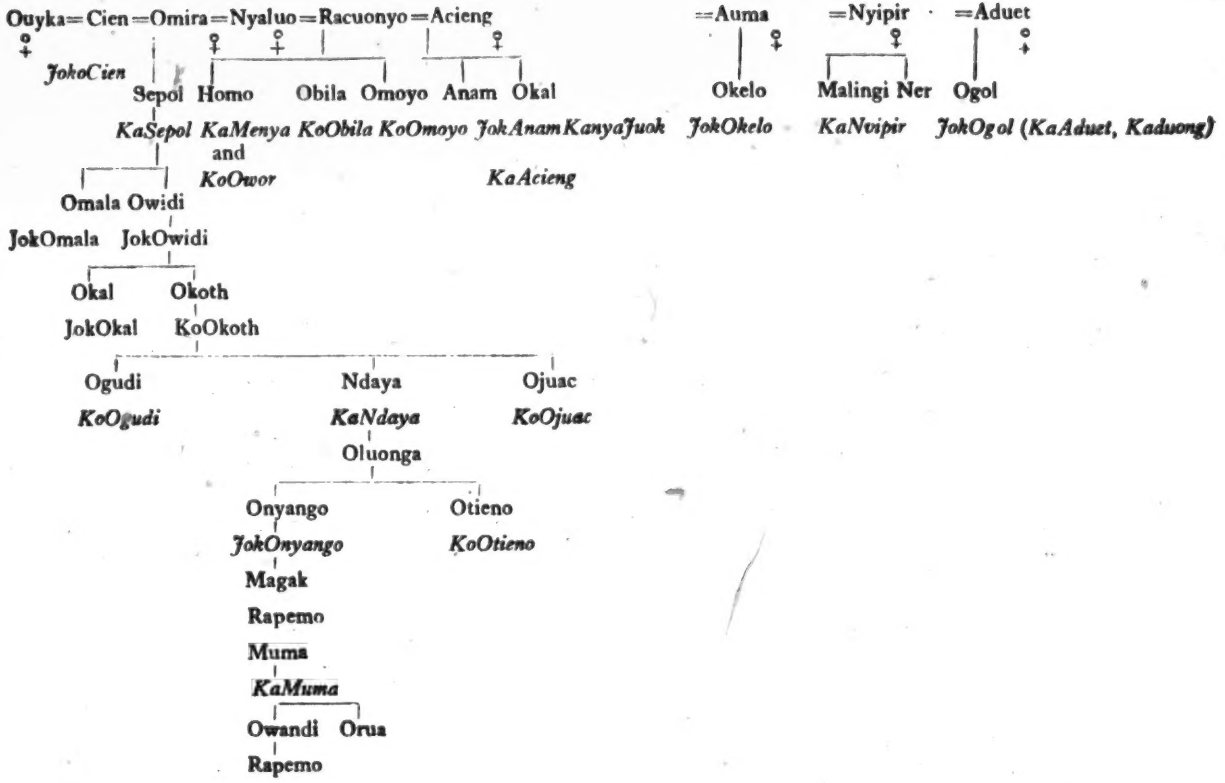

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parts owned by its branches are fairly distinct. Intermarriage is the main cause of intersettlement and marriage within this clan is not permitted.

There are a number of stranger lineages in Karacuonyo (Wagwe, Kamwala, Kakmuno, Jokadero, etc.) but they are small lineages and so much intermarried with the dominant KaRacuonyo clan that they have no territorial and political distinctness. Some attention must now be given to the status of stranger lineages to the dominant lineage within a tribe.

We have noted that in Karacuonyo there are few stranger lineages and that they are weak ones. By far the greater majority of the tribe are members of the dominant clan. Other tribal territories display greater clan admixture and the presence of powerful stranger lineages whose numerical importance is reflected in the tribal myths. A European may not quickly become aware of these stranger elements unless land disputes force his attention to them, for the dominant clan is generally identified linguistically with the tribe. JoAlego means both the tribesman of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego and KaRacuonyo means both the tribesmen of Karacuonyo tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Racuonyo. Therefore if a man of the JoMur stranger lineage in Alego were asked outside Alego to what people he belongs he would reply that he belonged to the Alego folk, but if he were asked within the tribal territory he would say that he was a JoMur, for the JoMur are a distinct agnatic group living in their own portion of country within Alego.

Now, from the point of view of the dominant clan in a tribal area the members of this clan alone are the *jopiny* or *jogweng*, the people of the land and the owners of it, and the rest are *jodak*, the separated people, the strangers: though if they lived among them a long time they speak of them as *jobedo*, for *jodak* is a harsh word.

These stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that through recognition of female links the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. Luo speak of the affiliated lineages as *kaorce*, lineages of in-laws, or as *kaner*, lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children. As the affiliated lineages have taken wives from the dominant clan they also come into the category of *okewa*, sister's son, to its members. In this way every lineage in a tribe, whether of the dominant clan or of stranger stock, has a structural position in the system of lineages of which a tribe is composed and of which the lineages of the dominant clan are the framework.

The lineages of the clan which owns the tribal territory and those affiliated to it seem in the past to have been on a general social equality and to have acted corporately in matters of common tribal interest, particularly in war against other tribes. They were differentiated only in matters of ritual, marriage regulations, and, as explained earlier, in settlement of homicide. In recent years, however, acute differences have arisen about land in those parts of the country where the density of population is greatest, especially in the most northern tribes of Central

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613 614 Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes betwen a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

613 614 609 578 In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land; there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration. People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives for their sons. The strangers settled as *orce*, in-laws, and become maternal uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of exogamy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the JoSeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[178] Hence we find to-day in the overcrowed tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

613 614 578 423 The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and point to their *gundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ancestors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area in that they have resided there for many generations and also can point there to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a clan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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on which a *gunda*, homestead site, of one of them is situated ; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use ; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it ; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*pap*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

7

This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage sy tem on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

LINEAGE FORMATION AMONG THE LUO

I. THE SETTING

The Luo people constitute the third largest tribal unit in eastern Africa, and are by far the largest of the Nilotic-speaking peoples, numbering, by 1947 estimates, some 800,000 individuals. They are entirely contained within the three Kavirondo Districts of the Nyanza Province of Kenya except for some thousands who have now crossed its southern border into the Musoma District of the Lake Province of Tanganyika.

In terms of racial distribution the Luo are the spearhead of the great southward thrust of the Nilotic peoples from the Sudan, and of this spearhead the Luo of South Kavirondo and Tanganyika are the tip. The nearest Nilotic neighbours of the Luo are the Padhola of the Eastern Province of Uganda, whose territory comes within a few miles of the northern Luo boundary; but linguistically their nearest relatives are the Alur who now live 500 miles away, partly in the south-western corner of the West Nile District of Uganda and partly over the border in the Belgian Congo. In geographical terms the Luo occupy the coastal plains which border Kavirondo Gulf and the open expanse of Lake Victoria for fifty miles or so on either side of the entrance to the gulf, and also the foothills and uplands to which these plains give way a few miles inland. Although their territory forms a continuous block all round the gulf, it bears no correspondence to the boundaries of the North, Central, and South Kavirondo Districts, but within each of these consists respectively of 1 out of 19, 14 out of 15, and 19 out of 30 locations.[1] These locations form the territory of lineages or groups of lineages.[2]

II. PRELIMINARY ARGUMENT

The purpose of this article is to document certain aspects of the theoretical relationship of lineage to family; to demonstrate and interpret the structural importance of females in a system based on strict patrilineal descent; to show the divergence between norm and practice in Luo lineage concepts and Luo lineage activities; and to explain the process by which new lineages of different types are formed by reference to current or recent examples.[3]

If formally questioned on the point, Luo would admit that the members of a lineage are all the agnatic descendants of its founding ancestor, both male and female, living and dead. However, as Mayer remarks (see *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society*, I.A.I. Memorandum XXIV, p. 7), 'it is no straightforward matter to define the lineage allegiance of women', and the operative members of a lineage in its observable activities are not those who would have to be included in it according to a strict

[1] The word 'location' is in Kenya applied to the territorial subdivisions of administrative districts and has a quite different connotation from that with which it is used in the Union of South Africa and elsewhere.

[2] See Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. VII, where these groups are described.

[3] For note, see next page.

[p. 5]

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theory of agnatic descent. Most prominent in lineage activities are the group of living male agnates. Dead females, though technically lineage members by descent from the founder in the male line, are of no importance since no segments in their own lineage of origin can ever spring from them. Their only significance was during their lifetime, when they returned from the lineages into which they had married to participate in the rituals of the lineage of their birth. On the other hand, dead females who married into the lineage from outside it, and became eponyms of new lineage segments, are of lasting importance to the lineage as the genealogical points by reference to which parts of the internal articulation of the lineage are defined in theory, and upon whom the grouping of its living members is consequently based in practice. Living females who have married into the lineage are important to it, not only because after death they may become lineage eponyms, but because while alive they are already the heads of groups which Luo regard in theory as the prototypes of lineage segments and, in practice, they are the actual organizers of activities which are both the result and the demonstration of the segmentary principle (see below, p. 37).

The importance of the family to the lineage is shown by the fact that Luo regard every segmentary relationship as having its symbolic prototype within the compound polygynous family. The essential principle of lineage activity is the opposition of co-ordinate segments to one another, coupled with their unity within the same superordinate, itself in similar opposition to other co-ordinates and bound with them in the unity of a still higher superordinate. To the Luo the prototype of this process of segmentation is that aspect of the family cycle (see below, p. 17) in which elementary families are opposed major segments within their superordinate polygynous family, and superordinate segments in relation to the sons who compose them, which sons are themselves the starting-points of major segments in relation to these elementary families. Wives may consequently be considered as the heads of superordinate segments to their sons and of subordinate segments to their husbands. It is important to note that either prototype is equally valid for the Luo; sons in relation to their mother, or co-wives in relation to their husband. Therefore daughters are seen to be of no structural significance though members of the lineage

[1] I have used the following conventions of terminology:

The points numbered in the accompanying diagram represent the eponymous ancestors of a hypothetical series of lineage segments arranged in their genealogical order.

All the segments of series II are *co-ordinate*, and similarly with series III and series IV.

The segments of series III are all *subordinate to* segment IIc, and similarly segment IIIc is the *superordinate* of all the segments in series IV.

The relationship between co-ordinate segments of the same superordinate is expressed in the Luo concept of *libamba*, and I refer to it as *their theory of co-ordination*.

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according to a strict theory of descent, while wives are fundamental to the structure from the start. From the point of view of lineage activity it is indeed true that recruitment to the lineage is of men by descent and of women by marriage.[1] It is the final rite in the sequence of marriage ceremonies which definitively transfers a woman's reproductive powers to her husband's lineage (see below, p. 35, *Riso*). For the Luo, we cannot abstract a man and his sons from the family as the microcosm of lineage,[2] for this is found conceptually—as Luo terminology shows (see below, p. 27)—either in the sons of one mother or the co-wives of one husband. Only when the ideal of family composition is not achieved, because a man fails to beget male issue by more than one wife, or because wives fail to bear more than one son each, can the actual prototype of lineage segmentation be simply a man and his sons. The ideal of family composition, displaying both the segmentary prototypes conceptualized by the Luo, must therefore be regarded as a man with more than one wife, each of whom has more than one son.

What has been said about lineage and family largely explains the other purposes of this article. That the Luo conceptualization of lineage structure in family idiom is something more than a trick of projection is shown by a study of property ownership, marriage, and inheritance in relation to the family. A sufficient account is therefore given of the family system (pp. 16–25) to show the direct influence which these matters can have on the formation of new lineages. The jural arrangements of the family are further correlated with the actual pattern of residence, with the functional alinements of family members to one another, the primary attitudes acquired in early infancy, and the subsequent moulding of these, during the whole period of maturation, into a motivational system which is at once consistent with, and productive of, a segmentary social structure.

In any society structure is an abstraction from observed behaviour, including verbal behaviour, which has a certain degree of continuity over space and time. This behaviour is, obviously, the net result of motivations in the individuals living together in that society. If the society is not changing there will be consistency between the structural behaviour of one generation and the next. A family is, in particular, a direct result of the structural behaviour of a few individuals. But it is also, in general, the result of motivations imposed on the individuals who create it, by a system of upbringing which is itself part of the structured behaviour transmitted from the past. In Luo terms, then, a lineage is the net resultant of a certain type of structural behaviour on the part of all its members from the time of the birth of its founder down to that of its living members. But the activities of its founder were partly determined by the particular characteristics of the family into which he was born, and by the general structural characteristics which determined the form of family composition and child-rearing in it, back from the present to the time of the lineage founder, and long before that.

The reason why I stress certain aspects of the family as the point of departure for describing the lineage system is that such an approach seems to be called for by the material itself, yet it has received less emphasis than the other, in which lineages are treated mainly as groupings inherited from the past, and the structural aspects

[1] See Mayer, op. cit., p. 4.
[2] Cf. Porter, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 32.

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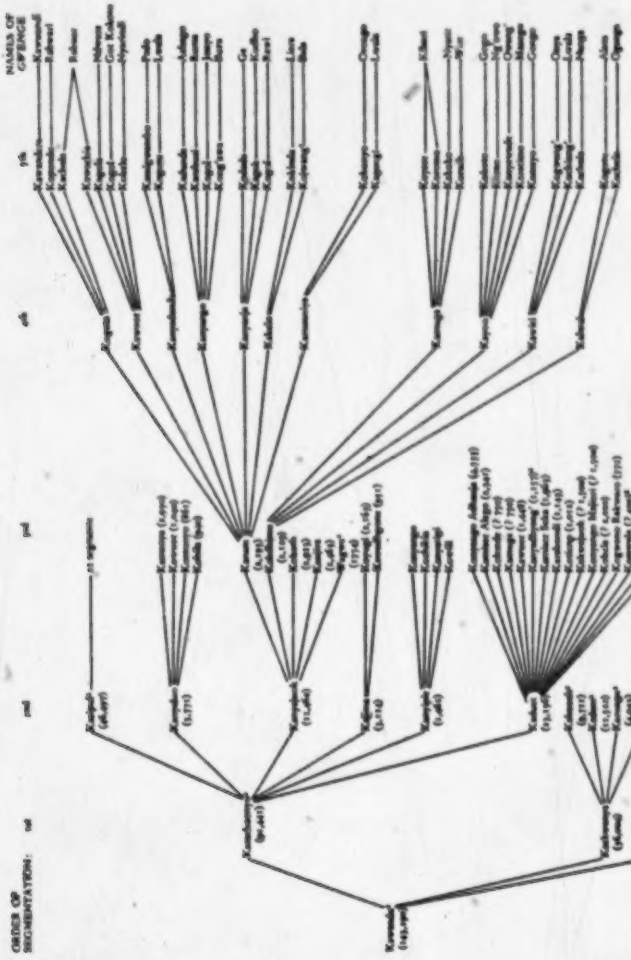

FIG. 1

DIAGRAM OF CLASS A SEGMENTATION

Bracketed figures underneath or to the side of names are 1947 populations.

[p. 11]

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[p. 14]

Men shown in CAPITALS.
Women shown in *italics*.
-------- Connects co-wives with husbands.

FIG. 2

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the divergences are glossed over and the relations of segments treated in the same kinship idiom as if the implied regularities had been maintained.

I now proceed to the more detailed description of those features of the Luo family which aid in the interpretation of the lineage system. The lineage concepts of the

FIG. 3

Luo are then discussed, and six cardinal principles abstracted from them. Some statistics are given to show the divergence of lineage activities from the norms implied in the concepts and from the genealogical structure itself. More details are given of the nature of segmentary activity within the extended family, between the extended families of whose members the smaller lineage segments are composed, and between the larger lineages. Lastly, an interpretation is given of the transformation of class B into class A segments as small landholding lineages, from which

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originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 3) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awandu, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

THE most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *abila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *abila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *wuon dala* or *wuon pacho*; *jaduong* (elder) may be substituted for *wuon*. Correspondingly, each wife is *wuon ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *wuon* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Luo family has a 'house-property complex' of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often striking in ritual. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

842 said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

595 The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyioka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups [428] of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

000 It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

● 613 582 Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyioka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

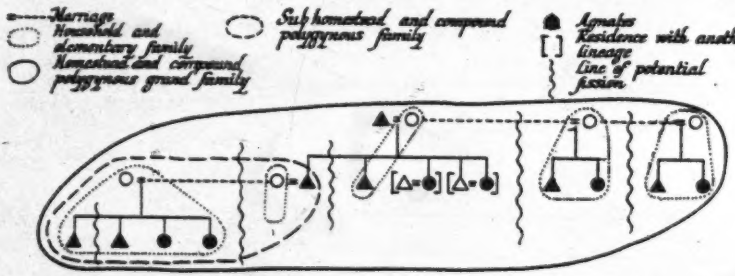
[171] [2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, cap. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 195–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. xx, 1950, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

with one maximal lineage, which includes the lineage segments whose territories are marked on the map (Fig. 3) as the locations of Karachuonyo, Kasipul, Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem.[1] These lineages all claim patrilineal descent by a recognized genealogy from Awandu the wife of Jook, an ancestor from nine to twelve generations of ascent from elders still alive. This is an exceptionally large exogamous group and has no parallel even among the Luo, with their very wide tracing of marriage bars. Its present population is about 120,000, including a small percentage of settlers (*jodak*) from other lineages. The ban on intermarriage is still observed throughout this group except for the *jodak*. Its major segments would



probably have separated from one another completely and ceased to claim effective common descent, if it had not been for the tendency of European administration to crystallize the relations of maximal lineages at about the stage they had reached when outside control was first imposed over half a century ago. Since that time the population of the group has probably doubled to reach its present size. It is regarded by all the Luo as one of the most important and most authentically Luo groups among them. Since, as the map shows, the territories of its major segments are not contiguous, but form three separate blocks, their day-to-day activities have become similarly divided; I deal chiefly with the block formed by the locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, which have a population of 90,000. The lineages of both these locations claim agnatic descent from Rachuonyo, and will be referred to together as Karachuonyo. (They were, in fact, called East and West Karachuonyo by the British administration until recently.) Karachuonyo people can intermarry with the lineages of the surrounding locations—Nyakach, Gem, Kanyada, and Kagan (see map, Fig. 3)—as well as with the groups of *jodak* who have been permitted by them to settle within their territory.[2]

Cases of murder between Karachuonyo and other lineages would—before the British administration—have occasioned blood-feuds between them in which the

[1] Wanjare is also included, but these people separated from the Luo and were incorporated into the Bantu Kisii.

[2] There are only three considerable groups in Karachuonyo which are not agnatic descendants of Rachuonyo: Kanyadhiang' (1157), Wagwe (1754), and Kamwala (400); see Fig. 1. Tradition accounts for them as descended either from wanderers who became dependants of Karachuonyo families or from orphan castaways discovered and reared by them. In either case they married Karachuonyo girls, as is almost inevitable in a system of localized exogamous lineages. They therefore rank as sister's son's lineages to Karachuonyo.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled.

When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *masiru*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chola* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *oche* (in-laws) and *wasigu* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simba* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *roch kade* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simba*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kisera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the* abila

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses

Most to *mikayi*, next to *nyachira*, rest among *rero* wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *roch kade* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ataka* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Milk from these used by the wives.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

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diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuorwa, luong' wuoru uchiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

THE special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot*, *gweng'*, *libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

●613

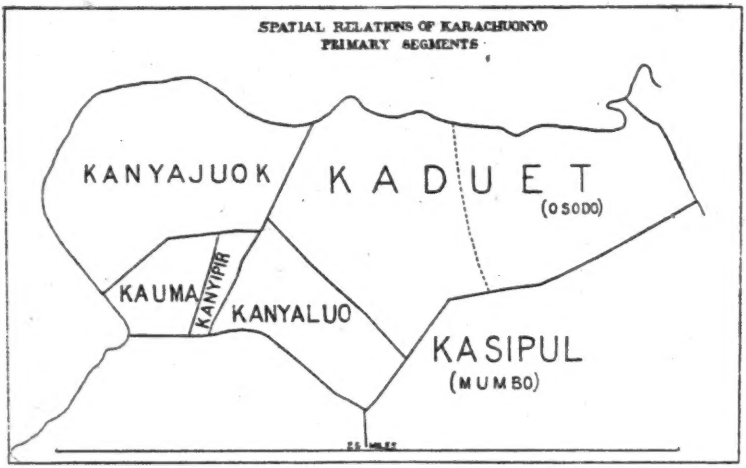

FIG. 4

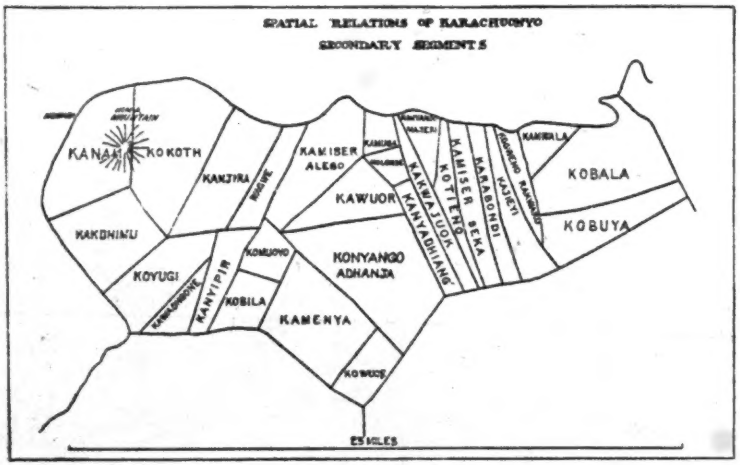

FIG. 5

[p. 26]

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friendly games of *adhula* (Luo hockey) between the smaller segments, through the wrestling and club-fighting of medium segments to the ritual warfare and open conflict of the larger lineages. Etymologically *dhoot* means 'mouth of house' (*dhok*, mouth; *ot*, house) and, as quotations will show, often refers to the issue of children from the doorway of their mother's hut. This might further imply a principle of matrilineal descent, but of this there is not the slightest trace among the Luo. All their lineages are essentially patrilineal, but the original ancestors from whom they spring, and whose names they bear, may be either men or women, depending on whether segmentation took place between brothers of an elementary family or co-wives of a compound family. The significance of this etymology, and of the Luo interpretation of it, seems to be that the unity of uterine brothers in their mother's house is to them symbolic of the solidarity of members of the same *dhoot*. But, as has been previously noted, uterine brothers are also regarded from the opposite point of view, as symbolic in their quarrels of the fission between lineage segments. Nor is this inconsistent, but is in line with the character of all Luo lineage segments, which in one context emphasize their unity against all outsiders and in another their internal divisions.

The *dhoot* of Karachuonyo is to its members the largest lineage which carries general social functions and which occupies one continuous block of territory. It is subdivided into smaller *dhoudi* down to the level of those which are the primary settlement units. This is the class A system of segmentation which, as previously noted, may be from twofold to sixfold, and is usually fivefold in Karachuonyo, according to the particular agnatic line taken. The points of origin of these *dhoudi* are only a small selection from the very large number of points of potential segmentation which appear in the whole genealogy of Karachuonyo (see large genealogical chart, Fig. 6, facing p. 32). For all uterine brothers, or co-wives with surviving male agnatic issue, from those of living families back to the earliest ancestors of the genealogy, represent points of fission in the class B segmentation, some of which have achieved class A status as *dhoudi*.

Karachuonyo as a *dhoot* is thus a group of people claiming common agnatic descent from Rachuonyo and subdivided at several successive levels into a number of smaller *dhoudi* all segmentally articulated. Karachuonyo as a continuous block of territory occupied and controlled by this group is also correspondingly subdivided, so that the arrangement of parts into a whole coincides in both cases. It is when they have the territorial aspect of a *dhoot* particularly in mind that the Luo refer to it as *gweng'* (pl. *gwenge*). The basic connotation is land, but the social group occupying the land is always implicit in the term *gweng'*. It would never be used for unclaimed or unoccupied land, which is *thim* (wilderness). Settlement, in the sense defined above is thus a reasonable translation of *gweng'*. In Karachuonyo all *gwenge* are thought of as being essentially lineage settlements. When the Luo have a territorial unit in mind as being the most inclusive of its kind, as they do in the case of Karachuonyo itself and occasionally in some contexts the *dhoudi* which are its major segments also, they refer to them as *piny* (country) rather than *gweng'*. The average population of minimal *gwenge* is approximately 300.

Dhoudi, which are major segments of the same superordinate lineage, refer to one another as *libamba* (pl. *libembini*). The etymology of this word is uncertain, and it

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may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God; *wasign*, enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *libamba* all those forces of friction and competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *libamba* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *libamba* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoudi* which stand in the *libamba* relationship to one another which play together at *adhula*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of compound and elementary families, are constantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a misfortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ajuoga*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble. Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoudi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its major segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *anyuola*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *anyuola* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *anyuola* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Tallensi concept of *suuzo* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 32, 37, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but to the Tallensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *libamba* to one another whether their eponyms were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 55. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Tallensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 31).

[3] *nyuol* n., birth; *nyuolo* v., to give birth. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

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derived from them. Here again it seems as if a whole series of groups were identified with one symbolic prototype, and the ideational qualities of the elementary family cell of mother and children are extended to much larger and differently derived groupings organized upon similar principles of solidarity. When *anyuola* groups act in co-ordinate relationships they also may refer to one another as *libamba* in the same way as is done by *dhoudi*. But in the co-ordinate relationships of such class B *libembini* the competitive element is not so marked as the ordered marshalling of articulated segments in the achievement of a common purpose. Competitiveness still appears, however, in the haggling over shares of meat distributed at many rites.

Besides these generic terms lineages are referred to in particular by adding the prefix *ka* to the name of the eponymous ancestor. A lineage is said to be *Jokang'at'achiel* —people of one person—and a man's lineage affiliation is indicated by adding the personal prefix and the locative prefix to the lineage name, as *Jakarachuonyo*—a man of the lineage of Rachuonyo.[1] Luo paraphrase *ka* as *pacho* of so-and-so, using *pacho* in its figurative sense of the social group associated with a homestead; also, with their characteristic relativity, it can refer not merely to an actual homestead and its family, but to any lineage settlement however large, since all such must in theory be ultimately derived from the original homestead in which the eponymous ancestor lived.

Asked for the meaning of *dhoot* an elder usually leans back on his stool and points round the homestead at the doorways of his wives' huts as the concrete demonstration of what he says. Thus:

Obuya-Mboya of Konyango Adhanja:[2] 'If you have three wives and each has a number of children, and the children with their mothers scatter to different homesteads, they drop your name and take their mothers'.' Obuya-Mboya is a great-grandson of Onyango Adhanja by his first wife Ambogo Nyamagari. As may be seen from the chart (Fig. 6) Onyango Adhanja (93) had three other wives besides Obuya's ancestress, and the descendants of all these have actually made separate settlements of their own called Kanyandiero, Kanyajwang', and Kobala, after these three wives. Obuya had also been speaking of his grandfather Mingusa, whose descendants also have their own settlement, and saying that as Kamingusa grew he would expect it to split up into three settlements named after Mingusa's three wives.

Oyugi-Mboya of Kanyariro said of *dhoot*: 'You get your *dhoot* first from your mother, then it changes in the grandchildren to the father. It is just a question of naming you after the mother from whom you were born.' Oyugi is a great-great-great-grandson of Nyariro (83), first wife of Ogweno (82) (Fig. 6). He refers to the fact that the elementary family of the mother's hut is the primary unit in the system of segmentation, within the secondary grouping of descent from a man by all his wives taken together. Derivation from father or mother may alternate in different generations, and where segments are derived from women it is simply a naming device for distinguishing between descent groups all of which are patrilineal, not the result of any special value attached to descent from women as opposed to men.

[1] *ja*, pl. *jo*, personal prefix; *ng'ato*, a person; *ka*, prefix of place; *achiel*, one.

[2] I hyphenate a second name to the first when it is the name of the individual's father; when it is the individual's nickname or a woman's patronymic I add it without a hyphen. In either case, the addition of the second name serves to distinguish between the many individuals who have the same personal name.

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613 Oyugi also said: 'A *dhoot* begins when the sons of one wife leave their father's *dala*, form a *dhoot*, and begin to compete.' It is this competition which sharpens the boundaries, ideological as well as physical, between *dhoudi* and strengthens their internal solidarity. Oyugi's own lineage illustrates his point with the separation of the descendants of Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

Obware-Akoko of Kamboya said of *libamba*: 'A man can produce two sons; those two usually, according to custom, leave their father's homestead and make their own near by. Each of them will produce sons and daughters; at one time there might happen a quarrel or disagreement, then one will say to the other: "Now you go away from me since now you are a *libamba* by yourself, and I am a *libamba*." So you find each multiplying and becoming a *libamba* on either side. *Libamba* is not used except when there is a quarrel. Usually a quarrel comes in dividing the bride cattle of a girl or girls when married, when in spite of the old man's distribution the sons dispute it.' Then he referred to his own *dhoot* of Kamboya and said that it had no quarrels and therefore no *libembini* within it, because it is *pacho achiel*—a single homestead (figuratively, of course, for in fact it contains several dozen homesteads, and the original homestead of Mboya himself was probably deserted a century or so ago); but informally even two uterine brothers in a household can quarrel and one say to the other, 'you are my *libamba*'. Obware is a great-great-grandson of Mboya (98). The process of segmentation in his own lineage bears out his account of *libamba*, both in the separation of the descendants of Mboya from those of Omolo (100), and at the next level in the separation between Ogembo (91) and Onyango Adhanja (Fig. 6).

Oyugi-Mboya also said of *libamba*: '*Libamba* starts with quarrels between children of one wife and children of another.' This again follows the structure of his own lineage in the separation of the descendants of his ancestress Nyariro from those of her co-wife Gaya (84) (Fig. 6).

These statements, though at first confusing when taken together, do embody the cardinal principles of Luo lineage structure, and present some of the striking characteristics of Luo thought. This could be confirmed by many further quotations for which there is no room here. The main points may be summarized as follows:

1. *Derivation*

The eponymous ancestor of a lineage may be either a man or a woman.[1]

[170] [1] Contrast the discussion of male and female eponyms among the Arabs in Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 28–38. Clearly the Arabian situation was different from that of the Luo. Female eponyms were only found among the earliest ancestors, and in every tribe which had a female eponym those of all its segments were male. By contrast, female eponyms appear at all levels in different Luo lineages, interspersed with male, and the reasons for it are deducible from a study of recent cases of lineage fission (see pp. 40 et seq.). Robertson Smith did not admit the relevance of present residential arrangements and pivotal family relationships to the development of future lineage segments, or that the relations of persons within a family may in a very significant way be mirrored by the relations of large descent groups within a territorial unit. He suggests as a law of general validity that 'where the bond of maternity is so strong that it binds together the children of the same mother as a distinct kindred group against the other children of their father, there also we may be sure that the children of one mother by different fathers will hold together and not follow their father. And this is the principle of female kinship.' Both these situations can be demonstrated over and over again in Luo lineage structure, yet the Luo lineages are strictly unilateral in descent on the father's side. The application of terms whose ety-

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2. *Constitution*

The solidarity of the lineage (*dhoot*) is likened to that of the mother and her children in an elementary family.

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3. *Interrelation*

The relation of one co-ordinate segment with another (*libamba*) is likened to the competition between uterine brothers, and to the competition between the sons of one co-wife and the sons of another.

4. *Personalization*

Lineage segments are so closely identified conceptually with the individuals and family nuclei from which they are descended that the latter stand for the former in linguistic idiom.

5. *Compression*

The symbolizing of lineage processes in certain relations between the members of elementary and compound families in the homestead leads to:

(*a*) Telescoping of the time sequence. Changes in lineage structure which took place a number of generations back and over a considerable period are treated as events among individuals of a family in an undifferentiated present.

(*b*) Telescoping of spatial distance. Relations between large social groups or territorial sections are treated as occurrences within single households and homesteads.

6. *Egocentricity*

Lineages are spoken of in the context of the structural position of the speaker, and utterances about them can only be interpreted in this light.

V. NORM AND DEVIATION IN THE SEGMENTARY SYSTEM

GENEALOGICAL segmentation can only be adhered to with absolute consistency as a dominant principle of social organization in situations which allow the irregularities of lineage growth and their consequences to be ignored. On the whole, ritual situations conform to this requirement, whereas political, economic, and many other general social needs frequently do not. The result of this is that in Luo lineage organization it is the *anyuola* groups of the class B system of segmentation that are able to conform most closely to the abstract principles suggested by their genealogical

mology implies derivation from females to groups derived from male ancestors is taken by Robertson Smith as conclusive evidence for a switch from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. Among the Luo the inference from both social action and traditional theory is that terms such as *dhoot* and *anyuola*, whose etymology suggests descent from a woman, are applied sometimes to groups with female and sometimes to those with male eponyms because groups of both types are identical in social function, and both alike reflect the cardinal attributes of these terms as shown in those situations which Luo adduce as symbolic demonstrations of their significance.

The *umunne* and *umunna* (mother- and father-derived groups) of the Ibo are likely to afford an important comparative example, though the data on them are at present inadequate. It will be of great interest to know the real significance, for the social structure and for the process of segmentation, of these groups when they are fully analysed.

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613 structure, whereas the activities of the *dhoot* and *gweng'* groups of the class A segmentation frequently diverge from them. The *anyuola* groups within the minimal *dhoot*, being those of the least generation depth, have not existed long enough for the disparity of growth in different lines to become excessive, and this makes it easy for their activities to be consistently based on principles of genealogical segmentation. The class B segments above this level emerge only in ritual activity, in which disparity of size may be immaterial because the real balance of power of social groups is not an insistent factor on such occasions. But in the operations of *dhoot* and *gweng'* the balance of power between groups is usually a fundamental element, and often the consciously predominating one. It is none the less true that, despite divergences in practice, the Luo do regard the mechanism of genealogical segmentation as the normal organizational basis of the relations of social groups. When actual practice conforms to this it is regarded as natural; when it departs from it the divergence is glossed over, and the relationships are described in the same idiom as if conformity had been maintained. Luo lineage principles must, therefore, like other social norms, be looked for both in the activities of lineage segments, where significant variations about the norm may be revealed, and also in the theoretical recognition which they have in the minds of the people, as part of their 'projective system' revealed in their verbal behaviour, and here they may present a regularity and consistency which is otherwise impossible in social action.

These practical divergences from lineage theory may be made clearer by showing the distribution of class A and class B segments and the co-ordinate relationships of *libembini* on an actual genealogy. The chart (Fig. 6) shows certain parts of the genealogy of Karachuonyo. It includes only ancestors belonging to generations already dead, the most recent one shown being Omolo (100), who is separated from the living head of Komolo by one intervening generation. Each of the following is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* in the class A segmentation. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51, 59, 60, 62, 63, 67, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101. These may now be divided into those which follow the *libambo* principle as recognized by the Luo in theory and those which do not. That is to say, those *dhoudi* which are co-ordinate segments according to their genealogy, and those which are not genealogically co-ordinate although they act as if they were.

Nos. 4, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 are co-ordinates, their superordinate being No. 3.

39, 40	"	"	"	24.
42, 43	"	"	"	44.
77, 78, 79, 80	"	"	"	81.
94, 95, 96, 97	"	"	"	93.
98, 100	"	"	"	92.
99, 101	"	"	"	100.

But,

Nos. 25, 60, 28, 13, 14 are not co-ordinates, though they are major segments of *dhoot* 4.
15, 29, 44, 32 " " " " 3.
34, 36, 24, 59, 75, 76, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87 are not co-ordinates, though they are major segments of *dhoot* 8.

It is to be noted that the following *dhoudi* (Nos. 25 and 60, 9 and 4, 44 and 29, 62

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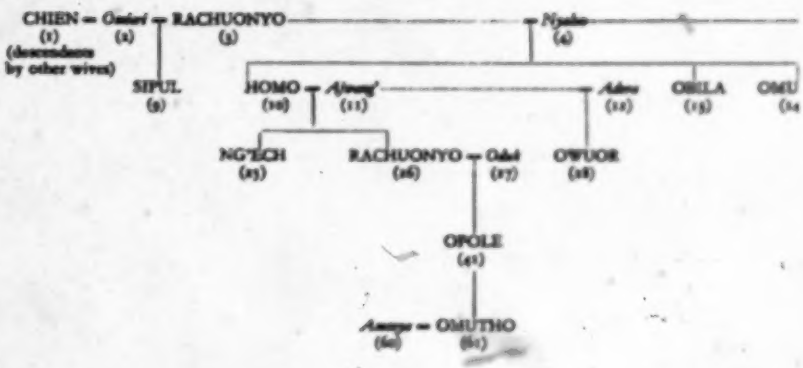

Men shown in CAPITALS.
Women shown in *Italics*.

——— connects co-wives with husbands
- - - - used where men inherit widows of m
longing to a different generation to

[facing p. 32a]

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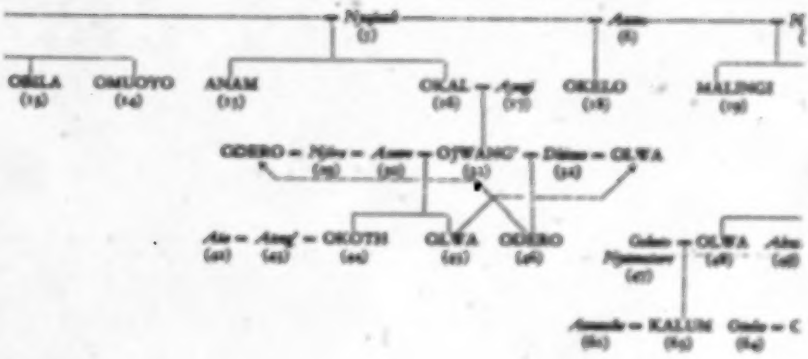

with husbands,
classificatory relatives between generations to their own.

[facing p. 32, b]

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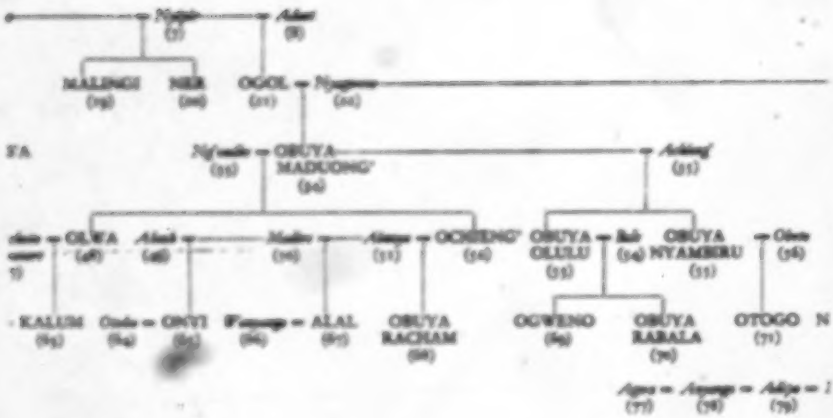

Fig. 6

[facing p. 32, C]

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[facing p.32, d]

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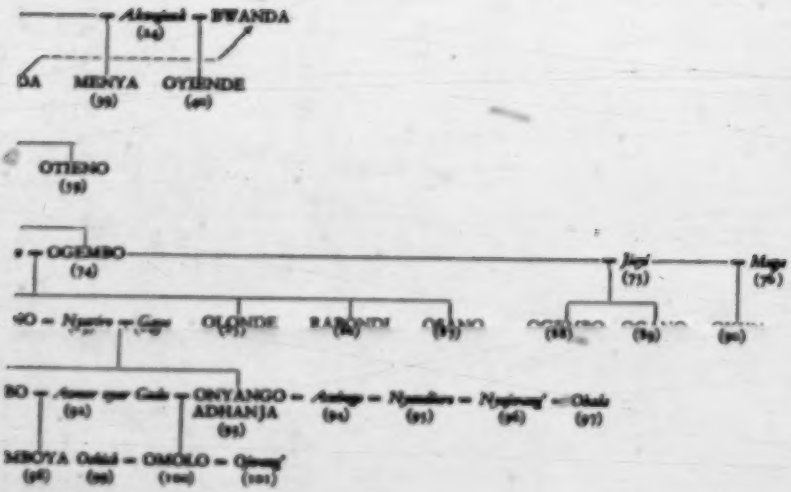

[facing p. 32, 2]

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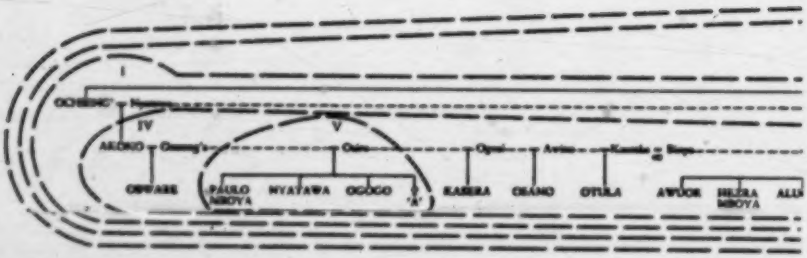
Men shown in CAPITALS.
Women „ „ small letters.
- - - - connects co-wives with husband.
——— ——— shows the rounds of distribution numbered in the order in which they occurred.
∞ marriages without male issue.



[facing p. 33, a]

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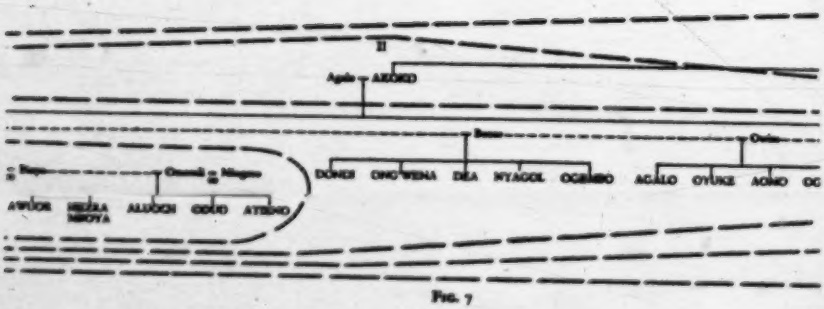

Fig. 7

[facing p. 33, b]

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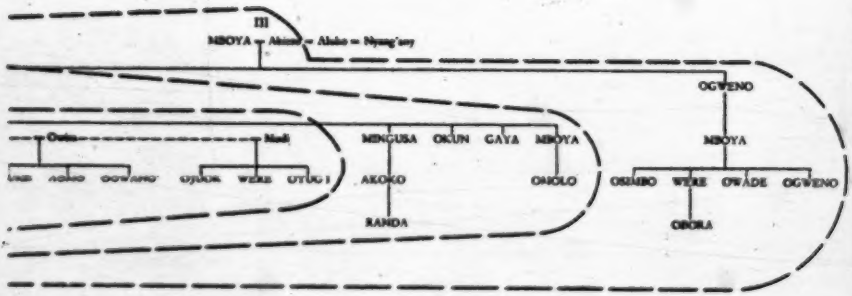

[facing p. 33, C]

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and 52, 34 and 24) are co-ordinate because they segment from the same generation level although their actual eponyms do not. This ambiguity arises when an ancestor has surviving issue only through one wife and one son, or when men leave issue only by inherited wives as in Nos. 45 and 46.

The question arises why the following segments are not recognized as *dhoudi* superordinate to the segments they contain:

No. 11	as the	*dhoot*	superordinate to	Nos. 25 and 60
10	»	»	»	11 and 12
16	»	»	»	29, 44, and 32
52	»	»	»	65, 67, and 51
33	»	»	»	62, 65, 67, and 52
84	»	»	»	92 and 93
73	»	»	»	81, 82, 85, 86, and 87
74	»	»	»	75 and 76
57	»	»	»	73 and 74
37	»	»	»	57 and 59
23	»	»	»	36 and 37.

A variety of reasons may contribute to the explanation of these anomalies in particular cases, but the most usual reasons can be illustrated from one out of these examples—the *dhoot* of Kogweno (82). Kogweno, with its population of over 9,000 (estimate for year 1947), has far outgrown its co-ordinates Kolonde (85), Karabondi (86), and Kosano (87), of whom only Karabondi has a population of as many as 1,000. Kamiser (81), with a population of over 4,000, is also very large, and both Kogweno and Kamiser overshadow all the other *dhoudi* in Kaduet (8) in numbers, territory, and consequently in political power. Kogweno and Kamiser, therefore, need no intermediate level of political organization between their own and that of Kaduet (8), and affairs too big for settlement within Kogweno or Kamiser could only be dealt with by Kaduet as a whole. Thus *dhoudi* such as Kobuya (34), Konyango Majieri (36), Kotieno (59), and Kakwajuok (24) would join in council with Kogweno (82) and Kamiser (81) on equal terms although they belong to much higher levels of segmentation. On the other hand, small *dhoudi* such as Kolonde (85), Karabondi (86), and Kosano (87) cannot even claim this seniority to counterbalance their lack of size. They might get places in the council of Kaduet (8) by courtesy, their voices carrying little weight unless through outstanding individual ability, or else they might be content to tack on to Kogweno (82), and rely on the proximity of their relationship to this lineage to secure their rights.

Furthermore, *dhoudi* which are somewhat overshadowed by their rivals may form subsidiary groupings which break the principle of co-ordination by including some but not all the co-ordinates in a superordinate segment. Thus Kolonde (85), Karabondi (86), Kosano (87), Kajieyi (75), and Kamuga (76), tend to group themselves together as Kogembo (74), to the tacit exclusion of Kogweno (82), which can stand alone without their help. Kobuya (34), Konyango Majieri (36), and Kakwajuok (24) tend to group as Kogol (21), to the exclusion of the descendants of Bwanda (38). In these instances Kogembo (74) and Kogol (21) have the quasi-status of *dhoot*, being regarded as such by some but not all of the segments they contain.

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●613 There may also be cases of former *dhoudi* which have lapsed into passivity. This seems to have happened to Kowuor Nyapala (57) and to Kagaya (84). Since Kanyariro (83) is a *gweng'* and *dhoot* on its own and has been so for several generations, the original split was probably between Kanyariro (83) and Kagaya (84), so that both these segments would then have been a *dhoot*. But the growth of Kagaya was so rapid that it quickly split again into the *dhoudi* of Kawuor (92) and Konyango Adhanja (93) and later these segmented even farther. This seems to have made Kagaya redundant as a *dhoot*, for it was no longer a necessary intermediate grouping for political or economic purposes between its own subordinates and Kogweno (82), and it must therefore have lapsed into a class B segment, leaving Kanyariro without any genealogically co-ordinate *dhoot*. Kowuor Nyapala (57) is a similar case, and here, too, it probably happened that Kowuor Nyapala and Kotieno (59) originally divided each as a *dhoot*, after which the rapid growth and further segmentation of the descendants of Owuor Nyapala rendered it redundant, with the large *dhoudi* within it, such as Kogweno (82) and Kamiser (81), acting as immediate subdivisions of the *dhoot* of Kaduet (8). Kotieno (59) was then, like Kanyariro, left without any *dhoot* genealogically co-ordinate with it.

Kakwajuok (24), Kanjira (29), Kadkhimu (32), and Kawuor (92) represent another class of *dhoudi* derived from women. Here the reason for choosing female *dhoot* eponyms appears to have been not the convenience of basing segmentation on co-wives, but the fact that they were inherited by stepsons or brothers-in-law after their husbands' death, and thus united in one segment lines of descent begotten on them by different lineage members.

We have seen that the general relations of *dhoudi* are far from being in strict conformity with the theory of co-ordination which the Luo speak of as a norm in lineage activity. But when a *dhoot* acts ritually it conforms to this much more closely, just as the *asuwola* segments of class B do. For example, if Konyango Majieri (36) sacrificed to their eponym they would call representatives of Kabwanda (38) as their co-ordinate, and of Kobuya (34) and Kakwajuok (24), which are co-ordinate to Konyango Majieri and Kabwanda combined. Here Kabwanda is called into activity, and the great disparity in strength between it and the other segments represented is ignored. Similarly, in ritual Kanyariro (83) would treat Kagaya (84) as a *libamba* co-ordinate to it, although in other matters Kanyariro has to submit to equality with Kamboya (98), Komolo (100), and Konyango Adhanja (93), which are genealogically junior to it. In ritual relations the genealogical order of seniority between the lineage segments which are called is also strictly observed, for the elders who represent them receive their shares of meat, or take their places for the drinking of beer, according to this order of precedence.

However, the members of *dhoudi* probably become so used to the order of relationships which prevails between them in political or economic affairs that on the rather infrequent ritual occasions when strict genealogical co-ordination might be preserved they may fail to take advantage of it. It is likely to be segments such as Konyango Majieri (36) or Kotieno (59) which snatch at opportunities for enforcing theoretical parities on ritual occasions, precisely because in day-to-day affairs they forfeit their seniority to segments such as Kamiser (81) and Kogweno (82) which they cannot match in strength.

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VI. RITUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF LINEAGE STRUCTURE

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It is among the *anyuola* segments subordinate to minimal *dhoudi*, which have not had time to become too unequal in size, that the strictest adherence to the theory of co-ordination is practised. As an illustration of this I give here an account of the performance of *riso*—a ritual transaction between a husband and his wife's mother—at which I was present. It is a typical example of the co-ordinate activity of class B segments. The diagram (Fig. 7, facing p. 33) is a continuation of the chart (Fig. 6), and shows the members of the *dhoot* of Mboya (98) who participated or were represented on this occasion. Female as well as male members of the lineage participate; consequently the personnel of the smallest *anyuola* segments includes both the wives and daughters of male lineage members, and so coincides with that of the extant elementary families. But in the genealogy of dead ancestors the daughters of members are omitted, as having normally married and become ancestresses in other lineages and so lost significance in their own, while the wives of members still have to be included for their structural importance.

Since a lineage tends to act ritually at two levels simultaneously—the superordinate lineage deployed into its major segments[1]—it is all the easier to picture it, even at its remoter ancestral levels, as a family divided into its component cells (see above, p. 31, 'compression'). It was the woman 'A' whose *riso* was being performed. She belongs to the elementary family of her mother Osiru, a minimal *anyuola* segment. Osiru's two childless co-wives and the five others, with their sons, represent the compound polygynous family of Akoko-Ochieng', now dead. The compound family of his father, Ochieng'-Akoko, contained the four elementary families of Nyatawa, Buore, Owira, and Modi. Ochieng''s father Akoko-Mboya had issue by one wife only, the elementary family of Agalo. Akoko-Mboya and his brother Ogweno together represent the elementary family of their mother Abiero, whose agnatic descendants constitute the *anyuola* of Kabiero within which the *riso* was performed. Mboya had other wives besides Abiero, but their descendants are very few and do not live in the *gweng'* called after Mboya. The result is that the descendants of Abiero can call themselves *dhoot* Kamboya, since they have successfully claimed Mboya's name for it, but in ritual situations such as this it is more correct for them to call themselves *anyuola* Kabiero, for *anyuola* Kamboya would include the descendants of Mboya's other wives, who had no share in the occasion.

Riso is said to be a *singruok* (promise) with the mother of one's wife. Until it is performed the wife is technically free to go to her home and associate with other men, visiting the *simba* (see p. 19) if she likes, but after *riso* has been performed she can no longer do so, and her own lineage would prevent her. The husband kills a bull, retains one foreleg for himself, and sends the rest to his wife's mother for division by the elders of the *anyuola*. The senior living elder of *anyuola* Kabiero is Dondi-Ochieng'. The first round of meat distribution (marked I on the diagram) was the taking of their shares by Dondi, Aomo, and Ojuok, senior living elders of the *anyuola* segments of Buore, Owira, and Modi. Each of these, after taking his share home, made a subsidiary division of it to his uterine brothers or to the eldest

[1] *The Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 31.

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sons of uterine brothers who were dead; thus Dondi to Ong'wena, Dea, Nyagol, and Ogembo; Aomo to Ogwang' and to the eldest sons of Agalo and Oyuke who were dead; Ojuok to Were and Oyugi. This completed the major segments of the *anyuola* of Ochieng'-Akoko except for that of Nyatawa, the actual grandmother of the woman; this segment, as host, came last. The lineage of Ochieng'-Akoko has as its co-ordinates those of Mingusa, Okun, Gaya, and Mboya. There were no representatives of Okun or Gaya present, but Randa and Omolo were there for Mingusa and Mboya, and their taking of shares completed the distribution to the major segments of the *anyuola* of Akoko-Mboya (marked II on the diagram). This latter has one co-ordinate in the *anyuola* of Ogweno, which was represented by Ogweno's senior grandson Osimbo, who took his portion to share it with Owade and Ogweno, younger brothers, and Obora, eldest son of his dead brother Were. Thus the entire structure of *anyuola* Kabiero (marked III on the diagram) was represented in the ritual. There followed the distribution within the 'host' *anyuola* of Nyatawa, the woman's own grandmother (IV on the diagram). First the woman's half-brothers Obware, Kasera, Osano, Otula, Awuor, Hezra Mboya, and Aluoch took their portions; then there was a separate distribution in the *anyuola* of Osiru (V on the diagram) to the woman's uterine brothers Paulo Mboya,[1] Nyatawa, and Ogogo.

During the morning, before the actual distribution was made, all the elders present ate together certain other portions of meat[2] which by custom have to be eaten raw on this occasion. Besides this there was the customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother; the neck and top ribs to be cooked by the woman's mother for her brothers to eat together with any friends they like to call; the kidneys to be cooked by the woman's sisters who are still in their mother's house, and eaten by them together with any friends they like to call, and the liver and remaining ribs and offal to be eaten by all the women of the homestead where the division is made. The division of the animal might be tabulated as follows:

1. First foreleg: for the slaughterer, husband of the woman.
2. Second foreleg: for all the descendants of the woman's father (except those who receive under 4).
3. First hindleg: (*a*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of each of the co-wives of the woman's paternal grandmother, and to be shared by them with their surviving uterine brothers and the eldest sons of any deceased uterine brothers;
   (*b*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the uterine brothers of the woman's paternal grandfather and similarly shared by them;
   (*c*) to be divided to the heads of the houses of the uterine brothers of the woman's paternal great-grandfather and similarly shared by them. (No intermediate division to the heads of the houses of the co-wives of the woman's great-grandmother because Agalo was the only wife of Akoko-Mboya.)
4. Second hindleg: for the woman's mother and her sons.
5. Neck and top ribs: for the woman's brothers and their friends.

[1] Paulo Mboya was Chief of Karachuonyo from 1935 to 1946, and since then has been Executive Secretary of the Local Native Council of South Kavirondo. In 1948 he was appointed to represent Kenya Africans on the East Africa Central Assembly. I was deeply indebted to him for much kind assistance during my stay in Karachuonyo.

[2] These were *kuow* (hump), *tiend ng'et* (chine), *tiend oguro* (rump), *chiw*, and *aduke*. *Obe*, *aduedo*, and *awinyo* are eaten after they have been cooked by the method of *hulo*—roasting by holding them over the open fire.

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6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead.
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends.
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *hulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps.

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *riro*.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

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of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these ritually occasioned social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the meanest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves occasion a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *riso* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *anyuola* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contribution of her group, followed by the female heads of each *anyuola* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segments is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Anyuola segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*anyuola*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its

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minimal status to operate as superordinate of the newly formed segments. The process is an extension on a larger scale, of that which begins whenever married sons leave their father's homestead and form separate ones of their own. Custom sets limits to the period within which this occurs. A son cannot leave his father's homestead and form one of his own till he himself has a son able to 'carry the axe' in the ritual of opening a new homestead. On the other hand, a son is not supposed to stay on in his father's homestead after he has a daughter who is nubile. When this occurs while he still has no son, he must move to the homsetead of one of his father's brothers or other agnatic relative. If his father dies before he has been able to establish his own homestead he must then sacrifice to his father before doing so. Within these limits the splitting apart of married sons from their father's homestead will depend on their relations with one another, their character and ambition, the contrary pulls of allegiance to a common father matched by the jealousy of sons of different mothers, and the rivalries between brothers matched by the need to unite in competiton with other sibling groups. These human relations will always be further pointed by the need of every family for its own building, arable, and grazing land. When a family segments it may be able simply to divide its land correspondingly to satisfy all the segments, or else the latter must collectively occupy a larger area than before. Similarly, when a *gweng'* splits into several new *gwenge* it may simply divide its territory or have to occupy more at the same time. The net result of all these integrative and disintegrative forces is worked out within the framework determined by the Luo adherence to an agnatic basis of social grouping. Throughout, the behaviour of segments is largely a repetition on the group plane of certain attitudes of individuals within the family, the people themselves regarding the lineage system as a magnified reflection of the family process. Both are, of course, the product of human biological growth and reproduction interacting with a particular set of values expressed within a limiting physical environment. It is therefore misleading to represent them only by a formal analysis which omits intrinsic causes of variation.

Given the structure of the Luo family as earlier described, if a man marries several women and begets sons who repeat the process, the result is bound to be the multiplication of homesteads. To the extent that the families of a whole settlement act in this way, the result is bound to be the multiplication of settlements. Conversely, if families fail to multiply, homesteads either disappear or are merely replaced, and the membership of a settlement is also merely replaced, with no change of structure except an increase in genealogical depth. The rivalry noted between individuals and groups within the family is repeated on a larger scale in the natural divergence of interests and weakening of sentiments of solidarity between different *anyuola* segments. Complementary to this general weakening of bonds which predisposes fission must be the appearance of initiative in some individual suitably placed to lead his group in the establishment of a new settlement. This positive factor is the necessary precipitating agent of the process in which the new *dhoudi* of the primary settlements are formed. The size of each co-ordinate resulting from the fission of a superordinate segment must be adequate in adult male membership to support the responsibilities of a separate settlement.

Finally, there must be adequate land available in which the new *gwenge* can be

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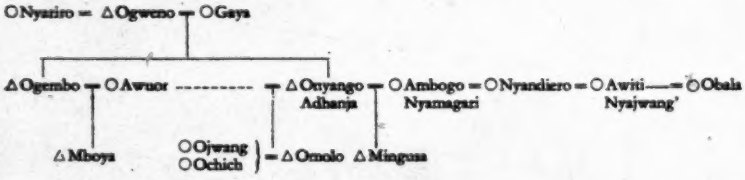
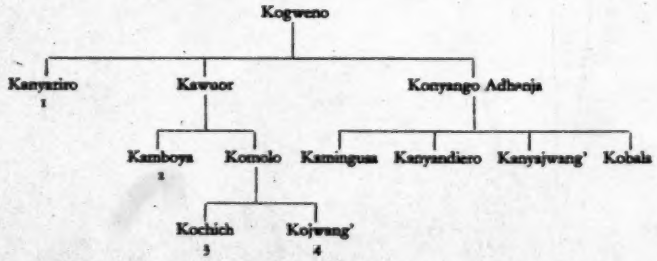
●613 founded. *Gweng'* left a belt of unoccupied land in between one another's territory, referred to as *thim* (wilderness). This insulated one lineage from another, and disputes between lineages took place in it. It was also a reservoir which could be drawn upon for expansion when a new *gweng'* wanted land to found its settlement. Karachuonyo is now densely settled except where land is poor, and there is practically no *thim* left which could support new settlements. Consequently the process of *gweng'* and *dhoot* formation has now reached its limit in Karachuonyo, as indeed it has in many parts of Luoland today for the same reason. But some parts of South Kavirondo still have land to spare, in which the old process of settlements splitting into new segments and expanding into the *thim* can still go on. The other lineages of the Jook group (see map, Fig. 3)—Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Karungu, and Kadem—all have *thim* still left.

The process of *gweng'* formation is best demonstrated with reference to a concrete instance. The diagram below shows the genealogical relations of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoudi* descended from Ogweno, see (82), fig. 6 a male ancestor fifth in line of descent from Rachuonyo.



The present structural relations of these *dhoudi* may be charted as follows:



The four numbered segments are all minimal class A lineages. Their structural positions are obviously very different. Their comparative depth is indicated by the fact that the present *gweng'* head of Kanyaziro belongs to the fifth descending generation, the head of Kamboya to the third, and the heads of Kochich and Kojwang' to the second descending generations from their eponymous ancestors. In all these cases the difference in depth is correlated with a difference in the rate of numerical expansion. Kanyaziro has grown most slowly, Kochich and Kojwang' most rapidly of the four. Indeed, the line of Kochich and Kojwang' has undergone no less than four

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stages of class A segmentation in very quick succession: first, the separation of the descendants of Ogweno's second wife Gaya from those of his first wife Nyariro; second, the separation of the descendants of Awuor—the wife of Ogembo inherited after his death by his younger brother Onyango Adhanja—from the descendants of Onyango Adhanja's own wives; third, the separation of the descendants of Omolo from those of his brother Mboya; finally, the separation of the descendants of Omolo's two wives Ochich and Ojwang'. During all this process Kanyariro grew so slowly that it failed to segment at all. Of course, each new stage of segmentation does not destroy the groupings of the last, but raises their operation to a higher level. The fact that Kochich and Kojwang' split apart to form new *gweng'* does not destroy Komolo as a *gweng'*, but rather gives it a new importance as it is then no longer a minimal *dhoot* but has its own subordinate *dhoudi*. So by an immense process of secular competitive elimination, certain households and homesteads of the past have given rise to *anyuola* segments which later achieved the status of *gweng'* and *dhoot*, and have finally been raised by successive stages of segmentation to their present level as maximal lineages.

But are the figures in these genealogies historical figures, and did these families really multiply and those stagnate, or are all the circumstantial details a *post facto* rationalization of structural relations in terms of a lineage ideology? It seems on balance an easier hypothesis to suppose that there is a genuine element of truth in recorded genealogies and in recollections of recent events; that the omissions from and additions to factual history increase with time depth, and in proportion to the strength of motives for distortion and to the lack of endorsement of recollections of group events by frequent recapitulation in various social activities and embodiment in the pattern of territorial settlement, rather than to regard them purely as a mirage reflecting certain functions of the contemporary social structure. Genealogy is not myth, though it may well, and for the Luo certainly does, bridge the gap between an actual present and a mythical past. It is unlikely that a people, whose memory is shown by indubitable checks to be good (e.g. in the recollections of the coming of individual Europeans to Luoland more than fifty years ago, and of other known historical events of the same period), are wholly inaccurate in what they say about their immediate ancestors' activities in founding *gweng'* and about the descent of *gweng'* members from a paternal grandmother or grandfather. And if this is accepted there is no reason to throw much more doubt on the accounts of earlier ancestors, up to five or six generations back, where these conform to what is evidently true of more recent times. At the remoter genealogical levels the need for caution is obvious, and the stories told of first ancestors twelve to fourteen generations back are of a mythical type easily distinguishable from the more historical accounts of events and persons nearer in time. The Luo of Karachuonyo frankly admit that they know much less about their ancestors before they crossed over Kavirondo Gulf to their present territory about seven generations ago. From this time onward they can give endless details of ancestral activity, for mnemonics are provided by the topography itself and their continuous association with it; but before the crossing they have little to say of their ancestors except for those eponyms who are still of structural importance and who are the focus of a rich body of myth. I have, therefore, approached the account of the most recent levels of the lineage structure on

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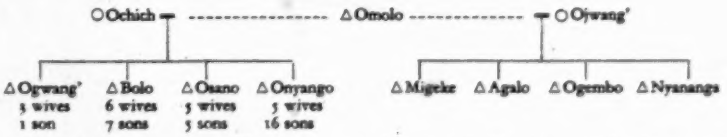
613 127 the assumption that it is likely to be correct, in proportion to the certainty with which it is given, the absence of deviant and contradictory versions, and its conformity with the probabilities established by a knowledge of the forces operative in contemporary family life and in the contemporary activity of lineage segments.

613 To return to the lineage of Komolo: the rapidity of its growth can be seen from the diagram below showing some of the immediate male agnatic descendants of Omolo. Both Omolo's wives produced four sons, and the families of all these multiplied. The sons of Ochich between them married nineteen wives and begot twenty-nine sons, all these latter themselves having issue. The sons of Ojwang' were also prolific, but I have no exact figures for their agnatic issue. Rweya, the present *jadwong' gweng'* of Kochich, is a younger son of Onyango the founder of the *gweng'*, and Bolo, the present *jadwong' gweng'* of Kojwang', is son of its founder Agalo. Rweya's father Onyango was also a very famous leader, acting as chief elder of all Karachuonyo.



The conditions of *gweng'* formation were here satisfied in the reproductive growth of Omolo's patrilineal descendants, the presence of leaders necessary for the new settlements, the suitable numerical size of the *gwengs* defined by the lines of agnatic fission, and the availability of *thim* for them to occupy.[1] The descendants of Omolo were quite numerous enough to form more than a single *gweng'*, and by dividing according to the segments of Omolo's two wives they formed two new *gwengs* each of suitable size. They could not, however, have divided into the segments of Omolo's sons, for this would have meant fission into too many major segments each of too small size. None of these, except perhaps Onyango's, would have been large enough to form a separate *gweng'*. It would have been very unusual for Onyango's lineage to form a *gweng'* while its co-ordinates were unable to do so, for these latter would refuse to join Onyango's *gweng'* and call themselves after him, and could only remain in the undivided *gweng'* of Omolo or else divide into *gwengs* called after his wives, as actually happened. It is practical questions of this sort that require some *dhoudi* to derive their agnatic structure from apical ancestors who were women, and to be called after them, and which give rise to the principle that one co-ordinate cannot split off from its superordinate lineage without the rest.[2] It is fruitless to argue that these ancestresses were merely the wives of agnatic forebears and not even members of the lineage in the strict sense. To any question as to why they are derived from and called after non-agnatic females the members of such a lineage simply say

[1] It appears that ten or a dozen homesteads, that is, ten or a dozen males having reached the status of compound family heads, giving a total population of about one hundred persons, may have been about the minimum size necessary for the founding of a new settlement. In the location of Gem in South Kavirondo there is a case of a *gweng'* founded only in 1924 which in 1947 had fifteen separate homesteads but which started with about ten.

[2] But if all but one of a group of co-ordinates dwindle into insignificance, the one co-ordinate of importance may be able to claim for itself the eponym of the lineage superordinate to them all, as in the case of the wives of Mboya; see above, p. 33.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

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'because she is our mother'. The members of a lineage with a male eponymous ancestor reply as unhesitatingly 'because he is our father'. Lineage members certainly appear to think that the one derivation is as normal, logical, and useful as the other, and co-ordinate segments are tied together as well by descent from wives of a common husband as from sons of a common mother. Where there is a choice of points of origin, as when a co-wife has one son only, and either her name or his would serve to distinguish the same agnatic group from its co-ordinates, it is natural that the son is usually chosen as eponym. It remains true, none the less, that as focal points in the system of class B segmentation, both in family alinements and in ritual organization, both while still alive and when they have become points in the genealogies of the dead, the wives are frequently as essential as the lineage members who are their husbands, and in the case of class A lineages either may be chosen according to the exigencies of the settlement process. This ambivalence must be inplicit in any lineage system patrilineal or matrilineal, for in either case the members of the unilateral descent group can only produce heirs and lineage members through cohabitation with non-members, who interpose their own pattern of potential segmentation intermediate to that of the agnates themselves.

An attempt has been made to show how lineages arise from the matrix of family life. Lineage and family differ by their unilateral and bilateral emphasis. Despite the fact that the Luo uphold the unilateral basis of the lineage when they say that the mother's blood counts for nothing in procreation, it has been seen that women are of great importance in the day-to-day affairs and in the actual structure of lineages. A man's daughters are members of their father's lineage. They may be present at lineage rituals, and even after their marriage into other lineages they may return to the lineage of their birth on important occasions; but their children and descendants are entirely cut off from the lineages of origin of their mothers. A man's wives always belong to other lineages, since the maximal lineage is exogamous, but as wives, and as mothers of lineage members, they also may be recipients at rituals of their husband's lineage; they are fundamental pivots in the system of ties and cleavages within the family out of which lineages spring, and in process of time they become ancestresses within their husband's lineage and may be the points of origin of lineage segments. The position of women in the lineage is thus of great moment, and in its ambivalence lineage and family are linked. As far as the individual member of either is concerned, there is a hen-egg relationship between them which cannot be further broken down by sociological techniques.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

*Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

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857 sometimes break up at the slightest provocation or mis-
572 understanding. The lineal character of the friendship is
[613] facilitated by the social groupings of the people into lineages living side by side. This character is also assumed by the play groups which begin from the immediate family circle and widen to include other members of the lineage to which the children belong. Although there also exists a considerable degree of friendship among male children it does not seem to be organized as closely as that among the girls. Though I saw frequent examples of individual boyhood friendship I did not come across such a highly-developed arrangement.

The Cultural Pattern

857 Girls are born to a ready-made pattern of life and
858 they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. The school-age period is the one in which girls are especially trained to fit into the culture to which
[177] they have been born. A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even where civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. This conservatism is maintained through all the early training of the children and domestic activities are still carried on in almost the same traditional way.

In contrast, we find that male children between these ages have a greater degree of freedom. I noticed a larger variety of playthings among boys than among girls of the same school-going age. Day after day the girls repeated imitations of the maternal activities. It was also much more difficult to discover where a group of boys had been playing than to find the favourite playgrounds of the female children. This was perhaps due to the difference in their freedom of movement. The occupations of the girls keep them largely at home while the boys range over a much greater area.

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BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Preliminary Considerations

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One difference between the older traditional kind of marriage and marriage as it is conducted nowadays lies in the part played by relatives to make the venture a success. Individual initiative was formerly negligible, the greater part of the marriage negotiations being undertaken by the relatives of both parties. This had the effect of reducing the importance of the bridegroom whose initiative gave way to a dependence upon the good will of his relations to whom the task of negotiation was left.

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At present the tendency in marriage is towards individualism, although it is still a matter where society plays a considerable part. But since the individual man and woman are taking a greater part in deciding whom they shall marry, there is now a greater opportunity to develop an attachment genuinely based upon love. Steps are still usually taken, however, to ensure that the man's family has sufficient wealth to pay a satisfactory dowry, and the co-operation of the society in which the girl lives is needed if the relationship is to be successfully established. Great care is also taken to see that the marriage of the couple would not go against the normal stratification of relationships already in existence.

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The marriage of a member of A-B family to C-D family* excludes the children of G and H from intermarrying with any member of the lineage of the maternal grandparents. So long as connection with the

*See diagram on p. 44

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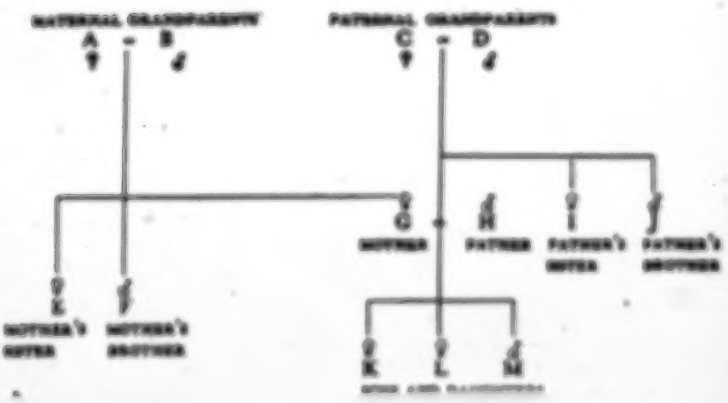

maternal grandparents can be traced, descendants of G-H family will not marry the person concerned.

But E may be married to H's brother and *I* too may marry E's brother. Should F's son wish to marry from the community in which G has been married it would be G who would take the responsibility of looking for a young woman from among the daughters of her brothers-in-law and not from among her sisters-in-law. In the same way, the sons of G's brothers-in-law cannot marry any of G's sisters or sisters by relation (daughters of her uncles). The method of acting through a relative in establishing a marriage connection is still in use, although personal initiative is increasingly taking its place.

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The Position of a Betrothed Woman

The life of a betrothed woman presents a busy time of conflicting and disturbing news. Information of much discomfort to both parties comes and goes and is forgotten. To the girl such information is of great importance, and her attitude is often affected by it. Each time a

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Daily rhythm of family duties. The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

The social attitude towards male and female children. The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

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The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

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In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

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Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

"The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *n'gara*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

"We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

is a big thing. When we get some money, I shall ask my husband for a better house. We are in the way of progress now, but there is another thing: the Government must help us with our water, we need a scheme to bring it—that is the biggest thing.'

It is often said that women are the most conservative, and in some ways perhaps this may be so—especially in regard to marriage customs; but it struck me, almost everywhere I went, that it is the women who are most anxious to see these basic land reforms brought in, the men who oppose—not the old men so much as the younger, educated ones who have been to cities. Africa so often seems to reverse the expected order of things.

At any rate, there was no doubt of what these women thought about land reform. It is they, after all, the cultivators, the workers, who know where the shoe pinches, and no wonder they are out of patience with those young men of the towns who, while crying for political freedom, do their best to deny to their own women that measure of relief from hard, grinding toil which land consolidation and enclosure can afford.

Among the Luo, everything is done by clans—extended families would be a more correct term. This group is called the *jokakwaru* and consists of all the descendants of one grandfather. They hold their land in common and each individual, as he marries, is allocated a *shamba* by the *liguru*, the land elders. In time he probably inherits cultivation rights over other pieces from various mothers, uncles and cousins, and that is how fragmentation arises. All grazing land is held in common, as among all other tribes.

The *jokakwaru* system is at once a strength and a weakness, from a modern point of view. Livestock improvers regard it as an unmitigated curse.

'All the members of the group must agree to any sale of stock by any individual,' a vet told me. 'That makes destocking almost impossible, if only out of bloody-mindedness.' The livestock picture generally is a gloomy one. 'We are still trying to get across one or two of the most basic principles, such as dipping or spraying against ticks. Among the Kipsigis,

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

603 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*, has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
●614 name of the clan or larger lineage as and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans minimal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *ondo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less approved type of marriage *(puor)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(nono)* when
583 the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a *wot*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1948, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only *wasiga* (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy assists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Denge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *jopiny* or *jogweng* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *jodak* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of agnatic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kamce* - lineages of in-laws, or *kaner* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *jopiny* and *jodak* are on equal terms and cooperate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 508

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, pp.10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.14.

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The *won gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peacemaker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jakoth* or *won koth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jokoth* or *won koth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *nyieka*, co-wife, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the JoSeje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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582 the JoOwila of Uyoma ; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuonyo,
614 Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *codo* is permitted. *Codo* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
836 court the girls and bring them to the *simba* or bachelor's hut and sleep
[833] with them there and have relations with them *intra crura*. Thus the KaAbudha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *codo* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago ; likewise the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only ; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
614 and are beginning to *codo* between them it is done at first with discre-
836 tion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
582 eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*por*) and then the ordinary form (*meko*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the polito-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

582 A man may not marry a *nyakewo*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan,
614 though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards
184 as a *wat*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *wat*, kinsfolk, or *wasigu*, enemies. A man cannot marry kin and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuonyo man of the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

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613 section where are recorded some notes about the JoAlego clan of Alego
614 tribe, the JoOwila clan of Uyoma tribe, the KaNyikal clan of Seme tribe, and the KaRacuonyo clan of Karacuonyo tribe. It must be borne in mind in reference to these examples, as in regard to the rules of exogamy noted earlier, that these clans are associated with tribal territories and that there are many small lineages, many of them of Bantu origin, which have not the same spread in genealogical or physical space and have not the same depth in lineage structure; also, that all the main clans ultimately trace their descent from the same mythological names of Podho and Ramogi so that it would be possible to place them all on a single chart of descent. Since the smaller stranger lineages have points of graft on the trees of the dominant clans it might be possible to place the whole Luo people on a single chart. The clans, as I have described them, are, however, the largest descent groups which have eponymous ancestors, who are considered by the Luo to be the points at which an exact record of ascent passes into a hazy plane of tradition where a single line of mythological ancestors is finally lost in the beginnings of the world. They are the points at which genealogical structure begins.

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173 In the Alego tribe the dominant clans are the JoAlego with its maximal
613 lineages, the JoSega and the KaDenge. There are a number of other
614 clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory, apart from small stranger groups and individuals. The two most powerful of these stranger clans are the Karuoth and Kakan (JokAnyango). Other clans or lineages of some importance are the KaLuo, JoMar, JoAgoro, JokOgelo, KaNyinek, KaRapol (JoKato), JoUmala, KaLikada, and JoUyawa. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego and their intra-tribal relations with the JoAlego are accounted for in a number of traditions or myths. These myths relate that when Alego entered the country from the west (Yimbo or Kadimo) he found there a people called Kombekombe and they and Alego's people live together in peace. Then the Kombekombe people began to disperse and were lost and the whole of the land came into possession of Alego and his sons. Then came other clans after Alego into the country but Alego fought them and compelled them to settle elsewhere. Then the elder sons of Mulijuok crossed the gulf and settled in what is now called South Kavirondo and Mulijuok was left with his younger children, Seje, Nyidenge, and three daughters, Nyiwat, Anyango, and Ajonga.

Other clans now entered the country with the permission of the Alego folk (the story is told by them). Came Ragak and married Nyiwat and Anyango and begat the clan of the Kakan, who count as *orche*, in-laws, to the JoAlego. Then came Ager (from Kadhola or Budama) and asked Mulijuok for permission to settle on the land and Mulijuok agreed that he and his people might live on hill Akara. When Mulijuok died Ager plotted to kill his sons Seje and Nyidenge to wrest the soil from them. Seje heard of this plot and summoned Nyinek, Uyawa, Agoro, Ragak, and others (the lineages are personified in the story) to make war against

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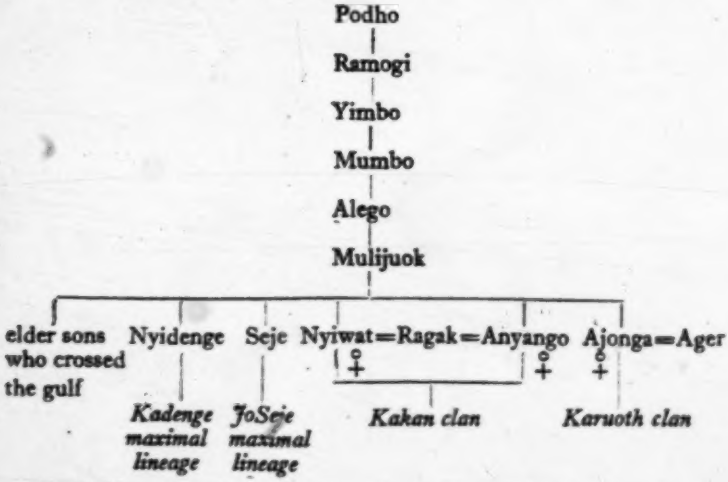
the people of Ager, whom they defeated. Ager later asked for the hand of Ajonga by whom he begat the Karuoth clan, who also stand to the Alego folk as relatives-in-law. The genealogy given below illustrates the story. From Mulijuok to the present day there are nine to ten generations. Other stories, which I do not recount here, explain the relations between the Kakan and the JoUyawa and other clans in Alego tribal territory. In these myths the tribal structure is presented in terms of lineages and the lineages are personified.



The JoAlego genealogy has been presented in its simplest form, pruned of all subsidiary branches. The JoOwila clan is shown in slightly fuller form to illustrate better the lineage structure of a typical Luo clan. The JoOwila are the dominant clan in Uyoma (pop. 11,694, density 91·3). Owila, the ancestor of the clan, came from Alego and brought with him the various clans now living in Uyoma together with the people who now occupy Asembo (where the dominant clan are the Kale) to which country the Uyoma people drove them after a quarrel. Though there are many stranger lineages living in Uyoma its population is probably less mixed than is the case in most tribal areas.

The JoOwila clan divides into four main branches or maximal lineages, as shown in the chart below, the JokOkelo or JokObong being the senior line. These four lineages do not intermarry. Each owns a distinct part of the tribal territory though the members of one lineage are frequently found living in the territory of another. The KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, having the same ancestress regard themselves as a single segment in relation to KoOkelo and KoOkwiri. Genealogical links through females with stranger lineages living with the clan are not shown on the chart.

The relativity of lineage values, to which I have given some attention in my book on the Nuer, may here be touched on, using the JoOwila

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613 614

clan as an illustration. Lineage names are in italics. Only one line is shown to its full depth. When Okwiri is asked what is his lineage in his tribal area he will probably say: '*dho odwa KoOtual*', 'my lineage are the Ko-Otual'. If further asked: 'Which branch of the Ko-Otual?' ('*Ko-Otual ma dho ot mani*') he would reply: '*KoOtual ma KaJeje*' and in situations in which Kajeje stand opposed to JokOrua he would probably give KaJeje as his lineage in the first instance. When speaking of the Jok-Akech or any other medial lineage he would call himself a KoOtual man. In speaking of the KaAbudha or another of the maximal lineages he would call himself a member of the KoOkelo lineage. This feature of the lineage systems is too well known to be elaborated further.

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In Seme (pop. 29,919, density 311·6) the dominant clan is the Ka-Nyikal, the main divisions of which are the Kade[illegible] and the KaGumba, Gumba being a foundling adopted and brou[illegible] by Nyikal. I omit a genealogy of this clan for reasons of sp[illegible] would draw passing attention to the common feature of li[illegible]tems by which stranger lineages are grafted into the structu[illegible] dominant clan of the tribe by mythological fictions. The Ka[illegible] to whom I have just alluded, is a very powerful lineage. Another strong lineage in Seme are the KaYila. According to the myth Yila was an Alego man who took to the bachelors' hut Amolo daughter of Nyikal and made her pregnant. He then fled the country. Amolo was an Amazon with a will of her own and she later went to fetch her lover and brought him back to Seme with his sons from whom are descended lineages, by a wife whom he had married in his exile. Another big clan in Seme are the Kolunje. Nyikal had a servant called Anam who used to take his sons to the edge of the lake to collect fodder for the calves. One day they found there a man called Onyango. Nyikal adopted this stranger together with Anam, and Kolunje is the joint name for their descendants, the KaAnam and the KoOnyango.

The last clan of the structure of which I shall give an outline are the KaRacuonyo. Jok, who appears to be the same as the Mulijuok of the Alego myth, begat two sons. One of them, Cuanya, is the ancestor of the principal lineages in the tribal areas of Kisumu, Kanyamwa, Kabwoc, Karungu, and Kadem. The other is the ancestor of the KaRacuonyo clan, who are dominant in the locations of Karacuonyo (Kaduong), Mumbo and Kabondo. According to the Alego myth there were two other brothers, Seje and Nyidenge, as has been noted, but these are not given in their genealogies by the people to the south of the gulf. According to some the ancestor of the now Bantuized Wanjare was another of Jok's sons.

The story current to the south of the gulf is that Jok was accidentally killed by his sons in an elephant hunt. A certain man called Cien took Racuonyo and made him his servant and after various adventures together adopted him as his son. When Cien died Racuonyo took one of his wives, Omiri, and by her begat Sepol, who is the ancestor of the dominant lineages in the Kabondo and Mumbo tribal divisions, the Joko-Owidi and the JokOmala. According to Luo custom Sepol was a son of the dead Cien and not of Racuonyo but the sons of Cien said they did not wish him to be known by the name of their father, so he was called after Racuonyo. The descendants of Cien by a different wife claim to be the owners of the Mumbo lands, but they are now a very small people, due it is said to their having insulted their father who haunted them after his death. The descendants of Racuonyo are shown in the chart below. Only the principal lineages are given, except in the line of descent to one man for illustration.

The man Rapemo can, according to the context, describe his lineage as KaMuma, JokOnyango, KaNdaya, KoOkoth, JokOwidi, KaSepol, and KaRacuonyo.

Each of the big lineages of the KaRacuonyo clan owns its own part of the tribal territory and within a section owned by a large lineage the

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[P 367]

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613 parts owned by its branches are fairly distinct. Intermarriage is the main
614 cause of intersettlement and marriage within this clan is not permitted.
There are a number of stranger lineages in Karacuonyo (Wagwe, Kamwala, Kakmuno, Jokadero, etc.) but they are small lineages and so much intermarried with the dominant KaRacuonyo clan that they have no territorial and political distinctness. Some attention must now be given to the status of stranger lineages to the dominant lineage within a tribe.

We have noted that in Karacuonyo there are few stranger lineages and that they are weak ones. By far the greater majority of the tribe are members of the dominant clan. Other tribal territories display greater clan admixture and the presence of powerful stranger lineages whose numerical importance is reflected in the tribal myths. A European may not quickly become aware of these stranger elements unless land disputes force his attention to them, for the dominant clan is generally identified linguistically with the tribe. JoAlego means both the tribesman of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego and KaRacuonyo means both the tribesmen of Karacuonyo tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Racuonyo. Therefore if a man of the JoMur stranger lineage in Alego were asked outside Alego to what people he belongs he would reply that he belonged to the Alego folk, but if he were asked within the tribal territory he would say that he was a JoMur, for the JoMur
186 are a distinct agnatic group living in their own portion of country within
613 Alego.
Now, from the point of view of the dominant clan in a tribal area the
614 members of this clan alone are the *jopiny* or *jogueng*, the people of the
609 land and the owners of it, and the rest are *jodak*, the separated people, the strangers: though if they lived among them a long time they speak of them as *jobedo*, for *jodak* is a harsh word.

These stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the
613 dominant clan so that through recognition of female links the whole tribe
609 may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. Luo speak of the affi-
614 liated lineages as *kawce*, lineages of in-laws, or as *kaner*, lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children. As the affiliated lineages have taken wives from the dominant clan they also come into the category of *okewa*, sister's son, to its members. In this way every lineage in a tribe, whether of the dominant clan or of stranger stock, has a structural position in the system of lineages of which a tribe is composed and of which the lineages of the dominant clan are the framework.

578 The lineages of the clan which owns the tribal territory and those
613 affiliated to it seem in the past to have been on a general social equality
614 and to have acted corporately in matters of common tribal interest, particularly in war against other tribes. They were differentiated only in matters of ritual, marriage regulations, and, as explained earlier, in settlement of homicide. In recent years, however, acute differences have arisen about land in those parts of the country where the density of population is greatest, especially in the most northern tribes of Central

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Kavirondo, between the different lineages, sometimes betwen a lineage of the dominant clan and sometimes between two stranger lineages.

In the past there seems to have been no serious difficulty about land; there was plenty of it and more could be acquired by war and migration. People were glad, I was told, to welcome strangers who added to the fighting strength of their community and who provided them with wives for their sons. The strangers settled as *owze*, in-laws, and become maternal uncles and sisters' sons. Personal relations between the members of the lineage of the dominant clan and the strangers who settled among them and intermarried with them were all of a kinship order. But these relationships of a kinship kind are structural points at which affiliated lineages are grafted on to the tree of descent of the dominant clan. Personal relations give place to structural relations. People do not readily quarrel with their own parents-in-law or maternal uncles or sisters' sons about land, but when the pressure of population becomes acute they may dispute with those who count as lineage in-laws, lineage maternal uncles, or lineage sisters' sons, that is to say when the relationship has become a structural one and ceased to be one of an intimate kinship kind, for intermarriage and thereby the formation of new kinship links between a lineage and another living on its land must for reasons of exogamy become less and less. There is a bit difference between a member of the JoSeje lineage of Alego and a man of a stranger lineage whom he calls sister's son in a personal sense and a man whom he calls sister's son in a structural sense.

[178] Hence we find to-day in the overcrowded tribal areas considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. If it is not a new feature of Luo life it has certainly been accentuated by European rule and restrictions. Tribal cohesion has suffered from peace and land hunger has increased disharmony.

The *jopiey* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and point to their *gundini*, their ancient homestead sites, which are remembered for many generations, and to the graves of their ancestors in the disputed area. But stranger lineages which have grown numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiey* in the same area in that they have resided there for many generations and also can point there to their ancestral homestead sites and the graves of their forebears. Sometimes a second stranger lineage have grown strong at the expense of a first and pushed them off their lands, so that three lineages can lay claim to the district. Problems of this kind were arousing much feeling in Alego during my visit, for there land is becoming scarce. They may be further complicated by the fact that the present dominant clan has in the past ousted a clan once dominant in the territory and who also have in the land their homestead sites and graves, for it is held by all Luo that title deeds to lands are ancient homestead sites and ancestral graves and that a man has a right to ask for land to cultivate in the district where his ancestors lived and are buried. This does not mean that a man can come back from the tribal area in which his family have lived for several generations to that in which his earlier forebears lived and claim the land

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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on which a *gunde*, homestead site, of one of them is situated; but it means that he has a right to cultivate somewhere in that district. There is in this way an overlapping of rights in a territory.

Among the Luo ownership of agricultural land is vested in the lineage and every member of a lineage which owns an area has the right to cultivate in it. The individual has only rights of use, which are hereditary so long as the land is maintained in use; but a man cannot sell the land, for his whole lineage and maybe other lineages as well have rights in it; nor can he reclaim it if he has left it for some years and it is being cultivated by another man. Grazing land (*puot*) is always common. An individual can share his agricultural land with kinsmen, such as a daughter's husband or sister's son, and stranger lineages take root in the soil in the first instance through a personal tie of this kind. Sometimes a lineage of strangers flourish at the expense of the lineage whose forebears first gave permission to their ancestors to cultivate the soil and they begin to get a grip on the land and to count their graves and homestead sites in it. Or the lineage which owns the land increases and wants more land for its own members but finds that the land it wants is under cultivation by the descendants of strangers who now regard it as theirs by right and they begin to contest their occupation of it. They cannot directly challenge their use of the land nor just oust them from possession while they are using it, but they encroach on their cultivations and by constant pressure try to squeeze them out. The strangers have redress before European constituted courts but if they are weak they do not care to resort to them because they know that even if they win the case they must continue to live among their more powerful neighbours against whom they have proceeded. For such situations one cannot find rulings in past custom and when disputes of this kind occur to-day settlement depends on a variety of factors, the strength of the stranger lineages, their wealth, their influence with the chiefs and their ability to bribe them, and so forth.

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This paper is sketchy and the survey on which it is based was superficial. Those investigating the Luo at the present time will doubtless give a fuller, more accurate, and more balanced, account of their social organization. Nevertheless, the enquiry has served its limited purpose in that it has shown that Luo political structure with its lineage framework is in essential characteristics like that I have recorded for the Nuer. There are some differences, which I hope to discuss soon in a comparative study of Nilotic lineages as a contribution towards that study of lineage systems on a broader African and world-wide basis which research is slowly making possible. However, it may not prove easy to determine whether the differences are significant till an intensive study of the Luo has been made. All this paper claims to do is to show that the Luo have the same type of structure as the Nuer. Recent research has demonstrated that both Anuak and Shilluk have a lineage structure though it is

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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7

HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 The Luo ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

● 614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 198 [197] The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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614 very large degree. Their family system remains strong and
178 largely unimpaired by the impact of Western civilization. The patriarch of the extended family unit, the *jokakwaro*, remains the local authority. Because a series of family groups together form a territorial unit, the sub-clan, the strength and solidity of the Luo family and lineage structure remain supreme. Obviously there have been changes. Basically, however, the changes are superficial.

562 The role of women in Luo society is a subordinate one. Indigenously they play no part in the major ceremonies or rituals and have never had political authority. They do not organize in age groups or societies as in other cultures, and remain primarily the property of their father and his lineage or, on marriage, the property of their husband and his clan.

595 Polygyny is still the ideal and goal of the majority of Luo men. A recent village survey showed that taking a sample of 744 homesteads, which varied between a simple monogamous family and the very large unit of the extended polygamous family, 55 per cent were monogamous units, of which 9 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives, thus making them socially polygamous units; 45 per cent were polygamous homesteads, of which 11 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives. Only 27 per cent of the total sample were found to be simple monogamous households, that is one in four of the family type associated with Western culture: a man, his wife and children. The remainder were either polygamous or had leviratic wives or were of the extended family type. Of this 27 per cent, moreover, it was the ideal of the vast majority to become polygamous later.

871 Education among the Joluo has increased rapidly in recent years, and it was found in our sample that 63 per cent of the boys of school age were either at school or had been to school for more than one year. The figure was 30 per cent for the girls. Of the adult males, however, only 26 per cent had been to school, and of the married females, only 7 per cent. The standard attained, moreover, was not high. More than half the male

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jadak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It *is*, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with the problem of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of the dead youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was dedowered by a stranger (*jakawuny*)

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We then have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamuli	5. Nyamwogi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogenyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadodi	3. Waranja
4. Raieng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyamoda		

/hformation on Luo "clan" will be found in category 614./

1: Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karecoonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Ikwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Lango) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Same and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE (*Piny*)

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide (*cut*) takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as enemies, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the mur-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1940, No. VII, p.2.
(2) Ibid.

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having
close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation,
and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensa-
tion for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliter-
ate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for
homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the
settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same
766 tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took
place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past
not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military
ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the
thim and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe.
The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the
tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging
party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such
demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar
structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not
usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Some-
times, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of
the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indica-
tions of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a
specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
614 name of the clan or larger lineage *ao* and the individual name of the
smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger
clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can
intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far
enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recog-
nised form of love-making called *code*, which takes place between the young
men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by ab-
583 duction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(ocho)* when
the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a sex, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1948, No.VII, p.6.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only *wasigu* (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy assists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Denge. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *japiny* or *jogwong* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *jodak* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of cognatic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kwarce* - lineages of in-laws, or *kaner* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *japiny* and *jodak* are on equal terms and cooperate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *japiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *japiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 578

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship-Lineage Journal*, 1949, No.VII, pp.10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.16.

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *ruodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The *won gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peace-maker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jaboth* or *won both*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1948, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the political importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

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THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) *or pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries. 592

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original man *dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside as many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death. 591 592

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ot liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*. 428 587 851

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2) 583

1. The *dho kony*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* VI, 1933, p.161. (2) Ibid., p.159.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakac, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo, and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu, Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoc, and Sakwa. The other locations on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location) and the Mohoru; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the Kasigunga, Kaksingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are external to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them *'Jomme'* or *'Lange'*. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Wahoho, who speak both Luo and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokikaa lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Kamagera tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulo and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in these areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Seme, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thorn-wood savannah plain with patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Seme takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949

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[following p.26]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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619 Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminous in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit.
682 As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *baru*,[1] for they were *wasigo*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

619 In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of
632 strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of
184 the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was
673 not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the *Jodadan* and *Kisiwa* in *Alego*, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

361 The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced
619 hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war, raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kotis man who was eating cattle so his in-love in Karacuonyo territory.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the Joßeje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *tero buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karachuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kanii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his house to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thundi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thum jatelo*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *mon gang*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Lowland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

§ 2. Nilotic Kavirondo.

101 The generic name of the Nilotic Kavirondo is Ja-Luo. By the Bantu Kavirondo they are called Awa-Nife or Nyife, also Awa-Nyoro.

193 *Ja*, *Ko*, and *Yako* are all prefixes signifying "clan" or "tribe" among the Nile tribes.

The prefix *Tho* signifies language among these people.

Kuni or Gomi (call themselves *Gomi*).

101 Situated to south of River Nzoia between Mumia's and Ugowe Bay. Tribe
● 619 second in importance in Kavirondo. Nilotic origin; belong to *Ja*-Luo family.
131 Head chief, Odera Ulalo, son of Umoli. Chief next in importance, Odera Sandei, son of Ulo. Other chiefs: Ilari Atanda (son of Lochi), Wayoti Aratieri.

Subdivisions:—

-Juothi—Odera, Ulalo, Odera Sandei, Atanda Agura.
-Karaso—Ogwei.
-Kagolo—Serua.
-Katumo—Ngaga.
-Kanyadoti—Siwa.
-Kanikwaya—Njwang Kiliko, Ilari, Aratieri.

Lego.

Situate to south of River Nzoia and south-west of Mumia's Nilotic tribe. Part of the tribe acknowledges suzerainty of Mumia. Important chiefs: Ukola Ndonya or Ndong, Ngonga.

Subdivisions:—

-Lafu—Unyango.
-Kukwiri—Othiambo.
-Anyango—Ngonga.
-Kaluo—Ndonya.
-Karuothi—Ukola, Ukolo, Aponya.
-Tanyajuok—Odero.
-Jamoro—Ogoti, Tao Mwuna Ugoto.
-Tasiji—Udongo.
-Takadongi—Otwera.

[pp. 76-81 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Nyh or Nyifh.

Situate north bank of Nzoia River on the road from Mumia's to Port Victoria; a few live on south bank of the river. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Kero, Mulasi, Atipu, Unyango.

Subdivisions:—

-Punji. Chiefs: Kero, Mulasi and Atipu.
-Tochi—Unyango, Nyatengi.

Kisumu.

Situate on south-west flanks of the Maragoli Hills and on the lake shore north and west of Railway Inlet. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Ngola or Ugola and Ugada.

Subdivisions:—

-Kisero. Chiefs: Ondua.
-Karatenya—Ngola or Ugola.
-Kadongo—Utuma, Wongo, Ugonyi.
-Korando—Ugada, Ogalo.
-Kaponja—Yarari, Magoiha, Wambi.
-Sagami—Opio, Mdiaki, Kagonyo, Ndumo, Andoka.
-Kadodi—Kimsa.
-Yakamenya—Umachi.
-Yakagonya—Ondua, Alyeko.
-Kanyawugi—Uchiang.

The Kisero and Yakagonya clan are now amalgamated under Ondua.

Kami.

Situate south of the Kami tribe between that tribe and Ugowe Bay. Formerly unfriendly with the Kami people. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Wadago, Yagudi, Awina.

Subdivisions:—

Kongo. Chief: Wadekwa.
Tiano—Awina, Aleong.
Kalonji—Oboshi, Okoku.
Kadipolo—Yagudi, Achola, Ndola, Hakuma.
Kombawa—Oboti, Gumbe, Okola.
Wasa—Wadago.
Kokori—Abuma, Achachi.

The Kadipolo or Kadipol clan is subdivided as follows:—

Kombija—Uiti, Okoch, Nyabanda.
Kanyiwara—Mbima (son of Yagudi).

Kobita—Undijo.
Kaura—Abundi.
Kanyabong—Hukum.

With the Were clan are incorporated the Kanyadwero, chief Ochanya. With the Tieno clan are incorporated the Dero.

Seuda.

Situate on north shore of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic tribe. In a measure admit exemplarity of Odera Ulalo. Principal chief: Adola.

Subdivisions:—

Umia—Ocero, Yadera.
Kalsi—Adola.

Ugowe.

Nilotic tribe, situate at entrance to Ugowe Bay on north shore. Principal chiefs: Lochi (died 1899), Naiya.

Subdivisions:—

Kabuda—Naiya, Kivera.
Katwanga—Lochi (dead), Oginga, Ubaya.
Kobong—Obolo.
Kukwiri—Karioch.

The Kabuda clan live around Laiya Hill, the Katwanga to the east and the others to the north.

Sosakwa or Sokwa.

Nilotic tribe on lake shore to the west of Gozi. Principal chiefs: Ugada, Undichi.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyamwanda Nasimwa—Ugada, Urtaba, Ubendo.
Karabori—Nyala, Odero Opio.
Kamiyawa—Buru.
Yakabodi—Odero, Ukumugwan.
Kudadi—Mbewa, Ngewiza.
Kanyavinya (incorporated with Yakabodi).

Pinia or Ubima.

Situate on lake shore south of Nasia mouth. Country called Kadima; called Waytuba by Mumia's people. Nilotic origin.

Subdivisions:—

Kadima—Anam.
Bodi—Uwori.
Nisten—Ugia.

The Kadima live on the lake shore, the other clans inland.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Songa.

Situate on the south bank of River Nzoia near Port Victoria. Nilotic origin. They are quite a small tribe. Principal chiefs: Unyando (Wa-Mtoni), Unyando (Wa-Jua).

Kanu or Kadibo (often called Wa-Kitoto).

A Nilotic tribe living in an alluvial plain east of Ugowe Bay. Friendly, vast quantities of food, population large. Principal chiefs: Kitoto, Amimo and Niagoli.

Subdivisions:—

Nyamoga or Moga. Chief: Kitoto.
Kajulu—Abongo (this clan is now all scattered).
Kadibu or Kanu—Yosanga, Hongo.
Kumulu or Kolos—Okwachi, Oyaru, Niagoli.
Kubura—Amimo, Hongo, Unongono, Uyangi, Uyoo, Arudi
Kamagaga—Unyoro, Unyangnoro.
Kabonya—Mbuya, Kitaga, Unyanga.
Kamrungu—Undiaki.
Kimera or Sua—Mlema, Ugundi, Ununga, Ora, Yabedo.

The big chief Sendagi, now deceased, belonged to the Sua clan.

Khoro.

A Nife tribe situated between the Lego and Kami. Head chief: Uluma, also Kakuri or Nyungo. The Kanyamoti (chief, Handa) are allied to Khoro. They formerly lived near River Nzoia, but fled during Nife fighting; settled near Odera Ulalo.

Subdivisions of the Khoro people:—

Makhoya. Chiefs: Orodi, Chiwani.
Umwungwi—Uluma.
Winyi—Meta.
Mache—Ñdeia.

Kuki.

Nilotic tribe, allied to the Lego and Songa tribes. Live near Gangu lake, in the vicinity of the delta of the River Nzoia. Chief: Masingo.

Aiendi.

They live on mainland opposite Lusinga country, called Kasagunga. Nilotic origin. Head chief: Abemba.

Subdivisions:—

Aiendi—Abemba.
Sali—Mahinya.
Diang—Ohoch.
Toma—Usambu.
Kamrori—Urua.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ramba.

101 131 619

Live on south side of Ugowe Bay, opposite Uyoma country Nilotic people. Head chief: Gori Kogalo.

Subdivisions:—

Kadweti. Chief: Awino.
Kabonyo—Osewi, Magolo.
Kajuang—Yariwo, Arani.
Kanyamwa or Kanyambo—Kogalo and Ogalo.
Yabunda—Chikungi, Uyamu.
Saki—Usodo, Uyumbi, Monguwiri.
Kachola or Kologi—Othina.
Kumungu—Mwai.
Kuchieng—Owino, Tigo.
Kasudo—Ukoli.

[578] The Saki people live near Usau hill, and there is a feud between them and the Kanyamwa owing to the latter having been driven from the lake shore, and thus losing their fishing rights. The Saki are very friendly with the Uyoma tribe and the Kanyamwa with the Sawakwa.

Nyakatch.

Live at south-east corner of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic origin. Very friendly people, live in great dread of the Lumbwa. Head chief: Ukuri.

Subdivisions:—

Kadianga. Chief: Ukuri.
Kabodo—Magero.
Jimo—Mwana.
Kajembo—Atak.
Kandaria—Omono.
Kuguta—Sewe.

Kalachonyo.

A large tribe of Nilotic origin on the south side of Ugowe Bay. They stretch from the west of the Nyakach people to the west side of Uma or Oma Mountain. The head chief is Nyakiti.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyajok. Chief—Nyakiti.
Uma—Ugwan.
Nyalno—Ngar.
Kanyiperi—Umolu.
Aduoti—Nyangu, Odondi.
Yakandaiya—Ugalu, Oyugi.
Utienu—Ngare.
Kodera—Opiawili.
Unyango—Ugalu.
Akelu—Achieng.
Ojuach—Ogado.
Ukwainu—Kimuto.
Kabondo—Laila.

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

10: Roscoe M-S (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Loo FL11

constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenyo. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogenyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadodi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyamoda		

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Loo FL11

lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the Jokeyo, the Jokakwa, and the Jokerumb, in Alego tribe. The skin was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

Tribe raided tribe across the skin dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of two hosts. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the skin and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the brave party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Sauri against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwor, Karwenyore, and Kanyamwa, Kanyamkoyo against Kwia, Gem, Myahar, the Kanz Basra, and even the Luanbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made here against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when here parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were invited. The rumours is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven onto the skin where the people snatch the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to regenerate cattle taken from an enemy and throw them on the roof of the dead man's hut.

There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The ruoth was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his house to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called ruoth, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (thandi, bulu) were renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called thane jotelo, was not necessarily a ruoth or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The man ganyo, 'father of the land', among also, or any one in some parts of Luoland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1934) 1949
FL11 Loo FL11

control the senior lineage of the clan ascribed to the sacred spear of the clan and guarded it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figure among the Loo, seems to have been the *pakalo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *pakalo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bila*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a rich, man of substance. The *pakalo* was also, at least sometimes, the *pakath* or rain *bath*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *pakalo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also consulted to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *pakalo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

4

In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Loo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Loo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho wat*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the expressions *wa* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Jonyo wa Jokayalo* are the Jokayalo major lineage of the Jonyo maximal lineage of the Jokingo clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyingo*, presumably from *nyiko*, co-wife, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the Jokingo clan of Anyo where two main lineages, the Jokingo and the Kelingo quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the Kelipiket of Imma, the Kelkaromyo of Karomyo, and

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

Government.

Chiefs as rulers. There is no king of the country, nor is there any single paramount chief; the Bantu chiefs claim equal, if not superior, rights to the land. Certain chiefs rule over extensive districts inhabited by the Nilotics, and their rights as leaders are considered to be hereditary; they are also looked to in cases requiring settlement or legislation.

Land tenure. Land which has not been cultivated in the past may be tilled by any family; but, when once it has been tilled, the community regard it as the property of the family whose ancestor first cultivated it. Should it be left fallow for a number of years, no other family may appropriate and till it without first obtaining the original owner's permission. Few people seek such permission, preferring to dig virgin-land which will afterwards belong to their children.

Local chiefs as the magistrates. The people live in communities. They build their houses in close proximity and in most cases surround them with a growing fence, leaving a gateway which can be closed during the night or in times of danger. Such a village group is ruled by a sub-chief who is under the authority of the district-chief. The chief of a village is magistrate and controls the general affairs of his people. This chief levies no taxes, but his people make him presents of goats and sheep, and of grain also at harvest time.

Courts and court fees. Any person wishing to bring a charge against another for any offence, real or imaginary, pays a small fee to the chief of the village before whom he lays his complaint or accusation. The chief or elder then summons the accused person and appoints a time when the case shall be heard. The chief sits with one or two village elders and gives his judgment. A person may appeal from a village chief to the principal chief in the district, and the elder who first tried the case will then go to the superior chief to be present when the case is reheard. The parties appealing have to pay fresh court-fees before the case is retried. The punishment in almost every case is a fine and the amount is determined by the gravity of the case. The losing party has to

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Loo FL11

have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly disregard the orders of their quondam superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The *Jaluo* village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,* police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba* or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's shamba, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim to property.

In shape the *Jaluo* village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or wattling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

* Swahili word adopted.

friendly games of *adiele* (Luo hockey) between the smaller segments, through the wrestling and club-fighting of medium segments to the ritual warfare and open conflict of the larger lineages. Etymologically *dhoot* means 'mouth of house' (*dhok* mouth; *ot*, house) and, as quotations will show, often refers to the issue of children from the doorway of their mother's hut. This might further imply a principle of matrilineal descent, but of this there is not the slightest trace among the Luo. All their lineages are essentially patrilineal, but the original ancestors from whom they spring, and whose names they bear, may be either men or women, depending on whether segmentation took place between brothers of an elementary family or co-wives of a compound family. The significance of this etymology, and of the Luo interpretation of it, seems to be that the unity of uterine brothers in their mother's house is to them symbolic of the solidarity of members of the same *dhoot*. But, as has been previously noted, uterine brothers are also regarded from the opposite point of view, as symbolic in their quarrels of the fission between lineage segments. Nor is this inconsistent, but is in line with the character of all Luo lineage segments, which in one context emphasize their unity against all outsiders and in another their internal divisions.

The *dhoot* of Karachuonyo is to its members the largest lineage which carries general social functions and which occupies one continuous block of territory. It is subdivided into smaller *dhoot* down to the level of those which are the primary settlement units. This is the class A system of segmentation which, as previously noted, may be from twofold to sixfold, and is usually fivefold in Karachuonyo, according to the particular agnatic line taken. The points of origin of these *dhoot* are only a small selection from the very large number of points of potential segmentation which appear in the whole genealogy of Karachuonyo (see large genealogical chart, Fig. 6, facing p. 52). For all uterine brothers, or co-wives with surviving male agnatic issue, from those of living families back to the earliest ancestors of the genealogy, represent points of fission in the class B segmentation, some of which have achieved class A status as *dhoot*.

Karachuonyo as a *dhoot* is thus a group of people claiming common agnatic descent from Rachuonyo and subdivided at several successive levels into a number of smaller *dhoot* all segmentally articulated. Karachuonyo as a continuous block of territory occupied and controlled by this group is also correspondingly subdivided, so that the arrangement of parts into a whole coincides in both cases. It is when they have the territorial aspect of a *dhoot* particularly in mind that the Luo refer to it as *gong'* (pl. *gongo*). The basic connotation is land, but the social group occupying the land is always implicit in the term *gong'*. It would never be used for unclaimed or unoccupied land, which is *thim* (wilderness). Settlement, in the sense defined above is thus a reasonable translation of *gong'*. In Karachuonyo all *gongo* are thought of as being essentially lineage settlements. When the Luo have a territorial unit in mind as being the most inclusive of its kind, as they do in the case of Karachuonyo itself and occasionally in some contexts the *dhoot* which are its major segments also, they refer to them as *pay* (country) rather than *gong'*. The average population of minimal *gongo* is approximately 300.

Dhoot, which are major segments of the same supercollinear lineage, refer to one another as *Hunthe* (pl. *Hunthe*). The etymology of this word is uncertain, and it

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1906) 1912 FL11 Loo FL11

village is a long way off the girl's relations obey at his village, but if they can manage to do so they return the same day. Next day the bridegroom's brothers and his other wives take the bride back to her father's village and there is a great feast and much drink; the bridegroom does not go.

The father of the girl next day presents his daughter with a goat and she returns to her husband. The girl's husband then continues to make payments to his father-in-law; the total amount it is necessary to pay varies from two to six cows; if he stops paying his wife will go off to her father's village and stay there for a month or so until the cows resumes payments. Before the big attack of cattle plague in 1890 and 1891 it is said that as many as forty cows were sometimes paid for a wife.

If a woman does not bear her husband a child quickly the husband stops his payments, but the husband has no claim for the return of any of the property as long as the woman stays with him. If a wife dies and has borne no children the property is returned, or one of her sisters is given the man to wife and the man only pays about twenty goats for the sister.

If a woman will not stay with her husband she is married to some one else, and the first husband is repaid from what the second husband pays. If a woman has a child and is divorced she can leave her husband but the child belongs to him; if the child be a boy, when it grows up and the mother grows old she will generally come back to live with her son. If after a marriage has been arranged a father is loth to part with his daughter the young man employs his friends to waylay the girl in the daytime. If the girl however refuses to stay at her suitor's village and runs away, the property paid over is returned without delay and the match is broken off. If a woman remains unmarried for a longer period than usual she often goes off to a chief or someone with plenty of cattle and states that she intends to stay there and work for him; in such a case she is usually taken to wife, but the man pays much less than is nominally customary. Chiefs have from ten to forty wives. They are generally speaking very moral in their domestic relations. They do not intermarry in the same clan, but a man will marry the daughter of a man named the same as himself.

Pottery.—All pottery is made by women and is similar to that of the Nandi Kavirondo, and consists of water pots, cooking pots, beer pots, etc.

Dyes; weaving.—These people do not use dyes, neither do they use, but they soften skins by rubbing in fat and hand-working till soft.

Arms, etc.—Their shields were formerly made of buffalo hide but are now made of cow hide; the shields are usually very large, covering round the body of the man carrying it. They also make shields of matumbi wood (called *Orindi*). They have a great fancy for spears with shafts of enormous length, ten feet or more; the heads are very small and insignificant. The clubs and clubs to a small extent; the former weapons are however I think copied from the Masai or Nandi. Also use bows and arrows; the arrows were formerly poisoned, but

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

Religion.—They call the Divinity by the name Chiong, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

776
783
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If a halcyon screams no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FU3

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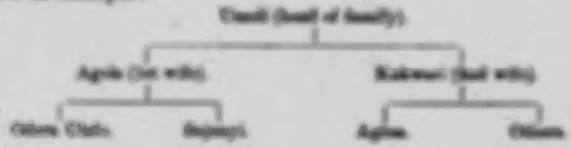
About 30 miles east of Kisumu in Nandi country, there is a forest-clad extinct volcano named Tinderet, and the Kamililo Nandi, who inhabit its southern and western flanks, tell a legend that high up on the mountain there is a cave, in which Ilet, the spirit of the lightning, who descended there in the form of a man, took up his abode. After his descent it rained incessantly for many days, and the Oggick or Wandorobbo hunters who lived in the forest were nearly all killed by the terrible downpour. Some of them, while searching for the cause of the rain, found Ilet in the cave and wounded him with their poisoned arrows. Thereupon he fled, and died in Arab[1] Kibosene's country; directly he was dead the rain ceased.

Laws of Succession Among the Ja-Luo.

L
622

In the Gomi tribes, and several others of Nilotic origin, the following rule holds with regard to the chieftainship. The chief is always the oldest son of the wife whom his father married first.

To give an example :—



Agola was married to Uandi before Kakwari, therefore the chiefs are henceforth chosen from the offspring of Agola, and upon the death of Odera Ulalo, his son being quite small, the second son of Agola, Sujenyi by name, was elected chief. This rule was observed, although Agina is an older man than either Odera or Sujenyi.

It is possible that this may point to the existence in past times of uterine filiation among this race.

Origin of Name of District of Kavirondo.

L
101

I have often made enquiries into the origin of the name of Kavirondo, and the Kisumu elders inform me that it is the name which the people of the south side of Kavirondo Gulf apply to the people of the north side; it is, however, a term only used when they meet at a dance and smoke bhang and sing about old times. They call the people of the north side Kavirondo, because they were vanquished by the latter and driven across to the south side of the bay; it was then, originally, more or less an epithet of reproach.

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193

[1] In the Nandi language Arab is front of a proper name means "son of," thus Arab Kibosene means "son of Kibosene."

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

Government.

693 **Chiefs as rulers.** There is no king of the country, nor is there any single paramount chief; the Bantu chiefs claim equal, if not superior, rights to the land. Certain chiefs rule over extensive districts inhabited by the Nilotics, and their rights as leaders are considered to be hereditary; they are also looked to in cases requiring settlement or legislation.

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14: Johnston. C-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Loo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not 766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A cow or kibe is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many cows. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

768 When a man dies, his property goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to [537] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives, but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased [522] father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

767 When a warrior has killed a man in warfare, he must (besides 767 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give trouble. 768 If a house is struck by lightning, and any one is killed inside, the headmen of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring 769 to make peace with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been wronged, and which is suing for peace, must [540] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to scrape up the cattle dung. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

105 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a healthy people.

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Earth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Spencer, Nats is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an ox[sic] killed under a large tree, the meat to remain at a little distance away.[11]

Johnston states that the Lua believe in a supreme god, Chiang, which is the name for the sun.[12] Stan, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and states that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.[13] Hartmann states that Lua worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the sun sets appears.[14]

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Lua beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost (*jwok*, pl. *jwogi*) and the Lua methods of dealing with it. *Jwok* is the Lua equivalent of the Shilluk *com*, the Azande *kwoo*, Lango *ajwok* and the Dinka *aciek*. A spirit which has been dangerous by the living, the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - may of these may become a *jwok*, and comes back to those who wronged it. The Lua regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortune, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful coercion of conduct within the family and kindred group.[15]

785 The diviner (*nyanga*) discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a persecuting spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appro-775 priate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another diviner is called in, the angels. To protect the sick man's homestead the angels burrow in at night at a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the jujuist is called in; he is in sacrifices and the ghost carried that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for a man who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jago* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the ghosts cast by diviners and assume the appearance you've seen.

(11) Spencer, *The Northern Tribes*, 1910, p. 251.
(12) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol II, p. 791.
(13) Stan, *Anthropos*, 1910, p. 949.
(14) Hartmann, *Z.f.E.*, 1907, p.49
(15) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1948 Letter, No 105, p.81.

were other sons by other wives growing up in the dale (dale = homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resources.

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to relieve the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (and materially in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by working her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Lue, as among the more civilized, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

241 826 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the ordinary African kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, feeding in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

241 782 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called "bilo" was performed before sowing took place. If the "Jaduong' bilo" was warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. "Bilo" was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to graze. The present "Jabilo" in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of "bilo" in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1933 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

241 177 When the time was ripe for sowing, the "Mikayi" or chief wife of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the "mikayi" had thus given permission. Any who were so bold as to begin before the "mikayi" were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the names of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the "mikayi" is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the sturdier crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called "kal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the weeders squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the strige weed, called by the Luo "kayongo." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

775 **133** In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some
171 degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *aien* for the Dinka, *aien* for the Anuak, *ichin* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *kern* for the Acholi, and *ayen* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
755 Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 185f. and
775 186) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father then offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *jaien* (plur. *jeiend*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cien* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and leaves; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

775 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives; and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse
626 smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat "You will see me," meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

783 Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the
785 cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compen-
775 sate (*oth*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by
[30] sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lama*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

785 If the *jaciro* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a
775 magician called *mugula* to protect the sick man's homestead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and wants the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86c]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or *Jaluo* as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Alur and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadlai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

114 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big *chief* and that when they again became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use *secession* as their *chief* weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

● [124]

192 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1892, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

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Facially the Kavirondo have rather aquat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the left shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just covering in front.

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[51] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful. 762 159

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the *thim*, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree. [626]

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the *jabilo* and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white cockerel and a black sheep. [783]

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the *jabilo*. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide 762 553

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

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[626]

An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

ented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war. 554 621

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *kilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *rueth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jabath* or *wos bath*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides. 554 741 [627]

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer. 613

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *ayieka*, co-wife, to one another. 614

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognized that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the Jofieje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and 613 614 582

10: Roscoe 36-9 (ca. 1950)1915
FL11 Loc FL11

pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

Making peace between sections of the tribe. Should there be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

Theft. Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

19:Wilson E-9 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Lue FL11

159 782 595

Okech decided to marry the successful but his wife adamantly refused to agree. Okech beat her severely and she ran home to her parents where she remained for several weeks. Her sister, Apolo, continued to live in the village and by now cohabited openly with the husband as if they were man and wife. The wife eventually returned and made an effort to accept the situation as it existed. The husband built Apolo her own house as the second wife (*opachiew*) in the customary place in the homestead, but had not paid bride-wealth. In fact, he had not completed (*rieu*) bride-wealth of the first wife, which added tension to the situation.

All appeared to go well until one night Okech returned from a beer party and abused his wife. What was more serious, he went to the hut of Apolo to sleep although it was the customary period of the month when he should have gone to the house of his first wife.

Early the next morning, the wife visited the mother of my informant and insisted that she accept as a gift her cooking pot and other household utensils. Her excuse was that she had bought new ones. She returned to her house where she packed the utensils and sent Apolo to carry them to my friend's mother. Meanwhile, Okech was sleeping.

She then hanged herself from a rafter in her hut. The noise of her strangulation awakened Okech, who cut the rope and made frantic efforts to revive her with water and to come the body in the customary Luo manner. His wailing brought his brothers and relatives from their homesteads nearby.

When Apolo returned she was confronted by the irate brothers of Okech who accused her of being a witch who had brought *chira* to the village and to the lineage. They beat both Okech and Apolo and drove them from the homestead. The hut in which the woman had hanged herself was then immediately destroyed.

Apolo was not allowed to enter the homestead of her father who, with his sons, drove her from the clan area by thrashing

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL.11 Lus FL.11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

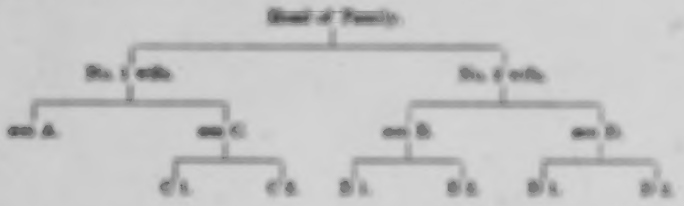
THE IGNA CUSTOM.

In Sir Harry Johnston's recent work on the Uganda Protectorate, reference has been made to the presence of a vendetta custom among the Kavirondo, in which, if a man is killed, the sons of the deceased endeavour to hunt down the murderer, and if they fail, the sons again carry on the feud. 6 B 6 21

This custom doubtless accounted for much petty bloodshed in times past. I am glad to say, however, that it is dying out now to a great extent, and one murder no longer leads to a succession of crimes.

The old blood feuds are, however, still recognised, and a man may not eat with a person with whom his branch of the family has a blood feud, or, it is believed, he will surely die within 24 hours. 6 B 6 28

To make it clear how this curse operates, I append an example in which a man kills his brother by a different mother. 7 94



The feud commences by A killing B. After this D will not, nor dare, eat with A or C. In the next generation B 1, B 2 and D 1, D 2 cannot eat with A or C, neither can they eat with C 1 and C 2, although they are only nephews of the murderer, but they belong to that branch of the family through their common mother.

Curiously enough, although this custom is hinged on the female line, it only applies to the males of the family; the females can eat with the descendants of the tainted line without evil effects.

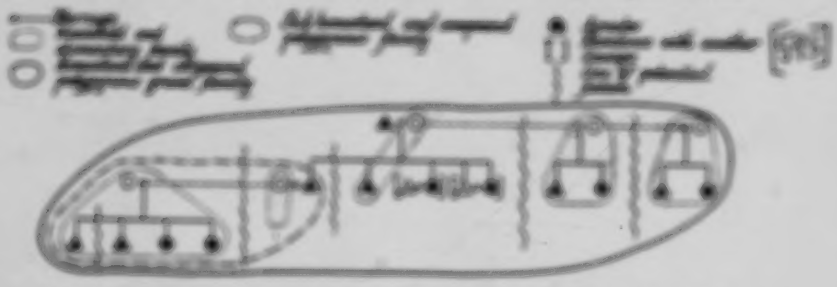
The sons are desperately afraid of unconsciously infringing the tabu; if a member of a murderer branch has cooked his food in a certain pot, that pot is drilled for any representative of the other branch; thus when a number of men are travelling together and the cooking pots are few, the situation becomes rather difficult at times and numerous disputes arise. Everything connected with this custom is called "*Jaive*" by the Bantu Kavirondo.

The custom has been adopted in a half-hearted manner by the Nilotic Ja-Loo, but it is not carried out in such a persistent manner, and rarely goes so far as the defilement of the cooking utensils above described.

Among the Bantu people of the Kakumega Tiriki, this *Jaive* custom is often indirectly taken advantage of in rather a cunning way as a means of obtaining revenge for their private grievances. Suppose a member of a certain clan has B 628

FF: Southall B-6 (1948-1947) 1952 FF3.11 Luo FF3.11

with one maximal lineage, which includes the lineage segments whose territories are marked on the map (Fig. 3) as the locations of Kamchoonyo, Kanjwal, Kakwath, Kanyamwa, Kamago, and Kadero.[1] These lineages all claim patrilineal descent by a recognized genealogy from Awando the wife of Jook, an ancestor from nine to twelve generations of seniors from elders still alive. This is an unusually large exogamous group and has no parallel even among the Luo, with their very wide reckoning of marriage ban. Its present population is about 10,000, including a small percentage of settlers (*jokel*) from other lineages. The ban on intermarriage is still observed throughout this group except for the *jokel*. Its major segments would



probably have separated from one another completely and ceased to claim effective common descent, if it had not been for the machinery of European administration to crystallize the relations of maximal lineages at about the stage they had reached when outside control was first imposed over half a century ago. Since that time the population of the group has probably doubled to much its present size. It is regarded by all the Luo as one of the most important and most authentically Luo groups among them. Since, as the map shows, the territories of its major segments are not contiguous, but form chain segment blocks, their day-to-day activities have become similarly divided; I deal chiefly with the block formed by the locations of Kamchoonyo and Kanjwal, which have a population of 30,000. The lineages of both these locations claim agnatic descent from Kachoonyo, and will be referred to together as Kamchoonyo. (They were, in fact, called East and West Kamchoonyo by the British administration until recently.) Kamchoonyo people can intermarry with the lineages of the surrounding locations—Nyakach, Gem, Kanyada, and Kagan (see map, Fig. 3)—as well as with the groups of *jokel* who have been permitted by them to settle within their territory.[2]

Cases of murder between Kamchoonyo and other lineages would—before the British administration—have constituted blood-feuds between them in which the

[1] Wuoyo is also included, but these people separated from the Luo and were incorporated into the Nyore Kisii.

[2] There are only three considerable groups of Kamchoonyo which are not agnatic descendants of Kachoonyo: Kamadhiang' (Fig. 3), Wagore (Ywai), and Kamwala (Lwo), see Fig. 1. Tradition ascribes for them an descended either from wanderers who became dependants of Kamchoonyo families or from orphan sisters-sons discovered and reared by them. In either case they married Kamchoonyo girls, so it almost inevitable in a system of lineated exogamous lineages. They therefore rank as sister's son's lineages to Kamchoonyo.

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and cooperative group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *mentre*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chuk* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations tease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ade* (in-law) and *sarge* (*mamaire*) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *chuk* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's eroding of *rod fuk* (the "bottler of the stick"), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *chuk*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kiere* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which mostly is stated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

19:Wilson E-9 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

183 goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

783 Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleans-
683 ing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chiru*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted [771] to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other [394] factors were involved to escape detection for an act which [628] in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kuer*, and not *chiru*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar dis-
683 tinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be
673 found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

for the land of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings chaos to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers, fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogwong*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

19:Wilson K-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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614 avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke
682 out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe,
628 Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare
611 the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solu-
768 tion was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not
have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan,
583 and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable
daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer
should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and
through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary
to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at
[589] the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the
clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the epo-
nym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple
is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my
knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an
eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by
her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some
674 idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the
775 notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in
the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes,
for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely
to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on
earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short
by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide.
The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal
with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The
more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the after-
world, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

768 The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases
of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a mur-
839 dered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit
[611] and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent
[609] woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokowiny*)

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Loo FL11

which is the infidelity of the spouse of the deceased, in the case of a child, by the adultery of its mother. Ritual cleansing of the members of the minor lineage is therefore necessary, as for incest.

I mentioned above a classical case of homicide which illustrates what the Jukun regard as a calculated risk of the consequences. It deserves fuller analysis.

Case No. 1.

This case involved a group of nine related men. Only one of them was convicted, and he eventually was acquitted on appeal through lack of corroborative evidence.

A quarrel began between members of two major clans of the same tribe over the appointment of an assistant chief. The clan from which the assistant chief was appointed—we shall call it Jokuth—is alleged to have taken advantage of the clan—which we shall call Jokuch—which was unsuccessful. The clans feuded in every way, over land, cattle grazing and so on, until the elders of Jokuch decided, as a warning in the ancestral way, that they should burn the hut of a leading elder of Jokuth. This was done. The assistant chief arrested a member of clan Jokuch, a person with whom he is alleged to have had a personal grievance, and this man was convicted of the burning and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His sons fought hard and long to have him released on grounds of ill health and, when finally successful, took him home only to have him die shortly after. On his death bed, he made his sons swear to avenge his death.

Diviners and medicine men were consulted, and many methods were tried unsuccessfully for several years to bring clan Jokuth to its knees and to bring about the death of the assistant chief who had by now retired.

All was not well with the affairs of Jokuch clan. Each new catastrophe was taken as evidence of the malevolence of the ghost of the deceased because his death remained unavenged.

19:Wilson K-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Homicide and Suicide among the Jaluo of Kenya

Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *jokakwaro* 159
sounded the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day 674
for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and 628
materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood 159
of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived 783
home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash
from burning the sacred *buondwar* vine. The minimal lineage, [824]
jokakwaro, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to 159
decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of 768
769

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Lee FL11

ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

19.Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
• 628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

[682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to
583 get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however, had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a panga and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
682

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Kwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Seme and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as *wasigu*, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the inne-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

many cattle, sheep, and goats and most of their country is suitable for a pastoral life. Fishing plays a big part in the economy of the lakeside tribes. Hunting is little practised to-day, but in the old days organized battues were a regular feature.

The homestead, the residence of an elementary family or joint family, is generally called *dala*, a Bantu word, but in the more purely Luo parts of the country the Nilotic word *pacho* (pl. *mier*) is used, especially by the older men. It is usually surrounded by a thick hedge of euphorbia, a narrow gap in which is the entrance to the kraal, round which are the huts and granaries. Nothing is said about the domestic life of such homesteads nor of kinship life in this article, for its purpose is to outline the nature of the larger structural groups.

2

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations. These locations, shown on the map, vary considerably in size of area and population. According to official returns most have populations of under 20,000 and the only two with populations of over 30,000 are Alego (53,604 with density of 244 to the square mile) and Samia (41,011 with density of 193). Density of population is greatest in some of the fertile northerly locations : North Ugenya (29,363 with density of 515), South Ugenya (7,497 with density of 341), and North Gem (29,014 with density of 387). It is lowest in some of the lakeside locations in South Kavirondo : Kasingiri (1,904 with density of 12), Kasigunga (2,041 with density of 21), and Gwasi (4,934 with density of 42).

These locations correspond approximately with the old tribal areas of the Luo. The main differences are that in South Kavirondo Karacuonyo location (28,207 with density of 167), Mumbo location (26,465 with density of 174), and Kabondo location (7,926 with density of 126) comprised a single tribe, as did North Gem and South Gem (19,442 with density of 237), North Ugenya and South Ugenya, and West Kano (28,617 with density of 265) and East Kano (25,730 with density of 158).

It is beyond question that the whole of Luoland was once occupied by Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic tribes and that the pressure which has continued, particularly against the Bantu, on the confines of Luoland to the north, east, and south, almost up to the present day is the end of a gradual process of expansion and assimilation. The Luo have been greatly influenced by Bantu culture during its development.

The expansion of the Luo towards the south has resulted in their division into two parts between which Kisumu location forms a narrow bridge, the Luo of Central Kavirondo, the *Joiye*, the 'Inside People', and the Luo of South Kavirondo, the *Jooko*, the 'Outside People'. The southwards migration seems to have been across the gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if the genealogies are to be trusted about seven generations ago. Across the gulf the Luo came up against Bantu (*Mwa*) and Nilo-Hamitic (*Langu*) tribes. The conquest and cultural

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949

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[following p.26]

SCALE : 1' 390.000

Luo tribes (Locations) and tribes (locations) assimilated, or partly assimilated, to the Luo.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the divergences are glossed over and the relations of segments treated in the same kinship idiom as if the implied regularities had been maintained.

I now proceed to the more detailed description of those features of the Luo family which aid in the interpretation of the lineage system. The lineage concepts of the

FIG. 3

Luo are then discussed, and six cardinal principles abstracted from them. Some statistics are given to show the divergence of lineage activities from the norms implied in the concepts and from the genealogical structure itself. More details are given of the nature of segmentary activity within the extended family, between the extended families of whose members the smaller lineage segments are composed, and between the larger lineages. Lastly, an interpretation is given of the transformation of class B into class A segments as small landholding lineages, from which

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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7

HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 THE Luo ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

● 631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 178 [797] The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [166] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

Government.

643 **Chiefs as rulers.** There is no king of the country, nor is there any single paramount chief; the Bantu chiefs claim equal, if not superior, rights to the land. Certain chiefs rule over extensive districts inhabited by the Nilotics, and their rights as leaders are considered to be hereditary; they are also looked to in cases requiring settlement or legislation.

423 **Land tenure.** Land which has not been cultivated in the past may be tilled by any family; but, when once it has been tilled, the community regard it as the property of the family whose ancestor first cultivated it. Should it be left fallow for a number of years, no other family may appropriate and till it without first obtaining the original owner's permission. Few people seek such permission, preferring to dig virgin-land which will afterwards belong to their children.

621 **Local chiefs as the magistrates.** The people live in communities. They build their houses in close proximity and in most cases surround them with a growing fence, leaving a gateway which can be closed during the night or in times of
622 danger. Such a village group is ruled by a sub-chief who is under the authority of the district-chief. The chief of a village is magistrate and controls the general affairs of his people. This chief levies no taxes, but his people make him presents of goats and sheep, and of grain also at harvest time.

692 **Courts and court fees.** Any person wishing to bring a charge against another for any offence, real or imaginary,
694 pays a small fee to the chief of the village before whom he lays
695 his complaint or accusation. The chief or elder then summons the accused person and appoints a time when the case shall be heard. The chief sits with one or two village elders and gives his judgment. A person may appeal from a village chief to the principal chief in the district, and the elder who first tried the case will then go to the superior chief to be present when the case is reheard. The parties appealing have
681 to pay fresh court-fees before the case is retried. The punishment in almost every case is a fine and the amount is determined by the gravity of the case. The losing party has to

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towards marriage, that anyone who touches this tassel has to pay a fine of three goats to the husband.

The women do not wear iron wire to the same extent as their husbands and brothers. These may frequently be seen with from six to ten pieces wound round their arms and legs, which shine from constant rubbing and polishing with oil and fat. Happily there are signs that this wire is going out of fashion, whereby they will be spared the sores and ulcers which are its continual accompaniment. Trade generally will thus be put upon a sound cash basis instead of resting as it has done upon a precarious footing of barter. The Jaluo, who are keen traders, have begun to realise the advantages of the rupee over the iron, being helped to this conclusion by the necessity of having to pay three rupees a year for every hut.

The Jaluo full dress is very striking. A huge hat of monkey or goat skin, or of feathers, often of ostrich, surmounts a well-oiled visage which is ornamented by lines of small white beads across the forehead, nose, upper lip and chin and fastened behind the ear. Round the neck are strings of beads, brass cartridge cases, fetishes, and a round or two of iron wire. Across the chest and sometimes down the back are rows of cowries sewn on to strips of leather; and over the right shoulder hangs a big black feather boa, or an ornament made of the long hair from the wildebeest's tail. The everyday goat skin is discarded. Round the waist they fasten strings of iron beads which they manufacture from iron wire; the iron has an extra polish, and from it depend bunches of feathers. The body is well oiled and sometimes covered with red clay or charcoal. Finally they fasten to the knee and ankle small bells made of iron wire in the shape of broad-bean pods and with one or two small iron beads inside.

Their weapons consist of a spear with a long haft and a short blade, a Masai sword on the right hip and occasionally a bow and arrows instead of the spear. Their shields are very large and heavy, made of buffalo hide and of a peculiar shape; vertically they are about three feet six inches in height; horizontally nearly six feet in length and curved back so that the left side, back and front of the warrior are covered; they are painted red, white and black, often in artistic designs. These designs probably at one time indicated to what family the owner belonged; to-day, however, this idea, if it ever existed, seems to have quite disappeared, each man painting on his shield the pattern which pleases him most. Further investigation on this subject should be made in order to make certain whether the patterns have any peculiar meaning.

Some wear the hair long, twisting it into long thin strings and dressing it with oil and red clay or charcoal. Others partially shave the head, always leaving at least one little tuft, which is cut off and worn by the chief mourner at the owner's funeral. Sometimes the body is striped or spotted with yellow clay in imitation of the zebra or leopard.

Politically the Jaluo are in a semi-feudal state; the tribe is divided up into larger or smaller chieftaincies or clans, which correspond to the old baronies, but there is no one overlord to make the resemblance complete. Nominally the chiefs

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have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shamba*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shamba*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambas* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or watling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a small opening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

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allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

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CHAPTER 6

The Reluctant Luo

I

THE Luo are the second largest tribe in Kenya, coming next to the Kikuyu, and at the moment the most influential politically. This is because most Kikuyu politicians went into detention camps at the time of Mau Mau. While Kikuyu cats were away, Luo mice played vigorously, and grabbed the best political cheese. Speaking generally, the Luo are hefty, black-skinned, somewhat ox-like people with prominent teeth, a reputation for making good labourers and a rather slow-witted approach to life.

Needless to say, there are plenty of exceptions. Mr. Tom Mboya is a Luo and, while he has been called many things, 'slow-witted' has never been among them. Their natural food is fish and they are not by nature a cattle people. Their sturdy women smoke pipes with long clay stems. The Luo are not Bantu but Nilotic and their affinities, lingual and tribal, lie more with people in Uganda, such as the Acholi, than with any other Kenya tribes. They are surrounded, however, by Bantu peoples, with whom they share the wide, fertile, steamy and mainly flat basin that surrounds Lake Victoria. Around this basin lie hills from which warrior tribes look down on them, formerly as an eagle looked upon its prey. Far to the south lie the plains of Masai.

People who have dealt with other tribes find the Luo difficult. Their obstinacy is legendary, they are inclined to be sullen and suspicious. The Kikuyu can be all these things, but they are nimble-minded, subtle and, for those they like, have charm. Luo people can be brave and loyal but charm is rarely among their attributes. They are faintly Teutonic, in an African fashion.

So it is not surprising that of all the major Kenya peoples, leaving aside the Masai, the Luo have put up the stiffest

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resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

II

And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

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towards enclosure—was proclaimed as the official policy and, in 1958, an area called Nyabondo picked out for an experiment. The edict went forth that everyone must define his holdings, mark them out and do, in fact, as the Kikuyu were doing with such success, not to mention the Nandi and Kipsigis and many others.

On the heels of the agricolas with propaganda, local politicians moved in to tell the people it was all a trick to steal their land. Whether or no everyone believed this, no one dared to quarrel openly with the politicians, and not a single land-holder obeyed the Government.

'On 30th December, I called a meeting and closed the whole thing down,' Mr. Peter MacEntee, the D.C., told me. 'All right, I said, if you don't like it you needn't have it; ruin your land if you want to, as much as you like; what do we care? It's your funeral. Go ahead, and good luck to you. The agricolas will leave you alone from now on, the instructors are pulling out to places where people want them; we understand now that this sort of thing is *far* too advanced for you. Keep up the bad work, and good-bye.'

Mr. MacEntee had evidently enjoyed this. In time the Luo, when in their mule-like frame of mind, subdue the greatest enthusiasts. But there was a sequel.

'Three weeks later, half a dozen men from Nyabondo turned up in my office. They had a little plan, with some *shamba* boundaries marked on it. "We have decided to consolidate," they said. "Here are the boundaries of the first *shambas* we've completed. We've marked out each man's fragments and exchanged them as you said. Now we want to lay them out on proper lines. Please send us an instructor and a European."

'This was the first deputation. Others followed. Now the whole of Nyabondo is completed—the first in central Nyanza. We know what to do now. Use the couldn't-care-less technique.'

Another example: on the Kano plains, where rice grows under irrigation, until this year the agricultural department has looked after the bunds. They had endless trouble—arguments, sullen silences, even sabotage. They got the output up to 30,000 bags and there it stuck. Then they withdrew,

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telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

III

We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

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question of bribery and corruption crops up everywhere and all concerned on the official side recognize it as their deepest enemy. But when I put Mr. Ayan's points to them they were a little sceptical. 'Of course there is bribery,' they said, 'but it is not as bad as that. And it is not the people who oppose land reforms, it is the politicians.' Mr. Ayan had just sent a telegram to the Governor asking for the removal of the 'reactionary D.C.' in Kisumu, so relations were naturally a bit strained.

VI

On the way to Maseno we had passed the ostensible *casus belli* between District Council and Government: the Kisiani hills, a barren, rocky bluff entirely denuded of vegetation and a scene of the most gruesome erosion, given over to goats browsing on boulders and any indomitable weed that had managed to germinate. This place had been leased by the District Council to the Government for the purpose of afforestation and about 800 acres of trees had been planted at a cost of £13,000.

Afforestation is unpopular. Goats were allowed to destroy the Kisiani seedlings and, when the forest department put up fences, people came and tore them down in the night. Others started to cultivate in defiance not only of the terms of the lease, but of regulations which forbid cultivation on steep hillsides. All this, in the official view, was part of a deliberate political campaign to stir up anti-Government feeling.

The Kisiani quarrel brought to a head bad feeling between the Central Nyanza District Council and the Government. All the Councillors are African save for the chairman, who is the D.C. Most of its senior technical staff are European and, in particular, it employs (as do all District Councils with large revenues) a fully qualified accountant to manage its finances.

Those elected Councillors most anxious for unrestricted freedom objected strongly to this accountant. Africans, they said, should have the spending of African money without European interference. Officials retorted that in proper,

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honest accounting lies the only defence against wholesale bribery and corruption—against the sort of thing Mr. Ayan had complained about so powerfully. 311 648 668

In the midst of this controversy the Council, with its elected majority, repudiated the lease of the Kisiani afforestation area and refused to take steps to stop sabotage of the plantations. The Government retorted by demanding repayment of the £13,000 spent upon them. This would have meant raising the Council's annual rate from eighteen to twenty-one shillings on each adult male. 177

This demand to increase the rate was, of course, turned down flat by the elected Councillors, who in their anger sacked the accountant, appointed a totally unqualified African at £1,000 a year to succeed him, and threatened to dismiss other European staff on grounds of race. They also voted large increases in their own salaries and allowances. [186]

Naturally I asked Mr. Ayan's views. The Kisiani trouble, in his account, boiled down to a number of misunderstandings. The individuals who owned cultivation rights in the hills had not, he said, ever fully understood the matter, it had not been properly explained. They thought the trees would be theirs, not common property. They had never given their permission on paper, with marks or signatures. The matter was explained to them by an unpopular chief who did not wait to hear all their objections. When they grazed their goats in the plantations they thought they were on their own property and were much aggrieved when they were fined. They had no land elsewhere. Land hunger was so acute as to be a more important matter even than marriage. 'If a man should lose his wife he can buy another; but once the land is gone you cannot buy any more.' 311 177 648

It looked like one more failure in public relations. But the officials denied this. 'We explained over and over again,' they said. '*Barazas*, news-sheets, radio . . . Everyone had a chance to put his case. No, behind it is the old story—politicians spreading rumours that it's all a trick to steal the land.' [668]

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241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
791 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
252 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great.
462 Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
[464 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax,
● 651]

593 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are these lads when they return to the Reserves, though some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 178 There is nothing in the social life of the Luo in the way of organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving [166] to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 178 ● 651 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax, we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Luo. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

888 water. The young son could not find employment and was wander-
178 ing about trying to scrape together the money for his poll tax. Upon
651 the father came the demand for hut tax. He had no money and could not pay. Next year another demand was made, this time for the current year and for that of the previous year. Again he could not pay. The third year he was dunned for three hut taxes, and as he was unable to pay his hut was confiscated to Government, the door was sealed up, and his aged wife driven to seek shelter among neighbours. Homeless, the old man made a frantic effort amongst his relations, who were already liable to pay their own dues, and by dint of much supplication managed to get enough to satisfy the tax for the first of the three years, whereupon his hut was unsealed. Is it any wonder that the younger generation regard the aged as a liability as never before? Demands for hut tax upon the penurious aged is one of the greatest solvents of filial affection in the Reserves to-day, for the burden falls largely on the young.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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As in the previous case, the woman's family believed that she was murdered and the man's family believed that she committed suicide. It is difficult to say which version is true. It is extremely unusual, however, for a woman to kill herself with a knife, and I have not recorded another case. There was one case among the men, Number 6, but this was a modern "intellectual," who lived in a Council house with a plastered ceiling, which was hardly suitable for hanging in the traditional way. 762 159

The next case is the one mentioned earlier involving a woman's fear of the consequences of her son's behavior.

Suicide Case No. 16.

The woman in this case was the wife of a squatter who was a servant to an important Chief. The Chief helped him to get married to this woman, a local girl who was in fact related in some way to the Chief. After his establishment as an affine of the Chief, the *jadak* became very wealthy and built his own village on a place allocated by the Chief. He married a second wife after the building of his village and, just before the case we are discussing, married a third wife. The first wife had many children, most of whom were daughters. At the time of her suicide, all but one had married and her house was very wealthy. The houses of the other two wives were therefore extremely jealous. 762 159 595

One day during the short rainy season, the owner of the village, the husband, wished to make a present of *sim-sim* to his Chief and benefactor in order that he might pay the tax which at that time was calculated on the number of wives and also to pay the traditional tribute to the Chief. The woman's son at about that time invited a large number of guests to his village and demanded that his mother give him *sim-sim* with which to entertain them. She refused because she knew her husband intended to use the entire crop. The son disobeyed [651]

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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

[178]

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally [661] charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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firebrands. So in a small brick room put up by Bishop Tucker in 1911, and now the secondary school's common-room, I met a bunch of schoolmasters, all fluent in English, well-informed and politically-minded.

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To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

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'We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

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'At the end of 1958 the opposition became very strong and the D.C. called a meeting to decide. The opposition staged another trick. They packed the meeting with supporters from other locations, even women who knew nothing about it at all. This was a noisy and a difficult *baraza*. Even with these methods, when it came to a vote the meeting was evenly divided. The casting vote was left to the D.C. He decided against it, and so the scheme was closed.

'We who had always been in favour were greatly harmed. We wanted the Government to bring water from the river, and surveying had already started for a piped scheme. Some of the elders went to the D.C. to ask him to change his mind, but he refused. In January, he agreed to send two people to Elgon Nyanza to see what was being done there. They saw it all, and when they returned we elected *liguru* after the pattern of the Elgon people. We called everyone together in groups, men, women and children, to plant hedges round the *shambas* that had been exchanged. I myself exchanged four pieces, and in some cases I paid money and cattle to get all my land in one piece. We managed to plant hedges round two or three *shambas* a day. Then we went to the D.C. and told him what we had done and asked him to send an officer to help us plan the use of our *shambas*. When he heard what we had done, he agreed.

'Now we have enclosed all the land of our clan and we want to have it registered. We asked the D.C., but there were still six men who refused, and the D.C. would not do it until everyone agreed. In the last few days two more have agreed, so now there are only four against it. When they agree we shall have titles to our land and then no one can upset the work we have done.'

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fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

*From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press. 1956.

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honest accounting lies the only defence against wholesale bribery and corruption—against the sort of thing Mr. Ayan had complained about so powerfully. 311 648 668

In the midst of this controversy the Council, with its elected majority, repudiated the lease of the Kisiani afforestation area and refused to take steps to stop sabotage of the plantations. The Government retorted by demanding repayment of the £13,000 spent upon them. This would have meant raising the Council's annual rate from eighteen to twenty-one shillings on each adult male. 177

This demand to increase the rate was, of course, turned down flat by the elected Councillors, who in their anger sacked the accountant, appointed a totally unqualified African at £1,000 a year to succeed him, and threatened to dismiss other European staff on grounds of race. They also voted large increases in their own salaries and allowances. [186]

Naturally I asked Mr. Ayan's views. The Kisiani trouble, in his account, boiled down to a number of misunderstandings. The individuals who owned cultivation rights in the hills had not, he said, ever fully understood the matter, it had not been properly explained. They thought the trees would be theirs, not common property. They had never given their permission on paper, with marks or signatures. The matter was explained to them by an unpopular chief who did not wait to hear all their objections. When they grazed their goats in the plantations they thought they were on their own property and were much aggrieved when they were fined. They had no land elsewhere. Land hunger was so acute as to be a more important matter even than marriage. 'If a man should lose his wife he can buy another; but once the land is gone you cannot buy any more.' 311 177 648

It looked like one more failure in public relations. But the officials denied this. 'We explained over and over again,' they said. '*Barazas*, news-sheets, radio . . . Everyone had a chance to put his case. No, behind it is the old story—politicians spreading rumours that it's all a trick to steal the land.' [668]

[pp. 110-151 not processed]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleansing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chira*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other factors were involved to escape detection for an act which in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kwer*, and not *chira*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar distinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jadak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminus in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit. As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *buru*,[1] for they were *wasigu*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kocia man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Karacuonyo territory.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *masiru*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chola* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ach* (in-laws) and *wasigu* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simba* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruch kode* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simba*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kistera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop,
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a
" medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists
of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high,
which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a
herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is
unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time
to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms.
In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on
136 the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and
elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo
it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at
night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary
business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where
mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in,
organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like
136 Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage
both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried
to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture
forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts.
This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and
occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through
guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of
the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life
in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he
told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to
his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on
guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was
happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons
mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal
results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of
136 the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds
are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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681 pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

728 **Making peace between sections of the tribe.** Should there
627 be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

●674 **Theft.** Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious
789 theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under
[685] such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his
554 strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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761 which is the infidelity of the spouse of the deceased; in the case of a child, by the adultery of its mother. Ritual cleansing of the members of the minor lineage is therefore necessary, as for *kwer*.

159 I mentioned above a classical case of homicide which illustrates what the Joluo regard as a calculated risk of the consequences. It deserves fuller analysis.

Case No. 1.

This case involved a group of nine related men. Only one of them was convicted, and he eventually was acquitted on appeal through lack of corroborative evidence.

A quarrel began between members of two major clans of the same tribe over the appointment of an assistant chief. The clan from which the assistant chief was appointed—we shall call it Jokoth—is alleged to have taken advantage of the clan—which we shall call Jokech—which was unsuccessful. The clans feuded in every way, over land, cattle grazing and so on, until the elders of Jokech decided, as a warning in the ancestral way, that they should burn the hut of a leading elder of Jokoth. This was done. The assistant chief arrested a member of clan Jokech, a person with whom he is alleged to have had a personal grievance, and this man was convicted of the burning and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His sons fought hard and long to have him released on grounds of ill health and, when finally successful, took him home only to have him die shortly after. On his death bed, he made his sons swear to avenge his death.

Diviners and medicine men were consulted, and many methods were tried unsuccessfully for several years to bring clan Jokoth to its knees and to bring about the death of the assistant chief who had by now retired.

All was not well with the affairs of Jokech clan. Each new catastrophe was taken as evidence of the malevolence of the ghost of the deceased because his death remained unavenged.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *jokakwaro* consulted the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *buombwe* vine. The minimal lineage, *jokakwaro*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of

584 the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the [273] beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment ● [675] to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar oseke," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties, 584 mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the 789 parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposd to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

789 Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger 593 position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this 241 stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of 841 women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her wishes will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is rare and although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper mates for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jawuu*, Bantu, or *jadak*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger. 587

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *pater*. His brother is only their *genitor*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*dhor nyolo* or *dhor oding*). Also, one does not use the verb *kendo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *atero* or *alago*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ci liend*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Law

Luo practise very extensive avoidance, as part of a general attitude of respect (*lur*), of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kaswa* (my in-laws). If a man meets either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *mangatek*, to have strong eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *oret*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation. 606 576 [681]

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *simbo* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagaw* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kanego*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat. 606 574

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Government.

643 **Chiefs as rulers.** There is no king of the country, nor is there any single paramount chief; the Bantu chiefs claim equal, if not superior, rights to the land. Certain chiefs rule over extensive districts inhabited by the Nilotics, and their rights as leaders are considered to be hereditary; they are also looked to in cases requiring settlement or legislation.

423 **Land tenure.** Land which has not been cultivated in the past may be tilled by any family; but, when once it has been tilled, the community regard it as the property of the family whose ancestor first cultivated it. Should it be left fallow for a number of years, no other family may appropriate and till it without first obtaining the original owner's permission. Few people seek such permission, preferring to dig virgin-land which will afterwards belong to their children.

621 **Local chiefs as the magistrates.** The people live in communities. They build their houses in close proximity and in most cases surround them with a growing fence, leaving a gateway which can be closed during the night or in times of danger. Such a village group is ruled by a sub-chief who 622 is under the authority of the district-chief. The chief of a village is magistrate and controls the general affairs of his people. This chief levies no taxes, but his people make him presents of goats and sheep, and of grain also at harvest time.

692 **Courts and court fees.** Any person wishing to bring a charge against another for any offence, real or imaginary, 694 pays a small fee to the chief of the village before whom he lays 695 his complaint or accusation. The chief or elder then summons the accused person and appoints a time when the case shall be heard. The chief sits with one or two village elders and gives his judgment. A person may appeal from a village chief to the principal chief in the district, and the elder who first tried the case will then go to the superior chief to be present when the case is reheard. The parties appealing have to pay fresh court-fees before the case is retried. The punish- ● 681 ment in almost every case is a fine and the amount is determined by the gravity of the case. The losing party has to

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681 pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

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economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karacuonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Kavirondo) and Nilo-Hamitic (Langu) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Sakwa and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE *(Piny)*

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide *(cut)* takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as *wasiga*, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the inme-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.2.
(2) *Ibid.*

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
614 has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the name of the clan or larger lineage an and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(aeko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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3

Each Luo tribe (*piny*), coterminus in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit. As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *buru*, [1] for they were *wasigu*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Karacuonyo tribe, compensation for homicide was not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the Jokakan and Kaluo in Alego, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional interests within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Karacuonyo man killed for some private reason a Kocia man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Karacuonyo territory.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief. 554

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen. 685 791 787

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage. 684 837 586 836

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members 787 695 682 783

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *masira*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chola* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility is the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *oche* (in-laws) and *wasigu* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simba* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on potsherds and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *roch kade* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simba*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *kisera* is held. This completes the statutory twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consciously present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleansing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chira*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other factors were involved to escape detection for an act which in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kwer*, and not *chira*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar distinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jadak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

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avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

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159 the murdered man, to mourn his death, to placate his spirit,
768 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
769 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pim*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most Joluo will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
● 682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
754 incident. This is not difficult in Luo society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

159 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
682 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

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ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

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159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

● [682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to
583 get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however, had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a *panga* and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
682

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and the Accused was sentenced to three years' hard labor. The sequel to the case is that the wife was repentant and returned to the village of her husband and was there to welcome him on his return from prison.

Polygamy is the desired goal in marriage in Luo society. The word for co-wife in the Luo language is *nyieko*, which also means jealousy of an intense kind. The jealousy between co-wives occasionally ends in quarrels which result in the murder of one or the other.

Case No. 5.

A quarrel developed between the senior and most junior wife, when the latter accused the former of trying to poison her child. Her child was an adopted child, being a child of the deceased second wife of their common husband. When a woman dies, it is customary for the husband to decide which of his wives should act as foster mother to her children. This quarrel began because the senior wife had demanded custody of the child but the husband decided to place the child in the care of the junior wife, who had no sons. The argument went on for years. The child became ill and the junior wife was convinced that he was poisoned by the senior wife. A quarrel developed and the junior wife, who had just returned from the fields with a *panga* in her hands, struck the senior wife, killing her instantly.

Again the court decided that this was a case of manslaughter, and the accused was sentenced to four years' hard labor.

The Joluo people have a custom at marriages of "pulling the girl" to the village of the groom. Traditionally, the brothers and friends of the girl should resist this "capture." In fact, however, the marriage has been arranged by them and both parties are fully aware that this is a mock battle. On occasion these fights become a spirited and serious "free for all." From time to time, therefore, one or more of the party is seriously

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583 injured and not infrequently death results. Indigenously the
●682 method of resolving this situation is to cancel the arrangements of the wedding which was to have taken place and to continue these arrangements to marry a girl to the dead man. If the dead man is from the party of the prospective groom, the girl is married to his name. If the death has occurred among the relatives or friends of the girl, then a bride is chosen from the relatives of her prospective husband to marry in the name of the dead man. Whenever possible, this custom is followed today. The authorities, however, naturally prosecute in cases of this kind. The result is usually manslaughter, and the sentence is a light one.

682 There are cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the death was caused intentionally or accidentally. For example: a food which is now becoming increasingly used is the
[262] cassava root, and raw cassava contains cyanogenic glucoside which, when acidified by gastric fluid, forms hydrogen cyanide and is therefore a virulent poison in this form. Adequate cooking destroys this poisonous principle, and most Luo women clearly understand this. Therefore, when the death occurred of a child who had consumed cassava which had been prepared and given by a co-wife, its mother's suspicion was immediately aroused. She accused the co-wife of giving the poison intentionally. It is very difficult, however, to prove, as in the case mentioned, that death was caused intentionally and not accidentally by the ignorance of the co-wife. The case was dismissed by the court.

586 The sequel, however, was that the husband did not accept the explanation of ignorance and divorced the woman because, as he stated, "there would never be peace in my village. It is obvious what this witch has done and although she has been a good wife to me, she has broken my village and killed my child. I therefore will divorce her and get my cattle back to marry some woman who is not a witch."

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE CASE CHARTS

● 682

Acc	Accused
Access	Accessory
Acq	Acquitted
Ad	Adult
Aff	Affine
Ag	Agnate
Appr	Approved
B	Brother
BinL	Brother-in-law
Bond	Bonded over
"C"	"Cousin"
Ch	Child
Chg wtd	Charge withdrawn
cl	Classifactory
Comm	Commuted
D	Daughter
D	Death (when used in Judgment column)
d	Day
Dec	Deceased
F	Father
f	Female
FinL	Father-in-law
G	Guilty
GmuD	Guilty murder, death
Hgd	Hanged
HL	Hard labor
Hosp	Hospital

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ABBREVIATIONS, continued

• 682

Imp	Imprisonment
Ins	Insane
Ki	Kinsman
m	Male
M	Mother
MinL	Mother-in-law
Mist	Mistress
mo	Month
msl	Manslaughter
mu	Murder
N	None
N.G.	Not guilty
No rec	No record
N.P.	Nolle Prosequi
Prob	Probation
Rel	Released
S	Son
U	Unknown
W	Wife
Wid	Widow
y	Year
yB	Younger brother
Yg	Young
Z	Sister

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LUO HOMICIDE

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No.	Accused Sex	Accused Age	Victim Sex	Victim Age	Kin Rel	Weapon	Judgment Sentence	Remarks
1.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	Dis	Quarrel over woman at dance and beer drink. Lack of evidence.
2.	m	U	f	U	W	Beating	Dis	Quarrel during preparation of beer.
3.	f	U	f	U	CoW	Panga	Cmsl 4yHL	Jealousy (NYIEKO) between wives over custody of orphaned child.
4.	m	U	f	U	CoWD	Poison	Dis	Inadequate cooking of raw cassava.
5.	2m	U	f	U	Z	Stick	6moHL	Bridewealth dispute. Dec tried to leave husband for lover. Her brothers killed her.
6.	m	U	m	U	Ag	Panga	3yHL	Quarrel when drinking.
7.	m	U	m	U	U	Spear	Cmsl	Dec took acc's wife.
8.	m	U	f	U	W	U	Dis	Medical report could not determine cause of death.
9.	2m	U	m	U	Ki	Stick	Dis	Both drunk. Quarrel at dance and beer drink over girl.
10.	m	U	m	U	Ki	Fight	Not proven	Dec had reported a theft committed by acc.
11.	m	Yg	m	U	Ki	Stick	3yHL	Drink and "Bhang".
12.	2m	U	m	U	Ag	Fight	Rel	Dec refused to return plow chains. Fight ensued.
13.	m	U	f	U	W	Club	3yHL	Discipline. Woman was lazy.
14.	m	U	m	U	U	Stick	Dis	Cattle were allowed to stray. Death after beating.
15.	m	U	f m	U U	W Ki	Spear	Cmsl	Quarrel over wife. Acc bound over for sh. 100.
16.	m	U	f	U	W	Kick	Dis	Acc claimed he kicked at dog and hit wife by accident.
17.	m	15	m	U	F	Knife	Prob 3y	Killed father after having been out all night.
18.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Dis	Argument over property. No evidence.
19.	m	Yg	m	U	U	Spear	Dis	Acc a juvenile, confused. Killed playmate.
20.	3m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Acq	All drunk. Dec stabbed a man. Others beat him.
21.	f	U	f	U	U	Axe	Ins	Quarrelled about food.
22.	9m	U	m	U	U	Spear	1Cd 1.9dis	Avenging father's death. Father wrongfully imprisoned by dec and died as result. Acc 1 released on appeal.
23.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	6yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
24.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	6yHL	Quarrel at beer party.
25.	m	U	m	U	U	Spear	Rel bond	Dec stealing cattle.
26.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	8yHL	Quarrel over debt at drinking party.
27.	m	U	m	U	Ki	Knife	1yHL	Beer. Quarrel among kinsmen.
28.	m	U	m	U	U	Knife	Cmo	With 4 friends tried to "pull" girl. Dec killed in trying to stop them.
29.	m	U	f	U	W	Stick	Chg wtd	Discipline.
30.	f	U	m	U	U	Stone	3mo prison	Quarrel about making a fire.
31.	m	U	m	U	B	Knife	Dis	Quarrel in bed between brothers. Drunk.
32.	m	U	m	U	U	Club	Chg wtd	Drunk.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
[683] man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being
punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingo." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man
777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that
787 is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
[844] for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950)' 1960
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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *povo bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere. 852

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the new-born babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*. 846 834

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her. 837 834 684 ● 848

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up. 587

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry. [591]

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and 945 852 [514] [273]

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ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out. 159 682

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type. 593 861 682

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter. 682 273

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows. 159 628 684

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

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159 ers of the clans involved in the case, the husband went to the
628 village of his wife and took ten head of cattle by force from
684 her father's herd. This action is approved in customary law after the elders have met and discussed the matter and are unable to resolve it by any other method.

Naturally the brothers of the girl were extremely angry that their sister should have behaved in this way that meant the loss of animals which they, no doubt, had planned to use for their own bride-wealth. The girl remained unrepentant and troublesome. She stated that she was determined to return to her former husband's village to collect her clothes, and that she would leave her brothers and her former husband in order to join her lover. Her brothers followed her to the village of her former husband and there began to quarrel. Her former husband joined the group, and the three decided to teach this woman a lesson. They beat her with sticks until she was dead.

[682] The court took a lenient view and decided that their intention was not to kill the woman but merely to discipline her, and each of the Accused was sentenced to six months hard labor for manslaughter.

The next case also arose out of bride-wealth.

Case No. 4.

159 In 1949, a woman left her husband to live with her lover.
684 Her husband tried through indigenous and legal channels to
583 get his bride-wealth returned. The woman's father, however, had used the animals and could not return them, although he was sympathetic. The husband, therefore, was left with only one course, to demand the return of his wife. To this end, he went to the village of her lover and threatened him. They began to quarrel and to fight. Each was armed, the lover with a spear and the Accused, the husband, with a *panga* and a knife. The lover was killed and the husband charged with murder.

159 In this case, the court decided that this was manslaughter,
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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 [178] The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 [661] This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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Suicide Case No. 4.

762 159 584 A young lad aged about 23 years was being married to a girl from a neighboring location. He had paid a portion of bride-wealth and many of the early ceremonies had been performed. His bride had returned to her home as is the custom until he had paid the remainder of the bride-wealth. He went to his father-in-law to discuss the last and final payment, with his *jagam* as witness, and the father-in-law agreed that a milch cow would complete the payment. He returned in high spirits to the home of his father and asked for the cow, stating that this was all the father-in-law demanded. His father told him that if he had not paid enough, then the father-in-law must be a bad man and the girl was not worth having. The father and the son quarreled, and during the quarrel the son threatened suicide if he did not get the animal. The next day the son took a cow by force, while his father was absent, and sent it off to his father-in-law by a group of herd boys. When the father returned, he was furious at what his son had done and went after the cow himself. He caught up with the boys and brought the cow back to the village.

159 762 The son had warned his father that, if he should take this course, he would hang himself, and, as he saw the father returning in the distance, he hanged himself from a tree which stood just outside his father's village. This tree, as is the custom, was completely uprooted and destroyed.

762 159 684 The next cases are two which were due to modern circumstances but which in a sense involve the loss of status and therefore brought shame to the individual.

Suicide Case No. 5.

A young man eloped with the wife of a Kikuyu in Nairobi, far from his homeland. Whereas in Luo customary law to run off with the wife of another man is not considered to be particularly serious, in Kikuyu customary law it is regarded as

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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

[888]
[626]

An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

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762 the village, she would be teased and chided pleasantly about
159 the fact that he was her future husband. Perhaps she would
584 have been married sooner, had her future husband, Opala, not been employed in a city many hundreds of miles away. He returned on his long leave to consummate the marriage at the time when the girl had just finished her secondary education and was about 18 years of age.

While at school, however, Akech had fallen in love with a teacher, Okare, in a neighboring technical school and he was determined to marry her. He went to her father and pleaded to be allowed to repay the bride-wealth animals her father had received years before and to complete the bride-wealth payments to marry the girl by Luo law and custom. Opio adamantly refused, and her brothers threatened Okare with physical violence if he should try to see the girl again. Okare was heartbroken and returned to his place of employment. Akech, however, had other ideas. When she was told that the date of her wedding had been fixed, she pleaded and tried every traditional way of breaking the marriage, but was unsuccessful. Her father and her prospective husband remained adamant.[3]

159 The night before the wedding, she ran away from home to
762 join Okare at his place of employment. Both knew that they
584 would be pursued by the girl's brothers and by her father, so they hired a car and fled to the boy's village in a distant Luo
● 684 tribe, some 200 miles away. Her father, brothers and future husband pursued the lovers to Okare's village where the father had him arrested for taking Akech from his custody. Okare's brothers, however, took the girl to Nairobi to hide her pending the result of the case. One of the brothers was then arrested for aiding and abetting the elopement.

Now the essence of this case goes to show that the father

[842] [3] By tradition, a girl may run off to the home of a "bride," thus to marry will produce sterility. She may climb a tree *bondo*, an *euphorbia*, which is believed to be closely associated with the ancestors. There are several other ways, all of which would cancel an ordinary wedding, but none is effective in the case of *nyar kiseke*.

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wanted the best of two worlds. Traditionally, elopement (*por*) is justified and is legal, albeit more difficult in cases of *nyar kiseke*, providing that the young man has stated his willingness to pay bride-wealth and has been refused. Moreover, it is the last remaining traditional way by which a young woman, forced to marry against her will, is able to break the arrangement. Today, however, because there are so many illegal unions, the African courts take a serious view of young men and women running off to the towns without the slightest intention of paying bride-wealth.

While Okare and his brother were retained in gaol, pending the case, the girl's father and her brothers went to Nairobi, where they found the girl after some difficulty and took her back to her village by force. There they married her to Opala and he, with two of her brothers, took her by force to the place of his employment which was in another territory nearly 700 miles away.

Opio, who was an influential man in his district, then proceeded with the case against Okare and his brother. The Court decided in favor of Opio, ordered compensation for the expenses he had incurred securing the return of his daughter. Okare and his brother were heavily fined for having taken the girl from the protection of her father. The compensation and the fine amounted to a very large sum of money and the boy appealed to the District Officer's Court. Pending the Appeal, he went to search for new employment at Nairobi. Akech, in the meantime, had arrived at the home of her husband in the far away city, only to find that he was already married and that his first wife, as a Christian, refused to have her in her home. Quarrels and arguments began in earnest, with the result that Opala had no alternative but to send the girl back to her father and to demand a divorce. Akech, however, did not go home but returned to Nairobi to Okare.

The father heard what had happened and, in the shame and humiliation, hanged himself in a classroom at the school

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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide. 762

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing." 762 159 684 783

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof. 762 159 578

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife. 762 159

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents. 762 159 584

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women. In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

241 136 857 life of the countryside. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 136 789 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied [837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

578 685 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task [462 857] of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

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681 pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

728 **Making peace between sections of the tribe.** Should there be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be
627 felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

674 **Theft.** Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious
789 theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under
●[685] such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his
554 strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

642 643 have absolute power, but in reality their influence is not great. Each chief subdivides his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief. These sub-chiefs or headmen are supposed to attend frequently at the chief's village in order to hear and carry out his orders. If a crisis arises, an informal council of the heads of the village is called and the *patres familiarum* can express their views, though the decision rests with the chief. There is no kind of voting. This council will also assemble if the rule of the chief becomes intolerable. They may threaten to secede, but their resistance is always passive; the usual result, however, is that one or more of the headmen set up as chiefs on their own account, and quietly [423] disregard the orders of their *quondam* superior. Land is held in common by the members of each clan, but jealously guarded from subjects of all other chiefs. A [14] man may, and frequently does, move from one clan to another, but in that case he has to obey the orders of the chief to whose clan he has attached himself. There are no formalities attendant on such a change.

578 Trespass by the members of one chieftaincy upon the land of another is indeed the usual cause of the frequent small quarrels which arise and very often lead to bloodshed.

423 621 [177] Internally, however, private ownership of land has to some extent made its appearance. The Jaluo village represents a family, the headman being the father or (if he be dead) the eldest brother. Besides his family he will, if he is a chief, or sub-chief, generally shelter one or two retainers whom he calls his *askari*,[1] police. When the time comes for laying out the *Shambe*[1] or agricultural land, each adult male and female marks out and tills his own piece, the married women being helped by their daughters and younger sons; although the family in practice share the produce, theoretically the crop from each plot belongs to the member who tilled it; thus, if one of the sons wishes to sell some grain he can only sell what he has grown himself, and, similarly, one *askari* reaping what another has sown would be considered a thief.

685 423 Cases occasionally arise which illustrate this: if A's cattle or goats wander into B's *shambe*, though A and B live in one village, B claims compensation. Private tenure is, however, only temporary. If a village uses a certain piece of land for a year and then leaves it, another village may cultivate there; but as the *shambes* are usually close to the villages, and villages are separated by some little distance, such cases of appropriation are practically unknown. The rights, however, to a certain piece of land are only squatter's rights and confer no claim *in perpetuo*.

361 [343] In shape the Jaluo village is circular and is fenced round with euphorbia bush, stone or mud walls, or wattling, as may be most convenient. In the centre is the cattle pen; around this are the store houses of basket or wicker work; they are raised some two feet from the ground and are about five feet high and three feet in diameter; there is a s[illegible]pening near the top sufficient to

[1] Swahili word adopted.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

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[626]

An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

Industries.

241 **Agricultural pursuits.** Agriculture is the principal pursuit of the people and they have now become dependant upon their crops for the grain which forms their chief food. Millet and maize are grown freely and are ground into flour for making porridge. Men and women work together in the fields and dig them for the seed. They use the common hoe with a long handle when digging, and roughly hoe the ground, when rains are expected. Sweet potatoes, beans and sesame are grown more for change of diet and as additions, such as we should call [302] savouries, to the porridge than as necessaries of life. When the crops are a few inches high, the chief and all his people shave their heads, and from that time till harvest no one is allowed to shave again. After harvest the headman shaves and all the people follow his example. Should any one neglect this custom and shave before the time, it is said to be injurious •[687] to the crops and to prevent the grain from ripening. The culprit is therefore fined for his heedless conduct. When the corn is in the ear, a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are scattered about the field to prevent blight and to preserve the crops from being injured by hail-storms.

231 234 [262] **Cow-keeping.** Cows form the principal wealth of the people. The numbers vary in a village according to the prosperity and success of the community. Milk is used as an article of food, especially when sour and clotted, but it is more of a luxury, in the present progressive stage of the tribe, than a necessity; and the meat of the animals is almost entirely reserved for ceremonial use. Cattle are herded by boys and [462] young men, who mix their herds and flocks of goats and sheep. Women and girls are strictly forbidden to herd or to milk cows; they may churn and wash the milk-vessels, but there their duties in connection with cows end. Each village has its cattle, and the young men and boys of the place are responsible for their safety during the day, while they graze on the hill-side.

234 When a cow calves, the calf is left with the dam during the first ten days and the cow is not milked. On the morning of the eleventh day the cow is milked and the milk is churned, the

19: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

lineage of the murdered man endeavoured to kill a member of the murderer's lineage in revenge. But the family of the murderer could forestall this process by offering a girl or twelve head of cattle in compensation. If wilful murder occurs between segments within the same maximal lineage, fighting may again occur and a member of the murderer's segment be killed in revenge. Here it is impossible for a girl of the group to be offered in compensation since she would be of the same maximal lineage and exogamous group as the murdered man, and could not be married by any kinsman of his. But the senior elder recognized by both segments calls a council representative of both, and the murderer, if judged guilty, is supposed to be exiled. When a man kills a close relative, belonging to his own minimal class A segment of the maximal lineage, it is *nuru*—a ritual offence.[1] The murderer must bury his relative and stay by the grave until *chola* (the first mourning period) is finished. He must cohabit with the dead man's wife, if she has borne no children to her husband, so that she may bear a child to be named after the dead and to guard his homestead.[2]

The level of groups between which marriage can take place thus corresponds to the level at which general relations cease to be those prescribed between kinsmen, and the groups with which marriage is possible tend to be those between which hostility in the usual attitude. The Luo recognize this correlation, and regard *ode* (in-laws) and *nuoje* (enemies) as almost interchangeable terms.

The normal form of marriage is negotiated by go-betweens on behalf of bride and bridegroom with their respective families. A transfer of cattle has to be made to the bride's family, the normal number being twelve. When the two families are agreed as to the suitability of the match, the groom arranges for a party of his friends to drag the bride from her home. The bride is expected to make a show of resistance and weeping, but it is significant that the dragging must not take place when the bride's parents are absent from the homestead. After the bride is thus brought to the *simbo* of the groom, the latter deflowers her in the presence of married men and women witnesses; the tokens of her virginity are placed on pombends and paraded in triumph to the bride's home the next day and a feast is held there. If the bride fails to prove her virginity in this way no feast is held, and one head of cattle less is paid to her family. The real commencement of a marriage is said to be the groom's sending of *ruok kode* (the 'heifer of the stick'), which goes to the bride's mother, and a bull to her father. Then comes the main payment, varying according to the wealth of the two parties and to the general level of Luo wealth in cattle at the time, but usually eight upwards. After this bride and groom live together for some time in the latter's *simbo*, and then the bride gets permission to return to her own home. The groom goes there with a heifer and a bull, and the feast of *Ariewo* is held. This completes the customary twelve cattle of the bridewealth. Bride and groom then return

[1] Some statistics of actual cases would be required to discover how far the level of segment within which murder is treated in this way coincides with that within which widows of kinsmen may be inherited and assistance given in marriage payments. My stay was too short for the collection of such statistics, but my impression was that such a coincidence is very vague, and it is certainly not consistently present in the minds of the Luo.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, pp. 5–10. Despite its importance among the Nuer, the obligation of ghost marriage is far from universal among Nilotic peoples. Among the Luo-speaking group it is not practised by the Kenya Luo nor by the Alur nor, probably, the Acoli.

dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero nyako*—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of entertainment provided seems to have varied according to the family circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present; porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish called *kabako* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known as the *dho golo onyimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them he sent a new *onyimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She then returned the *onyimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and also took off the small *chieno* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear the big *chieno* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the beginning of the century.*

* Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional nakedness adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtain details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel apparently has maleficent properties. For if any man annoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression *that they are cowards is* ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

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the time of their grandfathers are constantly brought for hearing, and the complications which ensue would bewilder the most legal mind.

153 The adaptability which they show in learning the lower stages of all kinds of work is a hopeful sign for the future. To the writer's knowledge they are now 463 employed as soldiers, sailors, police, masons, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, gardeners, and boys. In none of these occupations can they be said to excel at present, though at the head-quarters of the Kavirondo Province, Kisumu, the native sergeant instructor is a Jaluo and does his work very efficiently; but, on the other hand, it is only during the last four or five years' time that Kavirondo and the Jaluo have been taken seriously, and for this short time they show a great progress.

153 Combining as they do an undoubted industry and keen trading character with a surprising quickness to learn the lessons of civilisation, *e.g.*, their ready change from trade goods to cash in commercial matters or their almost immediate recognition of the advantages which may be gained by taking their disputes to the Station for settlement, the Jaluo give us every reason to hope that in them we have a valuable subject race, the study and consideration of which will in a very few years bring to the Protectorate Government a great and enduring profit.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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Government.

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621 **Local chiefs as the magistrates.** The people live in communities. They build their houses in close proximity and in most cases surround them with a growing fence, leaving a gateway which can be closed during the night or in times of
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21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

firebrands. So in a small brick room put up by Bishop Tucker in 1911, and now the secondary school's common-room, I met a bunch of schoolmasters, all fluent in English, well-informed and politically-minded.

I put to them the question that most puzzled me; land reforms are unquestionably progressive and of benefit to Africans; by raising living standards they will advance the prospect of self-government; why, then, do so many educated Africans appear to oppose them?

The answer I got was unexpected. Mr. Samwell Ayan, a history teacher, a Makerere graduate, head of the Kenya Teachers' Union and an elected member of the District Council that was embroiled in trouble, spoke impressively—and with moderation and logic.

'People are not getting justice,' he said. 'Men are losing land they are entitled to because of bribery and corruption in the African Courts. Everyone is being bribed—land elders, chiefs, witnesses. Yes, from the African Courts a man can take his case before the D.C., but what can the D.C. do? He sees only the evidence in front of him; it is all rigged; the man loses his land. I know of many cases like that. The Courts are rotten—a washout.

'I know of a case where the president of the Court altered all the evidence after it had been given and sent it up to the superior Court. When the plaintiff heard the false evidence read out, he was hopelessly confused. Clerks take bribes to keep appeal cases beyond the date when the right to appeal lapses. This is being done even in Kisumu. All the land elders can be bribed. The hunger for land is so great.

'What should be done? First, hear land cases before everyone in the location who has, or is entitled to, land—a real people's court. Then, make tape-recordings of evidence in the lower courts; if the evidence is changed, everyone will know. And let the district officer take all land cases so that he hears everything.

'It is because of this corruption and unfairness that people oppose land consolidation. All the same, it has got to come. It is progressive. But do not let it be forced.'

Mr. Ayan spoke with sincerity and even passion. This

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4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*.

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crumbled up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign.

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*.

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, and some chiefs are said to be able to foretell whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri.

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name.

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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
683 man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkings." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
●695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man
777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by
787 *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad *prophesied* the *coming* of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
844 for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *uracuor*,
885 that for a married man *jaiit*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *seasombe*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** The people are not fond of war and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

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Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a binding of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still warmed by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kinch kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yuath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(oriso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Loc FL11

764 Since the Administration of the country by the "White Man" these wars are a thing of the past. However, the old custom remains, in so far, that even at present on the morning after a person's death his relations and tribesmen have a sham-fight, at the same places where formerly they used to fight their real wars.

764 The wailing at a person's death spreads the news in no time, and at day-break all the men of that tribe attire themselves in their war-dress, after having smeared themselves with clay and mud, and go out with their shields and spears. They gather at the kraal of the deceased, and having brought some cattle they go out to the uninhabited boundary of their district for their sham-fight.

There the performance starts with the killing of a chicken as a sacrifice to the gods, that they might favour and bless their war, just as they did in the days of old. Whilst the old folks roast and eat the chicken the warriors dash forward to their imaginary enemy here and there stabbing a tuft of grass or throwing their spears at a bush, and rushing back again as if the enemy was on their heels.

When after an hour or two of fighting the enemy is defeated, they go back to the village of deceased. From the moment he gave up his ghost (and sometimes before that) the people of the village have been bewailing him, running in and out of the hut, shouting and yelling all the time. They have also taken his cattle one by one to the doorway of his hut, that they too might bewail their deceased master.

And now, after the warriors have returned, the corpse is put in front of the hut. The warriors and the people of the surrounding country (sometimes thousands of them, if deceased was a chief, a witchdoctor, a rainmaker, or other important personage) go up to the corpse, and bewail it, running in and out and round the kraal, all of them yelling like madmen.

The warriors also take their "spoils" up to the corpse, to show the spirit of deceased that his death has been revenged.

Whilst this is going on three men are digging the grave. If he was a rich man, i. e. if he had many wives, the grave is dug next to the hut in which he died, after a small temporary hut has been built over the spot. If he had only few wives then the grave is dug inside the hut in which he died. The corpse is lowered in the grave by 4 men, and the children of the village with their hands and feet scrape the earth into the grave, always with their backs towards the same. After the actual burial the wailing goes on for another half hour or so, whereupon all the outsiders return home.

In the evening the people of he kraal go to the grave with a chicken, which, held by the legs, is smeared with its head on the grave till it is dead. Then it is roasted and eaten. They also put a broken cooking pot on the grave, which they crumple to pieces there. Then they kill a sheep, which is eaten by the men that night. Its skin is cut into narrow strips. These are tied round the right wrist of all the male inhabitants of the kraal, and round the left wrist of all the females. This finishes the ceremonies for the day.

765 Next morning arrangements are made in the open space outside the village for a dance. The older women beat a couple of drums, the young women and girls from he neighbourhood dance, the men and boys in their war-costume run about

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Lee FL11

were in black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new *ntale* is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *mwale* for ten days and many cows are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

Birth customs.—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No men is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat. having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Achoga (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalled by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

Marriage customs.—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of cow's porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

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4: Hobley C-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked. (Plate V). Married men who have a child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be dangerously hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is fattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as Johni, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Mavapelle Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

4: Hobley G-S (ca. 1906) 1962 FL11 Lan FL11

Games.—They play a kind of *bao* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

Food, etc.—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyena. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them brave in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica pilleriana*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

Medicine, etc.—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.* Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called Odede.

Peace ceremonies.—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and pretend to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

Killing animals for food.—They kill cows by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

Succession customs, etc.—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the widow, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

* After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca dioica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Spermacoce pedicellata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and one large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

14: Johnston C-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

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The *Ja-luo pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tribe* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

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The *Ja-luo*, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Bilik and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as "kikoti"; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

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* In North Kavirondo.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not 766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to [58] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives, [22] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a *chief* dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

●727 When a warrior *has killed* a man in *warfare*, he must (besides 782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give 788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring 728 to make peace with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must [23] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a healthy people.

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; remedies for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

[illegible]

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brethren, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this here a wife is often given for payment.

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of bee with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyena. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the
[272 milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its
826 flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest
757 complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhoea. They also have medicine to avert
[164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.* Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle home; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

271 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother
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10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

Making peace between sections of the tribe. Should there be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

Theft. Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

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[28] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

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422 case of the main store being depleted. Grown up unmarried sons
543 and also daughters could have each his or her own "mundo." In case of necessity their grain went into the family store, but from it they were allowed to barter grain for the personal ornaments which were common in the tribe. Grain which was still in store when the
[453] new crop came in was at the disposal of the woman, who frequently used it in barter for domestic animals. This custom is called "rundo," and the beast procured, if a cow or heifer is called "dhor tekre." It was the woman's own property, subject to the limitations of absolute ownership which pertain to all notions of property among primitive peoples. It could not be bequeathed away from her by her husband. In case of famine she could take of its offspring and barter it for grain. Once having acquired the beast she did not readily part with it, but kept it for her children.

231 As at the present day so also in days gone by, there was no tribal organization of food supplies as a provision against famine. During the last two or three years when crops have been short through damage by locusts there has been one word which was heard very frequently. The word is "kinoma." It means to journey away from the home locality in search of food for the family. In days gone by domestic animals were taken to those who had food to dispose of, and bartered for grain. A man without stock would marry off his girl child, and with the cattle get food. This was the only way in which famine conditions were met. Needless to say when famine was widespread, very much suffering was entailed.

242 Rotation of crops is practised to a limited extent. The order of rotation is decided largely, by the period of the year in which the first crop is put down. If virgin or fallow land is prepared for the autumn sowing, then the first crop is one which ripens quickly, such as simsim or beans. When this is harvested, the land will be put under a slower growing crop, like millet or maize. Before being allowed to revert to fallow land, it may be put under sweet potatoes. If the land is first prepared for the spring sowing then the order is reversed. But it must not be taken that what has been written above is the invariable rule. I have known a field to be put down first in sweet potatoes and then followed by a second crop of potatoes before being planted with maize. Also where the land is very rich, as in certain valleys, year after year maize or millet may be put down until the land shows signs of exhaustion. It then reverts to fallow. There is no strict rule governing the length of time it rests. Some allow a rest of three, some of five, years. It depends upon the amount of land available and the pressure of population upon it.

The names used by the Luo for the different phases are as follow:— Virgin soil, "Okang." Land under rotation, "Tiang." Fallow

21:Huxley Q.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

resistance to the forward march of Progress in the agricultural field. No spontaneous wish for any branch of Progress except the political seems to have gripped the collective Luo mind. Here, on these hot and apathetic lakeland flats, all the impetus has come from Europeans.

It might be argued that the Government has no call to make people change their ways against their will. This indeed is an argument much used by Luo politicians. It is an old story: should nanny sit by and watch Master Robert break up his toys—in this case, ruin the soil, create acute erosion, turn the whole of Nyanza province, which contains one-third of Kenya's population, into a great rural slum?

Beyond question, that was going on. In Nyanza province there are over two million cattle, about one to every two acres. It would be a job to support this rate of stocking on the finest pastures under skilled management; here it is utterly impossible. The cattle have become so small and shrivelled that they are really not much larger than Great Danes, but their sharp hoofs can still make and deepen gullies as they track a way to springs. During the last three years, the output of crops in the province has halved, because yields have dropped so sharply. Yet there are more and more mouths to feed.

All the evils of land abuse were here displayed in concentrated form. No manure, no rotations, no resting land under grass; maize or cotton again and again, planted too late and in the wrong manner; no trees, communal grazing destroyed by useless skinny little beasts. It was not for want of trying by the technical staff. For years they had been urging, persuading, bullying, demonstrating, and they had scarcely dented Luo indifference and complacency. Famine was beginning to threaten these overcrowded areas—for the one thing the people continued to produce more and more of was their own kind.

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And so the Government decided that the only salvation for the Luo lay in dividing their communally owned land into individual holdings. Land consolidation—the first stage

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

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village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

Suicide Case No. 23.

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An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to teach and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

[pp. 214-272 not processed]

S: Nobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL.11 Luo FL.11
Nandi FL.13

from an examination of the entrails, delivers an augury on the success or otherwise of the expedition. Among his utterances he may remark that some will be wounded with arrows, and, upon hearing this, each corner proceeds to the nearest senna tree and plucks a green thorn, and if he is possessor of a shield, he sticks the thorn in the wooden midrib of his shield and breaks it off, leaving the point of the thorn in the shield, and carries it into action with him; if he has no shield, he breaks off the thorn in the hair on his forehead; this is believed to be a most potent charm against arrow wounds.

N 787 424

Among the Nandi too, there is a curious custom which is performed by a married woman, when she discovers she is first pregnant.

N 813

She collects from the unmarried girls, who are her near neighbours, pieces of their dress, strings them together and sews them on to the lower edge of her own robe, which is a semi-tanned ox-hide. The unmarried girls in Nandi wear a small skin apron from which depends a number of leather strips or tassels; from one, the woman will borrow a single tassel, from another, a tassel, and perhaps from another girl, who has more than one dress, she will borrow the apron complete. She wears these until after the child is born as a charm to ensure her pregnancy taking its normal course, and then returns the borrowed articles, at the same time inviting all the lenders to a feast.

A sprig of a certain herb is often worn by the Nandi in a hole pierced in the upper lobe of the ear as a charm to avert evil.

N 751 304

The Ja-Luo, in fact all the Kavirondo people, wear numerous small charms suspended by string round the neck. I had often wondered what all these odds and ends represented, so I induced one of the principal chiefs, named Ugada, in a confidential moment to enumerate them and tell me their origin. They were:—

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1. Iron arrow points, which were given him the day he was named.
2. A small strip of thin iron sheet with three holes punched in it (fig. 1). This signifies the name of his grandmother Thako, who bequeathed it to her daughter, with instructions, should she have a son, to call him Thako. (Thako is Ugada's second name.) This may point to some old survival of a time when men traced their ancestry through the female line. This, however, would hardly seem to be borne out by an examination of Ugada's genealogical tree which only takes account of the male line of descent.

Fig. 1.

3. A transparent crystal of rock crystal or quartz, said to have been picked up in the lake, as the rock around Kisumu is blackish basalt. If the story is true, it was probably dropped by some ancient resident in, or some visitor to, the locality. It is secured in a neat little leather cup shrunk on to the base of the crystal (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2.

S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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4. An irregular piece of very hard yellowish stone which was worn by his father Otiendi; it has a hole bored through it, and an iron ring inserted (Fig. 3).

5. About half-a-dozen of the Nyo-Lao ancient beads, the yellow variety.

6. A piece of goat-horn, worn as medicine to prevent chest complaints.

7. The dried beak of a chicken, which is also worn as medicine for sickness; a medicine man told him to wear it.

FIG. 3.

8. The upper portion of a large marine shell of the type shown in Fig. 4. The lower portion is cut away, and nothing but the helix at the top of the shell remains (Fig. 5). This ornament is very common among the Wanyamwezi, and probably worked its way from the south. It belonged to Ugulu's father Otiendi, and is said to have come originally from Ogulu, chief of Kanyamwezi on the south side of the lake.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

9. Around the left wrist was a sinew cord through the strands of which were inserted four small pieces of stick (Fig. 6). The sticks are called *enemi* and are worn to prevent the wearer taking harm if one of his children touches him; why, was not stated.

FIG. 6.

10. A heavy brass bracelet worn on the right wrist; this was said to be very old, and to come from Aiyimbo, in the direction of Uganda. It belonged first to his brother Otiero.

11. A tiny square bag of skin, contents unknown, said to contain medicine for rheumatism, from which the old man suffers.

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771

TOTEMS.

Some efforts have been made to elucidate some facts with regard to the presence of a belief in totemism among the people, whose manners and customs are now under investigation. Researches upon this point however are attended with great difficulty, as it is not considered a suitable subject of conversation, and one and all are very reticent upon the point. The natives of the Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi groups all have a belief in the totems or *mosiro*, but, apparently, no such thing as totem worship exists, nor do the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo believe in their descent from the *mosiro* or totem, but a Nandi informed me that many of his tribe did believe in their original descent from a totem.

20:Omlnde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of bee with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyena. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica pilleriaeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhoea. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle beans; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Bendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomea palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

19: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1908)1915
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shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again.

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer.

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters

754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is
755 ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to
757 malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick
man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the *Jaluo* use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found,
[752] on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

761 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and pots them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Duncan, Nyasi is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.(1)

Johnston states that the Luo believe in a supreme god, Chieng, which is the name for the sun.(2) Stam, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Luo worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

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It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Luo beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost (*jacien*, pl. *jociendi*) and the Luo methods of dealing with it. *Jacien* is the Luo equivalent of the Shilluk cien, the Acholi lacen, Lango chyen and the Anuak arieni. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any of these may become a *jacien*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The Luo regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5)

[753 624]

755 The diviner (*ajuogo*) discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appropriate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *sugolo*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *sugolo* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jadilo* is called in; on on is sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

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775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been murdered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jogat* who has himself slain a man in battle.

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775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Duncan, *The Northern Bonta*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Stam, *Anthropos*, 1910, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.63.
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.133, p.86.

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Lao. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a sorcerer who lives among the people for this purpose.[1] According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.[2] Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Lao rain-maker is called the *mon droth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabile*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Lao *jabith* and are often consulted. 758

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.[3] In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a "deeper magic" (*jamingo*) which, among the Gomi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.[4] 753 756 [759]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.66. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

226 trying to work their way into these channels get caught in the traps. On leaving the end of Kaok Bay we made for the mouth of the Mirtu river. On the way we were much interested in the performances of
136 a kingfisher (*Cergle rudis*) which flew for some time parallel to the boat and a considerable height above the water. At intervals it would spot a fish, poise itself for a second or two, then drop like a stone perpendicularly into the Lake beak first with a splash, to rise again almost immediately and continue its flight. The Mirtu is known
133 higher up as the Kipsonsi and Sondo, but is called the Mirtu when it passes through the gorge in the escarpment and comes out into the Lake plain. From there it runs through the level country at first between high solid banks, but as it nears the Lake these disappear and are succeeded by dense papyrus swamps. The channel is exceedingly tortuous, in some cases nearly doubling back on itself, and the total distance from the gorge to the Lake is about seven miles. We took the boat about five or six miles up till we grounded on a sandy spot
136 after which we returned down stream. Several crocodiles (Dholuo, Nuong) were sighted on the way up and one varanus (Kalaquena) which is said to eat fish. When we started to float down with the engine running very quietly, we saw more crocodiles lying out on the mud banks, especially on the higher reaches of the river.

These reptiles must destroy vast quantities of fish and as very few of them are shot they are presumably increasing. It took about an hour to get back to the mouth of the river and two hours from there to Kisumu. I saw no otters (Dholuo, Mandehelo) on this trip. Some years ago I saw two swimming in the Mirtu river.

The following are the names of the various fish found in the Lake, with a brief description of each of those I have seen. The list has no claim to be exhaustive.

(1) Suma. A big fish with a nose and mouth like a trunk. Inhabits the Lake. It is not very popular as food. It is
[753] rarely taken in nets or on hooks. A few are taken in traps. Scales very small. Has firm flesh. The natives think that they get itch from eating it. —*Mormyrus sp.*

(2) Nogge. A carp-like fish. Firm flesh which lasts well. This is the principal food fish of the Kavirondo Gulf and is sent to Nairobi in considerable quantities. It is extremely like the Mbiru. —*Tilapia sp.*

(3) Mbiru. A good eating fish and very difficult to distinguish from the Ngage. The only difference appears to be that it is a bit darker and the tops of the spine are reddish. It does not keep fresh so long. A small variety of this fish, possibly its fry, is called Chiuk. —*Tilapia variabilis.*

9: Shaw C-5 (ca. 1930) 1932 FL11 Lee FL11

585 (59) bride. It is a curious fact that only young men (*yaopanyo*-bachelors) may eat this part of the animal. The elders told me that in Gem, Alego, Seme, Ugenya, Asembo, Kadimo and Ugunja the breast is set aside to be eaten in the early morning by the friends of the bridegroom. But in Kano, Kisumu, Nyakach, and Kabondo it is used as I have described.

One fore-leg and one hind-leg were sent to the parents of the bride, and two small pieces of the liver were also allotted to them. The rest of the liver was eaten by the elder men living in the dala, and the lungs, heart, and stomach were divided and disposed of in the same way as the liver. The thick part of the stomach was also the perquisite of the elder men, who also ate the contents of the small intestine mixed with blood and used as a relish. This connection was called *kichori* and was highly esteemed. Half of it was sent to the [59] bride's father. Here again there was a difference between the customs of Alego, Gem, Seme, Ugenya, Sakwa, Kadimo, and Ugunja on the one hand, and those of Kisumu, Kano, Nyakach, and Kabondo on the other. For in the former districts *kichori* was eaten by men and women, whereas in the latter districts only the men were allowed to eat it. This difference may well provide an interesting clue to the past history of these two divisions.

The lumpy was divided into two parts, one being sent to the bride's parents, and the other half being eaten by the parents of the bridegroom. The ribs and loins were the portion of the women guests, who were also allotted the kidney and the pancreas which men are forbidden to eat, for fear of contracting the disease known as *kudowodo*. Women with child may not eat these portions in case the child is a boy.

585 591 After the *kiriga* was over the girl was regarded as having finally passed into the fully married state. But even so there were still certain ceremonies which had to be observed before she could take up her residence in her own hut, specially built for her by her husband and there assume the normal duties of a married woman.

The building of this hut was never begun until the wedding feast was over. While it was being constructed the girl slept first in the cook-hut, and later in her mother-in-law's hut; and before it was finished the girl returned to her own home for a short visit, taking with her that part of the dried fore-leg of the bull (*bad jachiera*) which had been set aside for her mother at the wedding feast, as well as other presents of food. It was explained to me that these gifts were 585 in the nature of a compensation to the mother for her absence from [59] her daughter's wedding feast, and they may indicate that in earlier times it was the custom for the mother to accompany her daughter on that occasion. While the girl was at home the mother prepared a

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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CHAPTER XXVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, WARFARE, INDUSTRIES, RELIGION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Treatment of the sick—ghostly possession—death and mourning—death of a wife—manner of conducting warfare—treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy—agricultural pursuits—cow-keeping—oxen used as riding animals—mode of building—religious beliefs—terms of relationships.

Treatment of the sick. Sickness is thought to be due to one of two causes: it may be, and the people think most frequently is, the result of magic which has been worked by some person who wishes to give pain or even to cause death because of a grievance, real or imaginary; or it may be due to some ghost. Under either circumstance, when a serious case of sickness occurs, the family seek the aid of a medicine-man who by his various tests and incantations discovers the cause; and, in a case where magic has been worked, he not only discovers the cause but also discloses the name of the culprit, who is thereupon sought and asked to give his motive for afflicting the sick person, and is paid to release him from the spell. Should the man have intended to kill the other because he has suffered some discourtesy or received some offence at his hands, he would probably have speared his shadow, so that the sick person will die unless the spell or magic is removed. Again, it may be that some magic has been worked and certain objects have been hidden near the house which are causing the sickness; these have to be removed and the spell broken before any drugs or treatment will avail the sick man. The perpetrator will only remove these when his grievance has been settled and he has received the needful compensation. In the case of a ghost, the medicine-man will tell which ghost is working the trouble and why it is thus causing sickness.

753 ● 755 [754] 753 755 775

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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753 755 775 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order 769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 775 761 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifestation of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

11: Harvmann M-S (ca. 1930) 1938 FLII Lan FLII

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, while for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a doorway, which is put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yuoyo lit)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (*ritinde*) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of these huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, *e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home*; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the women in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewed for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwomo lit)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the round marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a coarse one-strand one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody goes

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of
769 deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway
●753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd
and placed on the grave.

769 On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First
however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of
273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on
the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground
and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted
and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained
off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout,
after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another
visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed,
this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*.
These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-
vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of
the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it
is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted
wimbi is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the
relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the
grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some
of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs
alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains
hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations,
friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus
earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed
for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway
where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the
chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there,
the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore
eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the
village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to
spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die; and doing so his
eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch.
No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village
they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round
about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by
their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
FL11 Luo FL11

775 171 **133** In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 755 775 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 626 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jociendi*), a word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

775 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives; and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse 626 smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

●753 Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the 755 cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular 775 ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compen- [787] sate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a 775 magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's home- stead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86 c]

13: Odede I-5 (no date) 1942 FL11 Luo FL11

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

By Walter Odede,*

Veterinary Department, Maseno.

The Significance of Stock to the Luo.

231 The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with 521 regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome [753] than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that [511] women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

231 The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

262 Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo [272 unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is 753] not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

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20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

843 262 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to [753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

A dietary restriction may also result from the instruction [756] of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment [784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 278 177 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expectant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for killing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 [177] [516] *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations, such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *won koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted. 789

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witch-doctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' (*jankingo*) which, among the Gemi tribe is practised by the black-smiths.(4) 753 756 [754]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kiketi* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER XXVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, WARFARE, INDUSTRIES, RELIGION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Treatment of the sick—ghostly possession—death and mourning—death of a wife—manner of conducting warfare—treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy—agricultural pursuits—cow-keeping—oxen used as riding animals—mode of building—religious beliefs—terms of relationships.

Treatment of the sick. Sickness is thought to be due to one of two causes: it may be, and the people think most frequently is, the result of magic which has been worked by some person who wishes to give pain or even to cause death because of a grievance, real or imaginary; or it may be due to some ghost. Under either circumstance, when a serious case of sickness occurs, the family seek the aid of a medicine-man who by his various tests and incantations discovers the cause; and, in a case where magic has been worked, he not only discovers the cause but also discloses the name of the culprit, who is thereupon sought and asked to give his motive for afflicting the sick person, and is paid to release him from the spell. Should the man have intended to kill the other because he has suffered some discourtesy or received some offence at his hands, he would probably have speared his shadow, so that the sick person will die unless the spell or magic is removed. Again, it may be that some magic has been worked and certain objects have been hidden near the house which are causing the sickness; these have to be removed and the spell broken before any drugs or treatment will avail the sick man. The perpetrator will only remove these when his grievance has been settled and he has received the needful compensation. In the case of a ghost, the medicine-man will tell which ghost is working the trouble and why it is thus causing sickness.

763 755 [754] 753 755 775

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
769 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway
753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

769 On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
273 ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered-pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*. These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it is poured on the fermented *wimbi*, in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
● [754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die; and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch. No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 [683] in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingo." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a 695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

781 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man 777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by 787 *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 [844] On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is
755 ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to
757 malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the Jaluo use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found, [752] on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

789 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and puts them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 the murdered man, to mourn his death, to placate his spirit,
768 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
769 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pim*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most Joluo will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the incident. This is not difficult in Luo society. One case did,
754 however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

159 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
682 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

Suicide Case No. 9.

The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *libamba*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Roscoe, Nyasi is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.(1)

[777] Johnston states that the Luo believe in a supreme god, Chieng, which is the name for the sun.(2) Stam, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Luo worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Luo beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost *(jacien,* pl. *jociendi)* and the Luo methods of dealing with it. *Jacien* is the Luo equivalent of the Shilluk *cien*, the Acholi *lacen*, Lango *chyen* and the Anuak *acieni*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any [753 of these may become a *jacien*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The Luo regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5) 626]

●755 The diviner *(ajuago)* discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appro-775 priate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *mugalu*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *mugalu* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jalilo* is called in; an ox is sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jagut* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Stam, *Anthropos*, 1910, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.63
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.133, p.86.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

CHAPTER XXVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, WARFARE, INDUSTRIES, RELIGION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Treatment of the sick—ghostly possession—death and mourning—death of a wife—manner of conducting warfare—treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy—agricultural pursuits—cow-keeping—oxen used as riding animals—mode of building—religious beliefs—terms of relationships.

Treatment of the sick. Sickness is thought to be due to one of two causes: it may be, and the people think most frequently is, the result of magic which has been worked by some person who wishes to give pain or even to cause death because of a grievance, real or imaginary; or it may be due to some ghost. Under either circumstance, when a serious case of sickness occurs, the family seek the aid of a medicine-man who by his various tests and incantations discovers the cause; and, in a case where magic has been worked, he not only discovers the cause but also discloses the name of the culprit, who is thereupon sought and asked to give his motive for afflicting the sick person, and is paid to release him from the spell. Should the man have intended to kill the other because he has suffered some discourtesy or received some offence at his hands, he would probably have speared his shadow, so that the sick person will die unless the spell or magic is removed. Again, it may be that some magic has been worked and certain objects have been hidden near the house which are causing the sickness; these have to be removed and the spell broken before any drugs or treatment will avail the sick man. The perpetrator will only remove these when his grievance has been settled and he has received the needful compensation. In the case of a ghost, the medicine-man will tell which ghost is working the trouble and why it is thus causing sickness.

753 755 [754] 753 755 775

[P. 285]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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753 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict
755 grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the
775 duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order
769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifesta-
775 tion of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins
761 of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
FL11 Luo FL11

775 133 In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which
171 it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
●755 Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and
775 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jociendi*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

775 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives;
626 and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

753 Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the
● 755 cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular
775 ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compen-
[787] sate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a
775 magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's homestead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86 c]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the Jaluo use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found, on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

755 757 [752]

789 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and puts them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *won koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted.

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' (*jamkingo*) which, among the Gemi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth.

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances.

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

843 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family
262 habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to
[753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

A dietary restriction may also result from the instruc-
•[756] tion of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment
[784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expec-
278 tant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for kill-
177 ing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of
[177] Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations,
[516] such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bao* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balaerica gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomœa palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

They suffer not infrequently from pneumonia and other affections of the lungs, and their remedy for these maladies is to pierce a hole in the chest, and even to cut out a small piece of the inflamed lung. They have an antidote for snake poison; *remedies* for diarrhœa, constipation, ulcers; salves for wounds; and even drugs which are taken to avert threatened miscarriage. Venereal disease is practically unknown amongst this people, which, although so indifferent to nudity, is yet too moral to permit sexual intercourse with strangers.

Men and women have the same names. But in many instances,

438. THE GAME OF "BAO," PLAYED ALL OVER EAST CENTRAL AFRICA. (THE PLAYERS HERE ARE YAO SOLDIERS FROM BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA)

whereas the root of the name is the same, it is preceded by the vowel "O" in the case of a man, and "A" in the case of a woman. For instance, "Opio" is a male name, and "Apio" is a female name.

The games they play are few. There is the well-nigh universal game of little compartments in which seeds or pebbles are put. Boys and young men sometimes play a kind of hockey, knocking about a wooden ball.

After the return from a warlike expedition two out of every three cattle go to the chief, who divides his share with his brothers, and also gives a special reward of cattle to any man who has particularly distinguished himself in war. To this hero a wife is often given for payment.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is
755 ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to
757 malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the Jaluo use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found,
[752] on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

789 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and puts them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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lips. The mouth is gently raised while a small amount of the gruel is let in. Forcible feeding takes place when children begin to push the container from their lips, preferring their mothers' milk. 853

In forcible feeding, the child's head is rested against the mother's breast while the feet are firmly held in position between her thighs. If the child is difficult to manage, an assistant may be called to hold its hands. The mother rests the edge of the left hand below the child's lips and pours gruel in the hollow thus formed by the hand. While the child is crying, she closes the nostrils by pressing its upper lip against the openings. Thus in attempting to draw air through the mouth the child takes in a mouthful of gruel. The mother or the nurse may then dip her hand in cold water and wipe the child's abdomen in an attempt to cool the rapidly-swallowed food. After it has drunk a considerable quantity the child is set free. If the mother is present, it may finally be pacified by a short period of suckling.

Although women insist on this form of feeding because of its traditional value, it is also a method they use when they are in a great hurry. To have time to do their other work they must feed their children as quickly as possible. A child which has been given gruel does not cry for food for a long time.

The feeding of younger children is generally left to nurses, though often they are very young and lack experience by European standards. Sometimes a child may be found unconscious through over-feeding or prolonged choking. When this occurs, a responsible person holds the child by the legs, head downward, and then runs with it, shaking out the contents of its stomach; after which the child is laid down in a cool place to regain its strength. In extreme cases the child may die. Some children are quite unable to take gruel, and in [854] [757]

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" [786] in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an [791] unintelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying
795 person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with
788 the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely
782 until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only
782 encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to
89A indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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753 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict
755 grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the
775 duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order
769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifesta-
775 tion of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins
761 of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still." 585 273

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends. 585

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yeath agula* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables. [843]

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*. [574]

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils. 761 764 721

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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761 [763] which is the infidelity of the spouse of the deceased; in the case of a child, by the adultery of its mother. Ritual cleansing of the members of the minor lineage is therefore necessary, as for kuer.

159 674 628 I mentioned above a classical case of homicide which illustrates what the Joluo regard as a calculated risk of the consequences. It deserves fuller analysis.

Case No. 1.

This case involved a group of nine related men. Only one of them was convicted, and he eventually was acquitted on appeal through lack of corroborative evidence.

A quarrel began between members of two major clans of the same tribe over the appointment of an assistant chief. The clan from which the assistant chief was appointed—we shall call it Jokoth—is alleged to have taken advantage of the clan—which we shall call Jokech—which was unsuccessful. The clans feuded in every way, over land, cattle grazing and so on, until the elders of Jokech decided, as a warning in the ancestral way, that they should burn the hut of a leading elder of Jokoth. This was done. The assistant chief arrested a member of clan Jokech, a person with whom he is alleged to have had a personal grievance, and this man was convicted of the burning and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His sons fought hard and long to have him released on grounds of ill health and, when finally successful, took him home only to have him die shortly after. On his death bed, he made his sons swear to avenge his death.

Diviners and medicine men were consulted, and many methods were tried unsuccessfully for several years to bring clan Jokoth to its knees and to bring about the death of the assistant chief who had by now retired.

All was not well with the affairs of Jokech clan. Each new catastrophe was taken as evidence of the malevolence of the ghost of the deceased because his death remained unavenged.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out
[854] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

[784] *Restrictions on the suckling of babies.* It is considered a breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her
[761] neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a
[177] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been aban-
[603] doned. One exception to the restriction, however, is that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

853 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment
595 of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 The social restriction with regard to the suckling of
[177] infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** The people are not fond of war and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

SUICIDE AMONG JOLUO

We have discussed the Luo attitude toward death at some length in our description of homicide. These attitudes apply equally to suicide, except that they are extended to an association of the idea of death and its concomitant link with the supernatural to self-destruction, as an assurance or determination on the part of the individual to hasten the day when supernatural forces can be made to bear on the frustrations which led up to the act of suicide. The motives for suicide are thought to be to avenge the deed by the malevolent supernatural forces which at death become allied to the dead, who are able to use them against those on earth to solve problems which they found beyond human solution.

Throughout childhood there is constant reference to suicide, and in adolescence, early marriage, and old age the threat of suicide is an effective technique used by the Joluo to achieve goals or to avoid distasteful consequences. Threats are not often put into practice because they are used only when their effectiveness is relatively assured.

Unfortunately for the student, suicides are not usually reported to the authorities, although legally they should be. Therefore, few cases are recorded as in advanced countries in the coroner's court. The Joluo believe that suicide brings *chira* to a large segment of the clan of the suicide, and it is therefore kept as quiet as possible and dealt with immediately by the clan elders and clan medicine men, *jobilo*. The family of the suicide are forced to perform cleansing rituals and ceremonies before they may again participate in the social life of the clan. Data are for these reasons hard to collect. The few cases which were brought to the attention of the authorities were only those suspected of having been cases of murder which were made to look like suicide.

During a two-year tour among the Joluo tribes of Central Nyanza, I was able to collect 220 cases from informants. Of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he was regarded as a juvenile.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful.

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the *thim*, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree.

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the *jabilo* and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white cockerel and a black sheep.

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the *jabilo*. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 [178] The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 [661] This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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in cattle, and had a permanent modern house at his homestead where four of his wives cultivated large gardens. His fifth wife lived with him at his place of employment. At the time of his suicide he was in the process of marrying a sixth wife when, during one of the marriage ceremonies at her village, a brother of the bride objected to her becoming his wife. He charged that the man had already too many wives and could not look after them. As proof, he offered the evidence that his most recent wife, the fifth one, was no more than a prostitute and that he, himself, had used her on several occasions. This caused a fight in the village and quarrels which led to the exchange of many curses between the two groups, and therefore the wedding could never take place. The driver returned to his homestead to confront the wife named in the incident with the accusation and, in typical Luo fashion, she calmly admitted her guilt, chiding him to do something about it. He beat her severely and she ran from her house and spent the night in the bush. He brooded all night on what had happened and on the shame his wife had brought him. Moreover, he knew that he was shortly to be accused of fraudulent conversion of funds by the Government and would lose his job, if he did not end up in prison: neither of which were considered really serious. However, in his emotional state, these must be considered as contributory causes. He could see his whole world collapsing around him.

The next morning he sent his servant, a young lad, to the butcher's shop for meat in order to get him out of the way. He then hanged himself from the ceiling of his hut.

My Luo informants state with confidence that the prime cause of this suicide was the behavior of his wife, which had brought shame to a proud and successful man, so that he could no longer face his friends. The fact that the Government was interested in recovering a large sum of money which he was alleged to have used for his own purposes is, in my opinion however, a contributory factor.

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Suicide Case No. 4.

762 159 584 A young lad aged about 23 years was being married to a girl from a neighboring location. He had paid a portion of bride-wealth and many of the early ceremonies had been performed. His bride had returned to her home as is the custom until he had paid the remainder of the bride-wealth. He went to his father-in-law to discuss the last and final payment, with his *jagam* as witness, and the father-in-law agreed that a milch cow would complete the payment. He returned in high spirits to the home of his father and asked for the cow, stating that this was all the father-in-law demanded. His father told him that if he had not paid enough, then the father-in-law must be a bad man and the girl was not worth having. The father and the son quarreled, and during the quarrel the son threatened suicide if he did not get the animal. The next day the son took a cow by force, while his father was absent, and sent it off to his father-in-law by a group of herd boys. When the father returned, he was furious at what his son had done and went after the cow himself. He caught up with the boys and brought the cow back to the village.

159 762 The son had warned his father that, if he should take this course, he would hang himself, and, as he saw the father returning in the distance, he hanged himself from a tree which stood just outside his father's village. This tree, as is the custom, was completely uprooted and destroyed.

762 159 684 The next cases are two which were due to modern circumstances but which in a sense involve the loss of status and therefore brought shame to the individual.

Suicide Case No. 5.

A young man eloped with the wife of a Kikuyu in Nairobi, far from his homeland. Whereas in Luo customary law to run off with the wife of another man is not considered to be particularly serious, in Kikuyu customary law it is regarded as

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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

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An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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159 762 propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

762 159 556 754 The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

152 ## Suicide Case No. 9.

[587] The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *libamba*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

762 159 828 The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

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9. This example is used time and time again by the Luo to prove the point that the tendency to commit suicide is inherited or caused by ancestors.

I was able to follow one particular series of events in connection with Luo marriage laws and customs over three years, which began with the elopement of a girl and her lover, and ended in suicide only a month before this chapter was written.

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Marriage in Luo is traditionally arranged by the family of the boy and the family of the girl. Not infrequently, because of debt or close friendship, a father may promise his daughter in marriage to a friend or creditor while the girl is still very young. He obtains the animals to which he is entitled (*dho i keny'*) approximately one half of the final bride-wealth, at that time and the girl is known as *nyar kiseke,* "the wife of the beer reed," as this arrangement is usually contracted and finalized at a beer party. So it was in the case we are about to describe.

Suicide Case No. 10.

The girl in this case had been promised by her father when she was but three years of age to a friend of his own age group. The father, Opio[2], was a well educated Jaluo, and by the time his daughter, Akech, was ready to be taken in marriage, at the age of 18, he was employed as the headmaster of an intermediate school administered by a local mission. He had insisted that his daughter be educated to enhance the final payment (*dho miluhini*) of her bride-wealth. She was, for an African woman, a well educated girl. She had received a secondary school education where, in this particular segment of the Joluo tribe, fewer than 1 per cent of the girls have had as much education.

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Akech had been prepared for this event all her life. She knew her future husband and from a child, each time he visited

[2] All names are fictitious, but common Joluo names.

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762 159 584 the village, she would be teased and chided pleasantly about the fact that he was her future husband. Perhaps she would have been married sooner, had her future husband, Opala, not been employed in a city many hundreds of miles away. He returned on his long leave to consummate the marriage at the time when the girl had just finished her secondary education and was about 18 years of age.

While at school, however, Akech had fallen in love with a teacher, Okare, in a neighboring technical school and he was determined to marry her. He went to her father and pleaded to be allowed to repay the bride-wealth animals her father had received years before and to complete the bride-wealth payments to marry the girl by Luo law and custom. Opio adamantly refused, and her brothers threatened Okare with physical violence if he should try to see the girl again. Okare was heartbroken and returned to his place of employment. Akech, however, had other ideas. When she was told that the date of her wedding had been fixed, she pleaded and tried every traditional way of breaking the marriage, but was unsuccessful. Her father and her prospective husband remained adamant.[3]

159 762 584 684 The night before the wedding, she ran away from home to join Okare at his place of employment. Both knew that they would be pursued by the girl's brothers and by her father, so they hired a car and fled to the boy's village in a distant Luo tribe, some 200 miles away. Her father, brothers and future husband pursued the lovers to Okare's village where the father had him arrested for taking Akech from his custody. Okare's brothers, however, took the girl to Nairobi to hide her pending the result of the case. One of the brothers was then arrested for aiding and abetting the elopement.

Now the essence of this case goes to show that the father

[842] [3] By tradition, a girl may run off to the home of a "bride," thus to marry will produce sterility. She may climb a tree *bondo*, an *euphorbia*, which is believed to be closely associated with the ancestors. There are several other ways, all of which would cancel an ordinary wedding, but none is effective in the case of *nyar kiseke*.

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wanted the best of two worlds. Traditionally, elopement (*por*) is justified and is legal, albeit more difficult in cases of *nyar kiseke*, providing that the young man has stated his willingness to pay bride-wealth and has been refused. Moreover, it is the last remaining traditional way by which a young woman, forced to marry against her will, is able to break the arrangement. Today, however, because there are so many illegal unions, the African courts take a serious view of young men and women running off to the towns without the slightest intention of paying bride-wealth.

While Okare and his brother were retained in gaol, pending the case, the girl's father and her brothers went to Nairobi, where they found the girl after some difficulty and took her back to her village by force. There they married her to Opala and he, with two of her brothers, took her by force to the place of his employment which was in another territory nearly 700 miles away.

Opio, who was an influential man in his district, then proceeded with the case against Okare and his brother. The Court decided in favor of Opio, ordered compensation for the expenses he had incurred securing the return of his daughter. Okare and his brother were heavily fined for having taken the girl from the protection of her father. The compensation and the fine amounted to a very large sum of money and the boy appealed to the District Officer's Court. Pending the Appeal, he went to search for new employment at Nairobi. Akech, in the meantime, had arrived at the home of her husband in the far away city, only to find that he was already married and that his first wife, as a Christian, refused to have her in her home. Quarrels and arguments began in earnest, with the result that Opala had no alternative but to send the girl back to her father and to demand a divorce. Akech, however, did not go home but returned to Nairobi to Okare.

The father heard what had happened and, in the shame and humiliation, hanged himself in a classroom at the school

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159 where he was headmaster. His final act was to write to all those involved in this series of incidents, which had taken nearly 762 three years, to the effect that his daughter had killed him, that shame was brought to his clan and lineage, and that the liaison she had formed with Okare would end in disaster. He swore he would return in spirit to ensure that the marriage would end in failure.

159 762 558 797 It can be seen from this case that the difficult transition faced by even the most educated Christian Jaluo is complicated by the intense residual customary law and the attitudes of the people regarding the authority of a father and the duty of his daughter to this authority. The father in his case was a well educated, highly respected, important person in his district. The daughter, by her behavior, had humiliated him and he took recourse in indigenous rules and beliefs to solve his problems. They were initially successful. In the end, however, the threat to his status as a Christian of the fact that he had married his daughter by force to a Christian who was already married and therefore a bigamist in the eyes of the Church, brought shame and disaster to his social position as a Christian headmaster. His final act, however, was typically an indigenous one. He would not face the shame and humiliation brought to him by the course of events, so he took refuge in traditional recourse to suicide as a curse to the future happiness of those whom he thought had caused his grievance. To the end, therefore, he struggled to obtain the best of two worlds.

FEMALE SUICIDES

762 The most common cause of suicide among females is domestic quarrels and, coupled with that, the fear of physical violence from their husbands. Secondly, jealousy between co-wives; thirdly, the result of extreme grief, and finally, illness.

In the first category, out of the thirteen cases recorded from our sample, seven were of the domestic quarrel type. Of these, one was complicated by a curse from the husband, another

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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide. 762 ●

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing." 762 159 684 783

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof. 762 159 578

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife. 762 159

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents. 762 159 584

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

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762 159 584 The parents insisted that she be sent or "dragged" to her husband. On the night of the ceremonial defloration she committed suicide by hanging. This act is said to have brought a curse, not only to the prospective groom's homestead, but also on her own minimal lineage. Her mother was so struck by grief that she committed suicide later. The mother's case will be discussed below as case number 21.

The next two cases are those where foul play was suspected.

Suicide Case No. 14.

762 159 578 A woman was found hanging by a rope at night by her husband. He dug her grave and had buried her in the morning. In evidence given at the preliminary inquiry witnesses testified to the fact that she and her husband quarrelled some hours before her death, as the result of a beer party, and that she had left early for her own village. The body showed signs of having been beaten, but her husband argued that he had beaten her after she had hanged herself, as is the custom of the Joluo.

The case was not tried for lack of evidence, and the husband's family believed that she did in fact commit suicide, whereas her family believed that she was murdered.

[583] It is significant to note that the husband did not claim the return of bride-wealth, as he would likely have done had it been a clear case of suicide. Neither did her family offer to repay the bride-wealth, or to give another girl in lieu of bride-wealth, as they might have done had the husband been clear of blame.

Suicide Case No. 15.

762 159 595 A woman had quarrelled with her husband because she alleged that he would not give her her proper share of sexual pleasure. The argument involved other wives and they told this woman that her husband hated her and that she would be better dead. The next morning she was found on her bed, having been killed by a knife or having inflicted a fatal wound on herself with a knife.

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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

As in the previous case, the woman's family believed that she was murdered and the man's family believed that she committed suicide. It is difficult to say which version is true. It is extremely unusual, however, for a woman to kill herself with a knife, and I have not recorded another case. There was one case among the men, Number 6, but this was a modern "intellectual," who lived in a Council house with a plastered ceiling, which was hardly suitable for hanging in the traditional way.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier involving a woman's fear of the consequences of her son's behavior.

Suicide Case No. 16.

The woman in this case was the wife of a squatter who was a servant to an important Chief. The Chief helped him to get married to this woman, a local girl who was in fact related in some way to the Chief. After his establishment as an affine of the Chief, the *jodak* became very wealthy and built his own village on a place allocated by the Chief. He married a second wife after the building of his village and, just before the case we are discussing, married a third wife. The first wife had many children, most of whom were daughters. At the time of her suicide, all but one had married and her house was very wealthy. The houses of the other two wives were therefore extremely jealous.

One day during the short rainy season, the owner of the village, the husband, wished to make a present of *sim-sim* to his Chief and benefactor in order that he might pay the tax which at that time was calculated on the number of wives and also to pay the traditional tribute to the Chief. The woman's son at about that time invited a large number of guests to his village and demanded that his mother give him *sim-sim* with which to entertain them. She refused because she knew her husband intended to use the entire crop. The son disobeyed

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 his mother and took the *sim-sim* by stealth. When the hus-
159 band came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large por-
[595] tion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel be-
tween him and the boy's mother.

In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for milking, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body caned it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked
[783] to bring hoes, axes, and *pangas* to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Luo believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If
[824] a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

159 The husband of this suicide had been having considerable
762 trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The
578 beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her daughter with a young man who had neither paid bride-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

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the local prophet (*jabilo*). When he returned to the village from his visit to the *jabilo*, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okech, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apolo, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nurse-maid for their first child.[6]

[6] This is common practice among the Joluo and often the "nurse" (*japidi*) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters co-operate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the *japidi* will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a *japidi*, she becomes known as *nyar ekendo*, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same hut and trace descent through the elder sister. The term *ekendo* is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son; it therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

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African Homicide and Suicide

Okech decided to marry the nursemaid but his wife adamantly refused to agree. Okech beat her severely and she ran home to her parents where she remained for several weeks. Her sister, Apolo, continued to live in the village and by now cohabited openly with the husband as if they were man and wife. The wife eventually returned and made an effort to accept the situation as it existed. The husband built Apolo her own house as the second wife (*nyachira*) in the customary place in the homestead, but had not paid bride-wealth. In fact, he had not completed (*riso*) bride-wealth of the first wife, which added tension to the situation.

All appeared to go well until one night Okech returned from a beer party and abused his wife. What was more serious, he went to the hut of Apolo to sleep although it was the customary period of the month when he should have gone to the house of his first wife.

Early the next morning, the wife visited the mother of my informant and insisted that she accept as a gift her cooking pot and other household utensils. Her excuse was that she had bought new ones. She returned to her house where she packed the utensils and sent Apolo to carry them to my friend's mother. Meanwhile, Okech was sleeping.

She then hanged herself from a rafter in her hut. The noise of her strangulation awakened Okech, who cut the rope and made frantic efforts to revive her with water and to cane the body in the customary Luo manner. His wailing brought his brothers and relatives from their homesteads nearby.

When Apolo returned she was confronted by the irate brothers of Okech who accused her of being a witch who had brought *chira* to the village and to the lineage. They beat both Okech and Apolo and drove them from the homestead. The hut in which the woman had hanged herself was then immediately destroyed.

Apolo was not allowed to enter the homestead of her father who, with his sons, drove her from the clan area by thrashing

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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her with canes. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two leviratic wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

This woman was the second wife (*nyachira*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to cane him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a goat was buried in front of her house to represent her body, for they were certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 The elders claim that her life was a tragic one, and that her 159 sister had hanged herself a few years before and had returned for her.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier in connection with case number 13 involving the mother of a girl who had committed suicide after her mother had forced her to marry against her wishes.

Suicide Case No. 21.

This mother realized that her daughter's death was due to her action. She therefore tried to commit suicide by hanging shortly after she heard the news, but was prevented from doing so by her husband and his children. A week later, she tried to hang herself on a tree by the river but she had been followed by her co-wives, who cut her down in time. Finally, a month later she hanged herself from the roof of her hut and, although she was cut down while still alive by her watchful co-wives, she died shortly afterwards from a broken neck.

Profound grief lay behind the next case. It was related to me by an informant who was present at the time.

Suicide Case No. 22.

A man in the prime of life died suddenly. His death came as a shock to all his friends and relatives, among whom he was regarded very highly. This man had two wives and a mistress (*nyas gogo*). The latter was away at the time of his death visiting her family, and she had been cursed there by her father because she refused to return to the family into which she had been legally married. Her father refused to return the bride-wealth, or to accept bride-wealth from her lover, with whom she was living. When she returned to the village of her lover, she heard the wailing of the women and knew that her lover [764] was dead. On such occasions it is customary to run into the

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

159 762 [164]

Suicide Case No. 23.

An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to teach and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

762 159 888 734 [603]

[pp. 214-272 not processed]

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

764 has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her.

765 On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies.

763 If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attemp is made to save the child.

764 P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood. 234

765 After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept. 241

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats, [852 though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it
551 was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ochieng*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obelo*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olieeh*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obonyo*—the man like a locust.

863 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

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304 friends and receiving presents of fowls. Girls, in addition, have their bodies scarified on the sides and back. From this time on until marriage the boys live in the bachelors' hut and the girls in the unmarried women's quarters. There is no mention by any of the authorities of an age-set system.

DEATH

764 The dead are buried close to their homes, a man on his right side with the hand under the head and a woman on her left side, also with the hand under the head.(1)

765 Friends and relatives gather shortly after death and, if the deceased was a man of importance, the whole of his clan is represented. Every man brings his companion bull and rides it. All dress up as if for war and the *buru* party takes place. If the dead man was not very important the mourning is limited to shaving the head and painting the body with white clay. Offerings are put on the grave of the deceased.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembo*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

753 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict
755 grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the
775 duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order
769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifesta-
775 tion of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by
761 giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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the deceased enters with a son of the dead man and together they fill in the grave and beat the floor hard. Some of the blood of the animal that was killed is poured into the grave as it is being filled with earth; and, after the grave is filled up, four pieces of meat are taken and one piece is placed at each corner of it. A pot of newly brewed beer is placed on the grave and left to ferment until it runs over the sides when the relatives drink it. When the duty of filling in the grave is completed, all the mourners wash, shave their heads and have a meal of the meat of the animal that was killed. The widows remove their girdles and place them on the roof of the house containing the grave. A goat is killed, and an elderly woman related to the deceased man ties a portion of the entrails of the goat round the waist and neck of each widow, and also winds a portion round her own neck; and this is worn by each widow during the period of mourning. On the following morning a grandson climbs the house and breaks the end off the central pole which stands out above the thatch; he also breaks the cooking-pot in which the deceased man's food was cooked. On the second day after the funeral a goat is brought into the house and each of the mourners strikes it with his fist and kicks it; it is then taken and killed, and its flesh is cooked in part of the broken cooking-pot and eaten by the mourners. After this meal the male relatives go to war against some group of their tribe who are said to have been the cause of the man's death. After mourning four days the party shave their heads and continue to the end of the mourning period without further shaving their heads or paring their nails. The widows continue to live in the house which contains the grave. When the ox or cow for the funeral ceremonies is killed, if the deceased is a man, it is speared to the heart; but, when the deceased is a woman, it is speared in the head between the horns. When the mourning ceremonies are ended, each widow makes a girdle, with the fringe at the back, which she wears for a year while she continues to live in the house containing the grave. At the end of the year she burns the girdle, goes to the river and washes, takes her old girdle from the house-roof with her and leaves it in the river-bed. After washing

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** The people are not fond of war and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yeath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war agains them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

764 Since the Administration of the country by the "White Man" these wars
721 are a thing of the past. However, the old custom remains, in so far, that even at
178 present on the morning after a person's death his relations and tribesmen have a sham-fight, at the same places where formerly they used to fight their real wars.

764 The wailing at a person's death spreads the news in no time, and at day-break all the men of that tribe attire themselves in their wardress, after having smeared themselves with oker and mud, and go out with their shields and spears. They gather at the kraal of the deceased, and having brought some cattle they go out to the uninhabited boundary of their district for their sham-fight.

There the performance starts with the killing of a chicken as a sacrifice to the gods, that they might favour and bless their war, just as they did in the days of old. Whilst the old folks roast and eat the chicken the warriors dash forward to their imaginary enemy here and there stabbing a tuft of grass or throwing their spears in a bush, and rushing back again as if the enemy was on their heels.

When after an hour or two of fighting the enemy is defeated, they go back to the village of deceased. From the moment he gave up his ghost (and sometimes before that) the people of the village have been bewailling him, running in and out of the hut, shouting and yelling all the time. They have also taken his cattle one by one to the doorway of his hut, that they too might bewail their deceased master.

And now, after the warriors have returned, the corpse is put in front of the hut. The warriors and the people of the surrounding country (sometimes thousands of them, if deceased was a chief, a witchdoctor, a rainmaker, or other important personage) go up to the corpse, and bewail it, running in and out and round the kraal, all of them yelling like madmen.

The warriors also take their "spoils" up to the corpse, to show the spirit of deceased that his death has been revenged.

Whilst this is going on three men are digging the grave. If he was a rich man, i. e. if he had many wives, the grave is dug next to the hut in which he died, after a small temporary hut has been built over the spot. If he had only few wives then the grave is dug inside the hut in which he died. The corpse is lowered in the grave by 4 men, and the children of the village with their hands and feet scrape the earth into the grave, always with their backs towards the same. After the actual burial the wailing goes on for another half hour or so, whereupon all the outsiders return home.

In the evening the people of he kraal go to the grave with a chicken, which, held by the legs, is smitten with its head on the grave till it is dead. Then it is roasted and eaten. They also put a broken cooking pot on the grave, which they trample to pieces there. Then they kill a sheep, which is eaten by the men that night. Its skin is cut into narrow strips. These are tied round the right wrist of all the male inhabitants of the kraal, and round the left wrist of all the females. This finishes the ceremonies for the day.

765 Next morning arrangements are made in the open space outside the village for a dance. The older women beat a couple of drums, the young women and girls from he neighbourhood dance, the men and boys in their war-costume run about

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, their backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her so-called pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an Ochokplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maluong*).

●764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailed by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

11:Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

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has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her.

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On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies.

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If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attemp is made to save the child.

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P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood.

765 241

After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept.

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed
[837] and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn
is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if
necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen
764 although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock.
A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special
oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend
funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered
when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a
tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a
special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the
ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions"
are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather
straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so
honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop
hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals
when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are
usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them
[842] believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a
polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely
to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or
those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking
parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their
arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the
[554] horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth
because the average man does not possess a number of oxen
with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of
special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to
reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by
some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only
method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle,
especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however,
[232] also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this
disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from
headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood
from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours,
822 but there are some colours which are considered objectionable.
Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually
susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to
marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently
conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark,
dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted
for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagree-
ment during the arrangement of the marriage or between the
wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because
it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

[illegible]

When a person dies, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of mourning the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

Burial Customs of the Wa-Kavirondo in the Kisumu Province. 35

By A. E. Millikin

764 When a Kavirondo dies he or she, as the case may be, is stripped of everything in the shape of clothing and ornaments and these, as a rule, are distributed amongst the children, should the dead person have any; if not, they are taken by the near relatives. As soon as the person has expired the relatives in the same "boma" commence howling and crying, and in some cases this is done before the sick person has expired, but is close to death.

The first persons informed of the death are those relatives and friends residing close at hand, who arrive quickly to join in the mourning and do their share of crying.

The relatives and friends from a distance begin to arrive decked out in all their finery, bringing food for the dead, and also some of their cattle, as a rule a few cow and bull calves. The mourning lasts for about a fortnight, but the body is kept only for about five hours after death, when it is buried underneath the floor of the hut of the dead person; but should several people have been buried there before and no space left, the body is buried just outside the hut, on the left-hand side.

As a rule after one person is buried in the hut, if it is intended to bury a second, and even a third person in the same hut, it is customary to knock out the back part of the hut and enlarge it.

775 The Kavirondo belief is that the dead can hear, and this is their reason for burying their dead in and close to their huts, as they like the dead to hear what they say.

764 The grave is dug about 4 feet deep and is circular, and the dead person is put there in a doubled-up position. The body is buried quite naked, but sometimes the skin on which the person slept, or which he wore, is placed at the bottom of the grave.

When the grave is filled up, the earth is put back in small pieces, and is pressed tightly down, so that when all the soil is put back the surface is absolutely level, and to the casual observer it would not appear that the earth had been disturbed. As a precaution against hyenas and other wild animals a species of cactus is placed for a few days over the grave.

765 Should the dead person be a grown male, the wife or mother or the nearest relative of the dead man will cry continually for three months for about an hour before day break, but will stop when day breaks.

A peculiar custom is followed by the near relatives, who, during the first few days of mourning, smear their faces with wood ashes.

761 When a grown-up person dies, male or female, neighbours will come and hold a "ngoma" (dance), dressed up in all their finery, especially the warriors, who walk into the "boma" and march round on the inside, passing the hut of the dead person and sticking their spears into the roof of the hut. They continue to march round two or three times, finally passing the dead person's hut and withdrawing their spears,

15: Millikin U-4 (no date) 1906 FL11 Luo FL11

when they pass outside; this happens before the "ngoma," and is a sort of honour to the dead. 764

The wife or wives of the deceased person go to the sons, the eldest having preference, but in no case does a son take his own mother, and any property of the deceased man is taken by the sons in the proportion of the dowry originally paid by the father for the wife which each son has claimed. 428 587

Should a wife of the dead man have a daughter, or several daughters and sons, the dowry received in the event of one of them being married will go to the girl's brother, and not to the step-father; but in the event of the girl having no brother, the step-father will claim the dowry. 428

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[p.55]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

chicken, some *utama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats, though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ocking*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *okelo*—the man who owned much *utama*; *oliech*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obongo*—the man like a locust.

A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance, at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuoru, luong' wuoru ichiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

THE special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot*, *gweng'*, *libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

762 The elders claim that her life was a tragic one, and that her
159 sister had hanged herself a few years before and had returned for her.

The next case is the one mentioned earlier in connection with case number 13 involving the mother of a girl who had committed suicide after her mother had forced her to marry against her wishes.

Suicide Case No. 21.

This mother realized that her daughter's death was due to her action. She therefore tried to commit suicide by hanging shortly after she heard the news, but was prevented from doing so by her husband and his children. A week later, she tried to hang herself on a tree by the river but she had been followed by her co-wives, who cut her down in time. Finally, a month later she hanged herself from the roof of her hut and, although she was cut down while still alive by her watchful co-wives, she died shortly afterwards from a broken neck.

Profound grief lay behind the next case. It was related to me by an informant who was present at the time.

Suicide Case No. 22.

A man in the prime of life died suddenly. His death came as a shock to all his friends and relatives, among whom he was regarded very highly. This man had two wives and a mistress (*nyas gogo*). The latter was away at the time of his death visiting her family, and she had been cursed there by her father because she refused to return to the family into which she had been legally married. Her father refused to return the bride-wealth, or to accept bride-wealth from her lover, with whom she was living. When she returned to the village of her lover,
● [764] she heard the wailing of the women and knew that her lover was dead. On such occasions it is customary to run into the

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

159 762 [764]

Suicide Case No. 23.

An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to teach and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

762 159 888 734 [603]

[pp. 214-272 not processed]

881 304 friends and receiving presents of fowls. Girls, in addition, have their bodies scarified on the sides and back. From this time on until marriage the boys live in the bachelors' hut and the girls in the unmarried women's quarters. There is no mention by any of the authorities of an age-set system.

DEATH

764 The dead are buried close to their homes, a man on his right side with the hand under the head and a woman on her left side, also with the hand under the head.(1)

●765 Friends and relatives gather shortly after death and, if the deceased was a man of importance, the whole of his clan is represented. Every man brings his companion bull and rides it. All dress up as if for war and the *buru* party takes place. If the dead man was not very important the mourning is limited to shaving the head and painting the body with white clay. Offerings are put on the grave of the deceased.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembo*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

766 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [726] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat: having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [553] [535] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *mtswa* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kaviirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B 824 778 The word *Muremhe* in Lu-Wanga means peace, and when peace is made between two tribes, the ceremony, if possible, always takes place at the foot of one of these trees, as the tree is a great peace charm, and the dog, which is slaughtered as part of the ceremony, is generally tied by its neck to the tree.

B 825 751 Among the Awa-wanga, if a man kills a python, it is believed that the snake will return, or possibly that its spirit will return and afflict his children with blindness. Prompt measures must, therefore, be taken to avert this disaster, and he accordingly measures the length of the reptile, and not later than the day following, hoes a path through the grass near his village equal in length to that of the snake, kills a white fowl, then sprinkles its blood in the clearing and also pours a little *ntama* or *wimbi* gruel there too; this acts as a charm to render the python's malignancy futile. Even if a python is seen only, it is considered safe to go through this ceremony. The next child that is borne to the man after killing a python is called *wanawaka* if it is a boy and *newaka* if it is a girl; (*waka* is the Lu-Wanga word for python).

B [553]

B 766 [824] A most extraordinary custom, which holds among the Awa-wanga and may be mentioned under the present heading, is that if a young girl, a virgin, dies, her female relatives, whose duty it is to bury her, artificially deflower the body before burial; this is always done by the forcible insertion of the pointed bulb of spathes which cover the immature flowers at the lower end of a growing bunch of bananas. If this is omitted, it is believed that the sisters of the deceased will not be found to be virgins on their marriage; this would be considered somewhat of a disgrace.

B [831]

B 171 It will be remembered that in Mr. Roscoe's account of the Baganda customs,[1] the flower of the plantain or banana plays a certain part in the ritual which is gone through upon the birth of twins, and is there, I believe, used as a symbol of fruitfulness or plenty; possibly a similar idea may, in the past, have had some connection with its employment in the instance now described.

L 765 766 824 There are two curious customs, in which the thorn of the acacia plays a part, which may, perhaps, be mentioned under the heading of charms. Among the Ja-Luo when a person dies, for days, perhaps months after, the whole village wails with great fervour, and at stated intervals according to the conventions laid down for the case. If, however, a barren woman dies, the people of the village at once commence to wail in the usual way, and the brothers and sisters of the deceased proceed as quickly as possible to the village where the death occurred. The first blood-relation of the deceased who arrives on the scene takes a sharp acacia thorn, sticks it into the sole of the foot of the corpse and breaks it off; immediately this is done all wailing ceases at once, nor is it renewed as in the case of an ordinary death. The origin and the object of this strange custom appears to have been entirely lost.

N 787 824 Among the Nandi, when a raiding party is being arranged, the *elmoran* (warriors) proceed to a *laibon*, or medicine man, an ox is killed and the *laibon*,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, *et seq.*

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
● [765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

the deceased enters with a son of the dead man and together they fill in the grave and beat the floor hard. Some of the blood of the animal that was killed is poured into the grave as it is being filled with earth; and, after the grave is filled up, four pieces of meat are taken and one piece is placed at each corner of it. A pot of newly brewed beer is placed on the grave and left to ferment until it runs over the sides when the relatives drink it. When the duty of filling in the grave is completed, all the mourners wash, shave their heads and have a meal of the meat of the animal that was killed. The widows remove their girdles and place them on the roof of the house containing the grave. A goat is killed, and an elderly woman related to the deceased man ties a portion of the entrails of the goat round the waist and neck of each widow, and also winds a portion round her own neck; and this is worn by each widow during the period of mourning. On the following morning a grandson climbs the house and breaks the end off the central pole which stands out above the thatch; he also breaks the cooking-pot in which the deceased man's food was cooked. On the second day after the funeral a goat is brought into the house and each of the mourners strikes it with his fist and kicks it; it is then taken and killed, and its flesh is cooked in part of the broken cooking-pot and eaten by the mourners. After this meal the male relatives go to war against some group of their tribe who are said to have been the cause of the man's death. After mourning four days the party shave their heads and continue to the end of the mourning period without further shaving their heads or paring their nails. The widows continue to live in the house which contains the grave. When the ox or cow for the funeral ceremonies is killed, if the deceased is a man, it is speared to the heart; but, when the deceased is a woman, it is speared in the head between the horns. When the mourning ceremonies are ended, each widow makes a girdle, with the fringe at the back, which she wears for a year while she continues to live in the house containing the grave. At the end of the year she burns the girdle, goes to the river and washes, takes her old girdle from the house-roof with her and leaves it in the river-bed. After washing

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765

[302]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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765 she makes a new girdle fr[illegible]us while still at the river, and wears it as she retu[illegible]r village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** The people are not fond of war and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

764 721 178 Since the Administration of the country by the "White Man" these wars are a thing of the past. However, the old custom remains, in so far, that even at present on the morning after a person's death his relations and tribesmen have a sham-fight, at the same places where formerly they used to fight their real wars.

764 The wailing at a person's death spreads the news in no time, and at day-break all the men of that tribe attire themselves in their wardress, after having smeared themselves with oker and mud, and go out with their shields and spears. They gather at the kraal of the deceased, and having brought some cattle they go out to the uninhabited boundary of their district for their sham-fight.

There the performance starts with the killing of a chicken as a sacrifice to the gods, that they might favour and bless their war, just as they did in the days of old. Whilst the old folks roast and eat the chicken the warriors dash forward to their imaginary enemy here and there stabbing a tuft of grass or throwing their spears in a bush, and rushing back again as if the enemy was on their heels.

When after an hour or two of fighting the enemy is defeated, they go back to the village of deceased. From the moment he gave up his ghost (and sometimes before that) the people of the village have been bewailing him, running in and out of the hut, shouting and yelling all the time. They have also taken his cattle one by one to the doorway of his hut, that they too might bewail their deceased master.

And now, after the warriors have returned, the corpse is put in front of the hut. The warriors and the people of the surrounding country (sometimes thousands of them, if deceased was a chief, a witchdoctor, a rainmaker, or other important personage) go up to the corpse, and bewail it, running in and out and round the kraal, all of them yelling like madmen.

The warriors also take their "spoils" up to the corpse, to show the spirit of deceased that his death has been revenged.

Whilst this is going on three men are digging the grave. If he was a rich man, i. e. if he had many wives, the grave is dug next to the hut in which he died, after a small temporary hut has been built over the spot. If he had only few wives then the grave is dug inside the hut in which he died. The corpse is lowered in the grave by 4 men, and the children of the village with their hands and feet scrape the earth into the grave, always with their backs towards the same. After the actual burial the wailing goes on for another half hour or so, whereupon all the outsiders return home.

In the evening the people of he kraal go to the grave with a chicken, which, held by the legs, is smitten with its head on the grave till it is dead. Then it is roasted and eaten. They also put a broken cooking pot on the grave, which they trample to pieces there. Then they kill a sheep, which is eaten by the men that night. Its skin is cut into narrow strips. These are tied round the right wrist of all the male inhabitants of the kraal, and round the left wrist of all the females. This finishes the ceremonies for the day.

●765 Next morning arrangements are made in the open space outside the village for a dance. The older women beat a couple of drums, the young women and girls from he neighbourhood dance, the men and boys in their war-costume run about

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(ywoyo lid)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (orindo) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women *are* broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwono lid)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre[illegible] since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a coarse unwoven one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home. 769 782 273

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it. 769 782

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jubilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honourd at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jubilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal. 764 766

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death. 764

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home). 535

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat. 516 274

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her smoked pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle. 765

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the sandbull of an ochsiphiant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

●765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako madongi*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailed by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself against the cold. Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

11:Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her. 764

On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies. 765

If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attempt is made to save the child. 763

P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood. 764 234

After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept. 765 241

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

[illegible]

When a person dies, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of mourning the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his property goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[597] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior has *killed* a man in *warfare*, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 to make peace with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[729] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a *healthy people*.

15: Millikin U-4 (no date) 1906 FL11 Luo FL11

Burial Customs of the Wa-Kavirondo in the Kisumu Province. 35

By A. S. Millikin

764 When a Kavirondo dies he or she, as the case may be, is stripped of everything in the shape of clothing and ornaments and these, as a rule, are distributed amongst the children, should the dead person have any; if not, they are taken by the near relatives. As soon as the person has expired the relatives in the same "boma" commence howling and crying, and in some cases this is done before the sick person has expired, but is close to death.

The first persons informed of the death are those relatives and friends residing close at hand, who arrive quickly to join in the mourning and do their share of crying.

The relatives and friends from a distance begin to arrive decked out in all their finery, bringing food for the dead, and also some of their cattle, as a rule a few cow and [765] bull calves. The mourning lasts for about a fortnight, but the body is kept only for about five hours after death, when it is buried underneath the floor of the hut of the dead person; but should several people have been buried there before and no space left, the body is buried just outside the hut, on the left-hand side.

As a rule after one person is buried in the hut, if it is intended to bury a second, and even a third person in the same hut, it is customary to knock out the back part of the hut and enlarge it.

775 The Kavirondo belief is that the dead can hear, and this is their reason for burying their dead in and close to their huts, as they like the dead to hear what they say.

764 The grave is dug about 4 feet deep and is circular, and the dead person is put there in a doubled-up position. The body is buried quite naked, but sometimes the skin on which the person slept, or which he wore, is placed at the bottom of the grave.

When the grave is filled up, the earth is put back in small pieces, and is pressed tightly down, so that when all the soil is put back the surface is absolutely level, and to the casual observer it would not appear that the earth had been disturbed. As a precaution against hyenas and other wild animals a species of cactus is placed for a few days over the grave.

765 Should the dead person be a grown male, the wife or mother or the nearest relative of the dead man will cry continually for three months for about an hour before day break, but will stop when day breaks.

A peculiar custom is followed by the near relatives, who, during the first few days of mourning, smear their faces with wood ashes.

764 When a grown-up person dies, male or female, neighbours will come and hold a "ngoma" (dance), dressed up in all their finery, especially the warriors, who walk into the "boma" and march round on the inside, passing the hut of the dead person and sticking their spears into the roof of the hut. They continue to march round two or three times, finally passing the dead person's hut and withdrawing their spears,

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in
682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a
stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same
766 tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

649 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*,
has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the
614 name of the clan or larger lineage as and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *ondo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the
582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less ap-
583 proved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(ariyo)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a *wod*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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361 619 lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the JoSeje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

619 766 Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *tero buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karacuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kasii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

554 621 There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his home to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thoondi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thoon jatelo*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *won gweng*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Luoland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

Birth customs.—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat; having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

Marriage customs.—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *wimbe* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kibeti* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B 824 778

The word *Murembe* in Lu-Wanga means peace, and when peace is made between two tribes, the ceremony, if possible, always takes place at the foot of one of these trees, as the tree is a great peace charm, and the dog, which is slaughtered as part of the ceremony, is generally tied by its neck to the tree.

B 825 751

Among the Awa-wanga, if a man kills a python, it is believed that the snake will return, or possibly that its spirit will return and afflict his children with blindness. Prompt measures must, therefore, be taken to avert this disaster, and he accordingly measures the length of the reptile, and not later than the day following, hoes a path through the grass near his village equal in length to that of the snake, kills a white fowl, then sprinkles its blood in the clearing and also pours a little *mtama* or *wimbi* gruel there too; this acts as a charm to render the python's malignancy futile. Even if a python is seen only, it is considered safe to go through this ceremony. The next child that is borne to the man after killing a python is called *wanawaka* if it is a boy and *newaka* if it is a girl; (*waka* is the Lu-Wanga word for python).

B [553]

B 766 [824]

A most extraordinary custom, which holds among the Awa-wanga and may be mentioned under the present heading, is that if a young girl, a virgin, dies, her female relatives, whose duty it is to bury her, artificially deflower the body before burial; this is always done by the forcible insertion of the pointed bulb of spathes which cover the immature flowers at the lower end of a growing bunch of bananas. If this is omitted, it is believed that the sisters of the deceased will not be found to be virgins on their marriage; this would be considered somewhat of a disgrace.

B [831]

B 171

It will be remembered that in Mr. Roscoe's account of the Baganda customs,[1] the flower of the plantain or banana plays a certain part in the ritual which is gone through upon the birth of twins, and is there, I believe, used as a symbol of fruitfulness or plenty; possibly a similar idea may, in the past, have had some connection with its employment in the instance now described.

● L 765 ● 766 824

There are two curious customs, in which the thorn of the acacia plays a part, which may, perhaps, be mentioned under the heading of charms. Among the *Ja-Luo* when a person dies, for days, perhaps months after, the whole village wails with great fervour, and at stated intervals according to the conventions laid down for the case. If, however, a barren woman dies, the people of the village at once commence to wail in the usual way, and the brothers and sisters of the deceased proceed as quickly as possible to the village where the death occurred. The first blood-relation of the deceased who arrives on the scene takes a sharp acacia thorn, sticks it into the sole of the foot of the corpse and breaks it off; immediately this is done all wailing ceases at once, nor is it renewed as in the case of an ordinary death. The origin and the object of this strange custom appears to have been entirely lost.

N 787 824

Among the Nandi, when a raiding party is being arranged, the *chemeron* (warriors) proceed to a *laibon*, or medicine man, an ox is killed and the *laibon*,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 33, *et seq.*

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** *The people are not fond of war* and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jubilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jubilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*, hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, her backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

While the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her so-called pillow *(wimbi)*. They also give away deceased's hut to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the scrotum of an ichneumon, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not 766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people colect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happns to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, *his property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to [58] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives, but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased [22] father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides 782 shaving his head) eate a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended o the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give 788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring 728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must [234] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a healthy people.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabwa*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 357

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 383

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little wimbi, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Ikamia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Ikamia iron. Among the Gomi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yethet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. 765

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days.

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of bee with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyena. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 824] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica pilloricops*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhoea. They also have medicine to avoid [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.* Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

781 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola*.

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

271 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

* After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca dioecia*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomea pubescens*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1928) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their bullsh-kick-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the 765
heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, [302]
while for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a three-tree which is
put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by
the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat
as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it (*yeye lot*)
with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This [513]
is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the leg of wood
(*orindo*) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will after-
wards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People
will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why
one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was
used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the di-
strict, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from
the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and then on the
huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other
small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of these huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents
where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of
deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to step any-
where but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circum-
stances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such [842]
cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If
she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring
forth any children.

Yet another hoe dance is drawn for all the relations and neighbours, who
come by the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud (mwanu lot) and
the widow get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their hus-
band. *Now also all the wives of deceased are dispersed of, they go to either the*
brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished
and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke down all.
That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women [291]
wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the
crested mane of guinea-cocks or of cockfeather. For since the death of their
husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a more
convenient one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild figtree.

There new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in 768 ●
another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If 769
their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased 753
was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed
to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave,
then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody goes

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of
deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
769 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway
753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd
and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First
769 however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
782 ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of
273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on
the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground
and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted
and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained
off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout,
after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another
visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed,
this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass (*mollusc*).
These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-
vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of
the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become lukewarm, it
is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted
wimbi is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the
relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the
grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some
of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs
alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medicine, and it remains
hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations,
friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormous
earthen pot (*odira*) in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed
for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway
where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the
chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there,
the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore
eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the
village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to
spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die, and doing so his
eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch.
No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village
they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round
about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by
their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chiew* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogwong*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Sense of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Sense, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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614 avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke
682 out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe,
628 Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare
611 the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solu-
768 tion was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not
583 have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan,
and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable
daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer
should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and
through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary
to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at
[547] the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the
clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the epo-
nym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple
is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my
knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an
eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by
her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some
674 idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the
775 notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in
the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes,
for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely
to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on
earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short
by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide.
The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal
with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The
more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the after-
world, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

768 The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases
of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a mur-
[607] dered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit
[609] and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent
woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokowing*)

Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children. 768 839 [609]

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tayo buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment. 766 769 [764]

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased. 768 765 583

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances. 754 683 [763] [583]

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of 761 [769] [783]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *jokakwero* consulted the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished. 159 674 628

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *bwombwe* vine. The minimal lineage, *jokakwero*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows. 159 783 [824]

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present hel[illegible]g to decide which old woman should act as a wife [illegible]cut of 159 768 769

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 the murdered man, to mourn his death, to placate his spirit,
● 768 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
769 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pim*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most Joluo will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
759 incident. This is not difficult in Luo society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

159 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
662 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

telling the rice-growers they must make and maintain their own bunds. Last season the output jumped to 50,000 bags.

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We drove to Nyabondo across the Kano plains. No one loves these plains. They are not only flat, they are absolutely treeless, dry, cracked, windswept, overcrowded, dusty and mean. The soil is 'black cotton', an especially viscous clay in which any vehicle bogs down irrevocably in wet weather—very fertile potentially, but soul-destroying to work. 'The people are like their soil,' I was told. 'They break your heart and yet you go on trying, something's there.'

Everywhere are circles of a particular euphorbia, a dark-green, harsh, ugly plant that grows about eight feet tall and surrounds every group of huts. When a family head dies, his homestead is evacuated, his huts are left to rot away and only the euphorbia hedge remains, so the plains are covered with old circles as well as those in use. People have tried planting eucalyptus trees, but white ants eat them before they are man-high.

No individual cultivates his land in one piece. He digs or ploughs a patch here, a patch there, another bit over there, two more bits down the hill and a piece two miles off across the valley that belonged to his mother's uncle. This is known as fragmentation; it is almost universal among Bantu people, exists also among others such as the Luo, and is like a net spread for the feet of Progress in which he becomes enmeshed and stultified.

The first stage of land enclosure must be for every cultivator to exchange fragments with his neighbours, so that all his land is gathered together in one piece. It is the first stage and also the hardest; land is life's blood to the people; it is like exhorting men to exchange their blood, or their children. Suspicions dart out of their holes like bee-eaters. Won't so-and-so, my neighbour, get an unfair share? The bit he wants to swap for my piece is smaller. Give up my fertile patch by the river where bananas flourish for that barren stretch of hillside? Never! Somewhere there is a trick in all this. . . .

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Banta Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

excitement would then ensue and stupendous efforts would be made to recover the cow, which rarely failed to be returned to the owner before nightfall in order to redeem the sacred stone. B 778 769

The Ja-Luo do not erect altars to the spirits of their ancestors like the Banta Kavirondo, but for all that they believe in the influence of the spirits of the departed. If a man is stricken by illness, he will make a feast at the door of his hut, and he will take small pieces of meat and throw one to each of the four quarters of the compass; he will then fill his mouth with native beer and squirt a mouthful out on the ground in different directions and finally in a similar way toss out spoonfuls of *ostone* porridge in various directions as propitiatory offerings, at the same time imploring the spirits to take the food and not to worry him. L 769 778 782

Charms.

Charms are legion among all the Kavirondo, and like other native races (and European, too, for the matter of that), they make no attempt to explain why such and such a charm should produce a certain effect. B 789

The Awa-Tsoso tie a feather from a white chicken on the end of a stick as a charm to keep off hail; the sticks, which are about four feet long, are planted at intervals in the fields of beans and sem-sem; some seem to pin their faith to a wisp of grass which is tied to the stick and placed among the growing crops in the same way. This was only noticed among the Eastern Tsoso people of the Koweri clan, but is probably wide spread.

The Tiriki people suspend a ball of clay by a string which is fastened to a stick, and plant one of these in a field of sweet potatoes or ground nuts to prevent thieving; the ball of clay has one of the yellow fruit of the common wild *Solanum* stuck into it. B [824]

The use of this combination of the fruit of the Solanum and clay, as a charm for good, seems to be rather widespread, for at the close of the Nandi campaign of 1900 when the chiefs were making overtures for peace, they brought to the Government station a native stool on which was a conical mass of moist red clay which rather reminded one of a child's mud pie; this was studded all over with the yellow Solanum fruit, and was said to be great peace medicine. N 789 824 728

In some parts of Banta Kavirondo, an old earthenware cooking pot will often be seen fixed as a finial on the point of one of the natives conical huts. This is a charm to prevent the children becoming cross eyed, for it is said children, when quite babies, are often stricken with a disease of the eyes which leaves a chronic squint; the charm does not render them immune to the disease, but averts the after effects; this belief occurs among many tribes in Banta Africa, and the same charm is used. B 751

Among charms we may perhaps mention that curious tree the *Shiriliti* or, as it is called in Kavirondo, the *Mirondo* tree (*Erythrina tomentosa*) which is remarkable both for its brilliant red flowers, and from the fact that it loses its leaves and flowers at different seasons. B 824 778

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

753 755 775 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

[769]

828 775 761 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifestation of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

11:Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village. 765 [302]

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it (*yueyo kit*) with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (*orimbi*) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home. [513]

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e.g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children. [842]

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud (*mwomo kit*) and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white towels on their backs. These towels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary towel, which they replaced by a coarse one-strand one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree. [291]

The new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, that hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody goes 768 769 753

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of
deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
769 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway
753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd
and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First
769 however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
782 ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of
273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on
the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground
and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted
and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained
off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout,
after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another
visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed,
this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochod*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass (*moilhow*).
These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-
vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of
the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become lake-warm, it
is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted
wimbi is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the
relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the
grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some
of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs
alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medicine, and it remains
hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations,
friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormous
earthen pot (*nebira*) in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed
for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway
where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the
chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there,
the medicine would start working on him, and he would leave the place with sore
eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the
village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to
spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die, and doing so his
eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch.
No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village
they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round
about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by
their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the 769
iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with 782
some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the 273
ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment 769
of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung 782
over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, 764
and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabdo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not 766
use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabdo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning 764
about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut, because a woman is called the owner of the hut (*wonjet*), hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, here backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to [538]
take place near the village. They take off their sacrifices which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

While the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men [516
and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come 276]
back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chin.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook 765
and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her secalled pillow (*winlo*). They also give away deceased's hut to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an schoolplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1928)1928 FL11 Loo FL11

765 handful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer (see for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (and 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child as arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small, temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*Ukuba nsalwang'*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relatives.

●119 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailed by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[270] she lights a little fire to protect herself against the cold. She wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside, girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

1[The third day after burial. – Analyst]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

422 less an titular owners of the whole land. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest 582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the next must wait till there is no further chance of her having 585 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister 428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson 587 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead (titular owner of all)

583 a. Cattle of the elder
Entire property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Families ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the cattle and bull values by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

a. Cattle owned property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called out that received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of cattle and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Share in milked, used in quarters, one among one wives.

b. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any number inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under c and a.

Homestead head has over all dominion in the original division of ancestral cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category c to help employ to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of the other wives.

592 Domination to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a com-
613 bination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and
539 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segments, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

781 Ancestor worship is falling into disrepute among the Luo of today. All those who
778 go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young,
782 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer
[79] command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19: Southall E-9 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *ourwa, lang' owere achiew*—'our father, call your father and me'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on involving the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the favour of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries excessively the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of descent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

Two special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all three terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', kitombo*, and *siyanda*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *siyanda* of class B segments only, and *kitombo* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when considered in relation to the structural position of the speakers, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoot*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, land, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,* responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

* By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land necessary of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

601 may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God; *wasiga*,
613 enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *lhumbo* all those forces of friction and
[578] competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *lhumbo* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *lhumbo* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoudi* which stand in the *lhumbo* relationship to one another which play together at *adhola*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

613 The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of compound and elementary families, are constantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a mis-
613 fortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ayaga*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble.
769 Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of
782 lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoudi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its major segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *aspanlo*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *aspanlo* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *aspanlo* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes
613 its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Tallensi concept of *sanaa* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 20, 21, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but in the Tallensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is an competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *dhoudi* to one another whether their eponymous were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 63. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Tallensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 21).

[3] *gweng'* v., *kinh*; *gweng'* v., *to give kinh*. But it is possible to apply this even to persuasion by men.

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead. 613
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
8. Customary portion for the elders married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bals*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution. 606

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngsters of either sex begins to grasp why, or certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [367]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. 613
There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually 782
within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage 769
whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of rice.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and more frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 613
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not 574
yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the 273
vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial [571]
present. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pinkers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 613
order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority 574
of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the 576
line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *pere bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into the village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

19:Wilson K-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Leo FL11

Homicide and Suicide among the Jaluo of Kenya

Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *jokakuaro* consulted the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *buendwa* vine. The minimal lineage, *jokakuaro*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 the murdered man, to secure his death, to placate his spirit,
713 and to retain the grey ash medicine left over from the first
• 714 cleansing to be used when necessary to remove the danger of his ghost returning to harm members of the clan. An old woman past child bearing, *pire*, was selected and agreed to perform these functions. She was given animals for this service and a hut was built for her outside the village, where she placated the spirit of the dead man.

159 Most Jokos will agree that when a witch is killed, the dead
682 man's relatives do not take legal action but try to cover up the
759 incident. This is not difficult in Luo society. One case did, however, occur during the period of this study which could not be hidden from the authorities.

Case No. 2.

A youth of seventeen was escorting his sister from a marriage ceremony back to their village some miles away. It was late at night or early in the morning, time could not accurately be assessed, when suddenly an apparition appeared in the path of the couple. It was a naked man—swerving, jumping, screaming, and brandishing fire which glowed red as he waved his arms. The night was very dark and to the young couple the apparition appeared as a ghost. The woman fled the way she had come but the youth in his frantic effort to escape stumbled and fell. The "ghost" was on top of him instantly, clawing at his face and throat. The youth had a sheath knife in his belt and frantically struck out blindly several times as he managed to struggle free. He fled back to the village from which he came. A party of youths and men armed themselves and set out to search for and kill the witch but were unable to find the exact spot in the darkness.

157 Next morning a body was found, naked, and with several
682 stab wounds on it. The man was identified, and the finder,

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And there old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

"The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, *fifty-nine* families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *n'gwe*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

"We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Lue FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
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4. An irregular piece of very hard yellowish stone which was worn by his father Otiendi; it has a hole bored through it, and an iron ring inserted (Fig. 3).
5. About half-a-dozen of the Nya-Leo ancient beads, the yellow variety.
6. A piece of goat-horn, worn as medicine to prevent chest complaints.
7. The dried beak of a chicken, which is also worn as medicine for sickness; a medicine man told him to wear it.
8. The upper portion of a large marine shell of the type shown in Fig. 4. The lower portion is cut away, and nothing but the helix at the top of the shell remains (Fig. 1). This ornament is very common among the Wonyamwezi, and probably worked its way from the south. It belonged to Ugada's father Otiendi, and is said to have come originally from Ogalo, chief of Kenyamwa on the south side of the bay.
9. Around the left wrist was a stout cord through the strands of which were inserted four small pieces of stick (Fig. 6). The sticks are called *cacai* and are worn to prevent the wearer taking horns if one of his children touches him; why, was not stated.
10. A heavy brass bracelet worn on the right wrist; this was said to be very old, and to come from Alyindo, in the direction of Uganda. It belonged first to his brother Obiero.
11. A tiny square bag of skin, contents unknown, said to contain medicine for rheumatism, from which the old man suffers.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 6.

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Totems.

Some efforts have been made to elucidate some facts with regard to the presence of a belief in totemism among the people, whose customs and customs are now under investigation. Researches upon this point however are attended with great difficulty, as it is not considered a suitable subject of conversation, and one and all are very reticent upon the point. The natives of the Bantu Kavirondo, Nilotic Kavirondo and Nandi groups all have a belief in the totems or *sonies*, but, apparently, no such thing as totem worship exists, nor do the Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo believe in their descent from the *sonies* or totem, but a Nandi informed me that many of his tribe did believe in their original descent from a totem.

S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Lan FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL8
Nandi FL13

Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

The Bantu group use the word "*Mazire*" to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any misfortune, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred to can be averted by making a medicine "*dawa*," extracted from certain herbs, and this ointment is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the person.

Among the Nilotic Ja Luo the totems are called "*Kwero*," and there is a long list of "*Kwero*" animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch.

Upon no occasion is the rule of the *Kwero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this "*index expurgatorius*" are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any "*Kwero*" animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Balearica pallorinus*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gusii tribe, however, do not consider it wrong to kill and eat this beautiful bird. The Gusii, Lego, and Suk tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them "*Gyeroge*." The Ja-Luo chiefs wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the "*Kwero*" law.

Examples of the Totems of the Bantu Family.

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisasi clan of *Ajiji* Wanga	*Inshonga*, bushbuck.
Mawana and part of Tawe and Imbiha...	*Kuru*, waterbuck or *Bisha*.
Awa-Gunya and Awa-Mumbi	*Isiwi*, pigeon.
Awa Shakwi of *Nyala*	*Njofu*, elephant.
In Kotosh there are several, according to to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	*Mulenyi*, a large black and white moth which appears in large flocks about November, it eats locusts.
Tawai tribe (Ngobi section)	*Imwe*, snail bush.
Idiabo, E. Tawe, S. Kolwa	*Inchonga* or *Ngwe*.
Probably the totem most common in Kolwa is	*Mbindeli*, white ants in the flying stage (not cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

The Totems (Kaero) of the Nilotic Group.

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	Name in Tho-Leo.		Name in Tho-Leo.
Crocodile	*Nyong.*	Nile monitor (lizard)	*Nyasch.*
Hyena	*Ndish.*	Python	*Nyele.*
Leopard	*Okwash.*	Mongoose	*Gori gori.*
Baboon	*Bion.*	Rock hyrax	*Kumnēr.*
Monkey	*Ongner (Cercopithecus sp.).*	Tortoise	*Upuku.*
Wild cat	*Oyoung.*	Colobus monkey ...	*Kuru.*
Jackal	*Bosom.*	Wart hog	*Imbirri.*
Vulture	*Ashut-th.*	Frog	*Oyuan.*
Crow	*Agulo.*	Crested crane ...	*Iwung.*
Kite	*Otongo.*	Ground hornbill ...	*Arumtich.*

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The following are in addition "*Kaero*" or "tabu" to the women:—Fowls, eggs, elephant, hippopotamus, sheep (latter only among Kisumu and Gomi).

The women's "*Kaero*" are not serious ones, i.e., a breach of the law is not followed by death.

The Totems of the Nandi Group.

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	Nandi Name.		Nandi Name.
Hyena	*Magetiet.*	Water tortoise ...	*Chebbukushet.*
Jackal	*Lebuet.*	Chameleon	*Nyeretiat.*
Kite	*Chebinerot.*	Crested crane ...	*Kungenyet.*
Buzzard	*Chebbukusiet.*	Elephant	*Beliet.*

The elephant, although looked upon as a totem, can be eaten without evil effects.

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I omitted to mention above that the Kadimu people, who live on the Lake near the mouth of the River Nzoia, believe that they are descended from the python; these reptiles are looked upon as sacred and annual sacrifices are made upon a hill in Kadimu to the common ancestor. The Kadimu people are a Bantu tribe which has adopted the language of the Nilotic Ja-Luo, and it is thus the only Bantu tribe in the country which looks upon its totem as its ancestor.

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Certain snakes, however, are looked upon as sacred animals among some of the Unyamwezi clans and it is highly probable that, as among the Kadimu, this is due to the belief that the snake was their common ancestor. Many Wanyamwezi consider it a deadly sin to kill a snake, and one occasionally meets an individual belonging to one of these clans who is said to be immune from the effects of snake poison.

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The totems of the Koromojo people who live north of Mount Elgon, are snakes, frogs, the monitor lizard, the hyena, and the cheetah; they believe they will die

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family. 234

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk. 442

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind. 231 262

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans. 342 341

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the [771] 776 782

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

INTRODUCTION

This piece of work is the result of a survey carried out in Nyahera among Luo people living round the African Inland Mission, seven miles north-west of the township of Kisumu. This investigation has provided a basis from which generalizations could be made by comparing the conditions in this locality with those in other parts of the Luo country.

Superstitions—beliefs in magic and the work of spirits—are common among the Luo people; and it appears to me that any differences in the conditions existing in various localities can be attributed to the extent to which Christian influence and economic pressure have modified the people's beliefs and manner of life.

Local differences may also be due to customs acquired from the numerous tribes contacted by the Luo in their migration. Remnants of these customs and social practices may still be found in the assimilated tribal groups.

This investigation originated from a desire to study the social development of a Luo girl. I have therefore put forward such information as I think might interest anyone engaged in educational work among the people of this tribe. I hope too that it may interest students in attempting to solve problems which would further the advance of education and broaden the outlook of parents in relation to their children.

The material put forward leaves an enormous field for comparison, criticism, and independent investigation by serious students of Luo society. The nature of the problems dealt with may also make the information appear fragmentary; but I have attempted, within the serious limitations involved; to provide a structure on which

S: Stokley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Lam FL11

I must also express my indebtedness to Mr. Mayne, Collector of Nandi, for much information regarding that tribe, which is particularly conservative on these matters.

I have no doubt that, as years go by, many of the matters dealt with herein may become much clearer, but I have thought it best to publish the material without further delay, as it may help to stimulate further research, and I also fear that as civilization develops, many of the strange customs and legends may become lost; in fact, there are already signs that the younger generation of natives are losing interest in the old order of things.

Legends of the Origin of the Ja-Luo Race.

Many savage tribes have legends or myths to account for their origin, and I believe I am correct in stating that, in Africa, it is generally among those of Bantu origin that such myths are found. However, in the whole of the country to the vicinity of the east side of the Nyanza, with which I am fairly well acquainted, with one exception, no trace of a definite legend has been discovered among the Bantu tribes (the exception being the Kavirondo belief that their common ancestor was a large python). Among the Ja-Luo, however, there is a very wide-spread belief in one Apidhlo, who was the Adam of the comparatively limited area of which these people have any cognizance.

I venture to give three versions of the same myth taken down from three chiefs living some forty miles apart. Each of these authorities also gave me a genealogical tree of considerable interest, inasmuch as they contain what may be a very probable solution of the origin of the names of the Ja-Luo tribes in Kavirondo. Of course there are discrepancies, but when one considers the way this story and the genealogical tables have been handed down verbally from generation to generation, one wonders that the three versions present so many features in common.

Version I from Ugulu chief of Uyoma.

Apidhlo was the father of all the Kavirondo people. He descended from the heavens, and the day he reached the earth, the various kinds of animals also came down from above.

Apidhlo descended on Ramogi, or Lamogi, Hill, a long way north of Uganda, and he afterwards died at the same place. He descended with one woman, whose name is forgotten, and by her he had two sons and four daughters. These sons were named Ramogi and Anyanga, and each married two of his sisters.

Ramogi migrated southward, and came and settled on a hill in Kadimo country (near the mouth of the river Nzoia); this hill is called after him to this day. His offspring founded the Ja-Luo race; most of the names of his sons being the names of the various tribes which were founded by them.

Anyanga, the other son of Apidhlo, stayed in the country of his father and became the progenitor of the Ragoshi and Banyore. On the day that Apidhlo

S: Hobley G-9 (ca. 1902) 1903 FL.11 Loo FL.11

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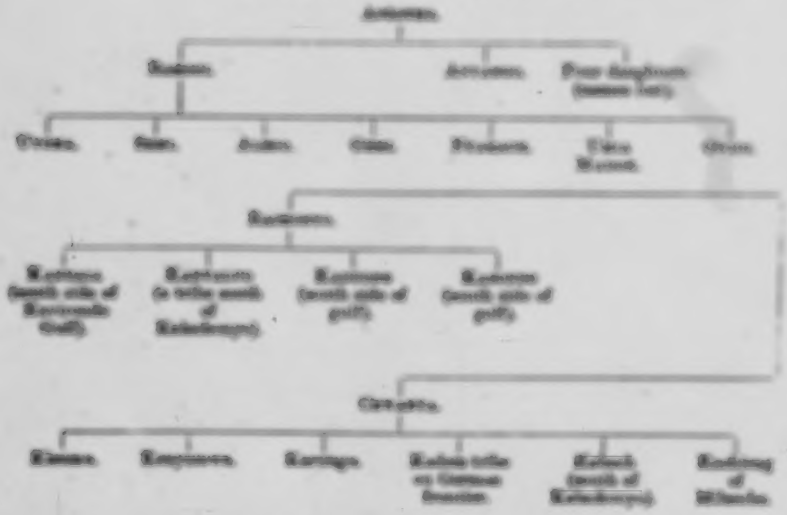
reached the earth, among the other animals that accompanied him were a bull, a cow, and a calf; he also brought onions and other food-bearing seeds and plants, and there is especially mentioned besides, a tree called "Were," and out of the wood of the Were tree he made two wooden bowls. He then milked the cow into one of the wooden bowls, and, from ignorance he caught the cow's urine into the other bowl; this done, he poured the milk into a gourd and left the bowl of cow's urine in the sun, and then rested till the evening. At sundown he churned the milk that was in the gourd, collected the butter, and put it on one side; he then brought in the bowl of urine and mixed it with the buttermilk that remained in the gourd. Then, being hungry, he took the mixture and made some gruel with mimea meal, cooked and drank it; after drinking it, he passed urine for the first time since he had reached the earth, and this is the origin of the *Jo-Loo* custom of mixing milk with the cow's urine which prevails to this day.

Genealogy of *Jo-Loo*.

Version I of Ugoda Ribek of Usoloma.


Ambwa.
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5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

He reached the earth in the country away to the north of the lake, and died in that country; at his death, he turned into a rock. Apôdtho had supernatural powers and possessed the power to turn into a rock at will. When he was old, the Ja-Luo conspired to kill him, but for a long time nothing came of it, because they were afraid of him; but one day sickness overcame him; the conspirators sent a girl to see if he was really sick, as they thought it would be a good opportunity to kill him. She took a small horn, used for cupping blood, in her hand, and, while talking to him, she placed the cupping horn on his shadow; to her surprise it drew blood from the shadow. She returned and told her friends that, if they wanted to kill Apôdtho, they must not touch his body, but spear his shadow; they did so, and he died and turned into a rock, which the Ja-Luo afterwards considered to possess special virtues for sharpening spears on.

Ramogi was the first member of the Ja-Luo race to come to Kavirondo, and he built in Kadimo country, near what is now the village of the chief Anam.

The Ja-Mwa (or Baatu Kavirondo) are descended from Anyango and came to Kavirondo before the Ja-Luo. They also came from the north, but belong to a different stock, the Baganda and Ba-Soga.

The Naodi came from the Ja-Lango. The Ja-Luo on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf originally lived on the north side, and crossed over by canoes.

The Kolua and various Ja-Luo clans on the Kitoto plain are the descendants of one Kanu, who is said to have come from Masai land and to have married the sister of Bachonyo and settled down in the Kitoto plain; they are to this day often grouped together under the name Ja-Kanu.

Gemi, Lego, Sakwa, Kadimo, Ugenya, the founders of the tribes of the same name, were not sons of Ramogi, but were collaterally descended from Apôdtho.

Version III.

This version was obtained from Gori Kogalo, chief of Kanyamwa (Ja-Luo) on the south side of Kavirondo Gulf.

Apôdtho was the father of all mankind; and he, the sun, the wind, and the moon appeared on earth together; the father of the sun was dead. Apôdtho brought with him to the earth a spear, a shield, and fire. The buffalo and the cattle came out of the sea (probably meaning the Nyanza), and were herded by mankind, but the buffalo broke away, and took to the woods, refusing to become tame as the cattle did; he also brought esteme grain, the wimbi he found growing on earth in the grass; he found tobacco and the sweet potato growing in elephant dung.

Shortly after their arrival, Apôdtho ordered the moon to kill an ox, but the moon refused; he then told the sun, and then the wind, they also refused, so he killed the ox himself with a blow from his fist, and then ate the meat, offering some to the sun, moon, and wind, but they all refused to eat, and he was very angry, so they fled back to the heavens and have stayed there ever since. Apôdtho told his

S. Mackay C-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 F7.11 Lwo T7.11

Genealogy of the Jo-Luo.

Version 2 of Ojude Kwonde.

Antyeno (had one wife, name unknown).

Owiny.

Nyawir (father of East Luo settler to Kavirondo, had five wives).

Lower (the Nandi said to be descended from Lango).

Chemwono. | Nyakach. | Kanyamo. | Uyoma. | (missing). | (missing). | Kadimo (name of tribe south side of gulf). | Kisumu (tribe south side of gulf). | Kadimo (tribe south side of gulf). | Siyakago (most southerly tribe of Jo-Luo near German frontier).

Chemo. | Nyao (name of tribe). | Uyoma Mission (the Luo name for the Wanga or Elgonyi people). | Uyoma (name of tribe). | Kanyamo. | Gem Isle (tribe, across on the other side, i.e., the Gem tribe on south side of Kavirondo gulf).

Kanyamo (name of tribe). | Kadimomore (name of tribe on south side of Kavirondo gulf).

Nyawir. | Ojola (probable variant). | Kadimo (name of clan of Kanyamo tribe).

Yimo.

Nyawir (name of small clan of Kanyamo tribe). | Uyoma.

Ojola.

Siyakago (name of clan of Kanyamo tribe). | Kisumu (probable variant). | Asoyo. | Kadimo (name of clan of tribe).

Asoyo.

Kisumu.

Owiyoyo.

Uyoma (name of present chief of Kavirondo clan, age over 70). | Owiyo. | Owiyoyo.

to Kavirondo and Nandi.

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Genealogy of the Zulu
Version 2 of Nuni Kupela
Zulu
Zulu
the same but
Zulu
Zulu
Nguni and Zulu, descended from the stock.
Nguni Descendants
all other people in world.
Zulu
Xhosa
Swazi
Tonga
Shangaan
Pedi
Sotho
Zulu
Ndebele
Zulu
Xhosa
Xhosa
Xhosa

S: Hobley G-8 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet these people.

Ramogi, the great grandson of Apidiho, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing new's urine with the milk.

Mbonga, the oldest son of Ramogi, was the first member of the Ja-Luo to migrate southward into Kavirondo, and his brothers followed him; upon their arrival, they found the Santo Kavirondo in possession of the land, but gradually drove them back.

The Santo Kavirondo are descended from one Mugirango.

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating herbs and drinking milk to this day.

The Nandi and Lumbwa are descended from Alango, a son of Ramogi.

Sajoki, a son of Apidiho, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

This account was given me by an old chief living away in the hills to the south of Kavirondo Gulf, a man who has probably not seen half a dozen Europeans in the whole of his life. He told me that, in his youth, the old chiefs had many more legends, but the young men of to-day took but little interest in such things, and they were all rapidly being forgotten. He confided to me that his neighbours imputed to him the power of being able to transform himself at will into the shape of an ox and other animals, but he gravely assured me that these slanders were quite unfounded, and were a source of great embarrassment to him.

The version of the legend, given above, differs considerably from those previously recounted, and many new names appear. Most of the new names, however, are the names of tribes living in South Kavirondo, or Ugaya as it is often called, *e.g.*, Nyamkago, Kalodonyo, Kabondo, Kabuch, Kadem, Uchieng. As these were near neighbours of his ancestors, their names would be more likely to be remembered.

There is, I think, enough internal evidence to show that this is really a very ancient genealogy, brought down from the Nile valley by the people when they migrated to the south.

An examination of the three versions of the genealogy of the Ja-Luo just given will lay bare many discrepancies, the presence of which, to my mind, gives an air of great genuineness to the information, and is, in a way, proof of the age of the myth.

Like the genealogy of the Uganda kings given in Mr. Roscoe's paper,[1] and, for the matter of that, like many other genealogies of world-wide fame in the ancient history of more civilized countries, we have in the Ja-Luo genealogy a succession of mythical personages and demigods at one end of the line, and at the other end,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

242 land, "Mbora." A piece of land weed infested in the middle of cultivation is called "sino," and the Luo are alive to the menace [578] this neglected patch is to the crops surrounding it. A man who allows "sino" to endanger his neighbours' crops is very unpopular.

STATUS OF WOMEN:

562 The position of women amongst the Luo is one of great influence, in spite of many things which show that they are not regarded as the 573 equal of the men. While they have nothing in their creation stories which gives the male such pre-eminence as is given in the Hebrew account of creation in the second chapter of Genesis, yet even in their stories it is the male which is created first. The origin of the female is surrounded with mystery, none have any clear account of her origin. But it is significant that the name by which the first woman is known to many of the Luo is ALOO. LOO or LOWO is the stem meaning earth or soil, and there is undoubtedly some connection in their minds between the fruitful soil and woman. But though her origin is surrounded in mystery, she soon is made to carry the responsibility for the fact that the sons of men have got to work. Lest the story should be unknown to some it is worth while repeating it here. According to the creation story, the first man to be created was one called Podho. To him the Creator (called Nyasaye) gave a magic hoe, which worked by itself, requiring no arm to wield it. With the hoe Nyasaye gave Podho a command that he was never to attempt to do any work with it himself. If he should disobey this command then the hoe would lose its virtue and cease to work unaided. This happened before the advent of ALOO (sometimes called also MIHAHA). When eventually Podho was given ALOO, he gave the hoe over to her care, telling her at the same time of the command which Nyasaye had laid down. For a time all went well. When they wanted any digging to be done all they had to do was to take the hoe out to the site, show it what they wanted it to dig and leave it to do the work. In the evening it was brought in again. But one day curiosity was too much for ALOO. She felt that she must feel what it was like to turn up a few sods. So she picked up the hoe and with it turned up a little soil. Then becoming suddenly afraid she dropped the hoe and went home, but did not tell her husband, Podho. However she was unable to hide what she had done, for in the evening when they went to bring in the hoe, it lay where she had dropped it, and had done no work. Then the voice of Nyasaye said that as they were now so clever that they knew how to dig, never more would the hoe dig for them. So to this day woman is blamed as the one through whose wrongdoing the curse of work came to men.

562 However the tradition came into existence it reflects the common tendency of many creation stories to put the blame on the woman,

1: Box 11 E-4 (no date) 1952 FL11 Lwo FL11

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Hanson, Nyasa is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.(1)

[773] Johnston states that the Lwo believe in a supreme god, Chwong, which is the same for the sun.(2) Dhan, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Lwo worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Lwo beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

● 775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost (*jwiem*, pl. *jwiemdi*) and the Lwo methods of dealing with it. *Jwiem* is the Lwo equivalent of the Shilluk *ocen*, the Anholi *lwem*, Lango *ekpen* and the Acholi *mirmi*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any of these may become a *jwiem*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The Lwo regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortune, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5)

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775 The diviner (*nyango*) discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appro-775 priate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *ngolo*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *ngolo* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jadilo* is called in; as in sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for anyone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jagot* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Hanson, *The Northern Nuers*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Dhan, *Anthropos*, 1930, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.43
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.133, p.86.

4: Hakley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL.11 Lue FL.11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

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Religion.—They call the Divinity by the name Chiong, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

If a hailstorm occurs no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

S: Rabbey G-5 (no. 1900) 1901 PL11 Loo PL11

children that he had left a beautiful country in the heavens where the people were all bright like fire, and that when they were dead, they would all go and meet those people.

Ramogi, the great grandson of Ajuridde, taught the Ja-Luo the custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk.

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The Bantu Kavirondo are descended from one Magonaga. . .

The Masai are descended from a Ja-Luo youth who, when out one day herding cattle, absconded into the woods, driving off the cattle; a woman who was lazy, and would not cultivate, crept away and joined him, and they became the progenitors of the Masai; they live by eating herbs and drinking milk to this day.

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Rajidi, a son of Ajuridde, is the ancestor of all the other people on earth, Europeans, etc.

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[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," Plates I and II.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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CHAPTER XXVI

SICKNESS, DEATH, BURIAL, WARFARE, INDUSTRIES, RELIGION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Treatment of the sick—ghostly possession—death and mourning—death of a wife—manner of conducting warfare—treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy—agricultural pursuits—cow-keeping—oxen used as riding animals—mode of building—religious beliefs—terms of relationships.

Treatment of the sick. Sickness is thought to be due to one of two causes: it may be, and the people think most frequently is, the result of magic which has been worked by some person who wishes to give pain or even to cause death because of a grievance, real or imaginary; or it may be due to some ghost. Under either circumstance, when a serious case of sickness occurs, the family seek the aid of a medicine-man who by his various tests and incantations discovers the cause; and, in a case where magic has been worked, he not only discovers the cause but also discloses the name of the culprit, who is thereupon sought and asked to give his motive for afflicting the sick person, and is paid to release him from the spell. Should the man have intended to kill the other because he has suffered some discourtesy or received some offence at his hands, he would probably have speared his shadow, so that the sick person will die unless the spell or magic is removed. Again, it may be that some magic has been worked and certain objects have been hidden near the house which are causing the sickness; these have to be removed and the spell broken before any drugs or treatment will avail the sick man. The perpetrator will only remove these when his grievance has been settled and he has received the needful compensation. In the case of a ghost, the medicine-man will tell which ghost is working the trouble and why it is thus causing sickness.

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10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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753 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict
755 grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the
775 duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order
[769] a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifesta-
775 tion of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins
761 of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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765 she makes a new girdle from papyrus while still at the river, and wears it as she returns to her village. She is then free to remarry.

775 Dead people are sometimes said to come to life again. This is reported to take place within a short time after death. It is said that the spirit had gone on a journey and had returned after the man was thought to be dead, but in time to stop the funeral. The supposed dead person sneezes and revives, the sneezing being thought to be the signal that the spirit has returned from his journey.

764 **Death of a wife.** Should a wife die before her husband, her body is buried in the house, and, when the husband dies, he is buried in the goat-house near. He may not be buried in the same house with his wife. The animal offered at a man's funeral is always an ox, while it is an old cow that is offered at a woman's funeral. The skin from the animal is used to wrap the body as a shroud. The meat from the animal is divided in the following manner: a shoulder is retained for the dead and is eaten by the mourners at the grave, the second shoulder is for the relatives in the village, and the remainder, with the exception of the neck, is for the guests who live at a distance: the neck is given to the medicine-man.

766 762 A suicide is buried in the open, never in a house. Should the death have taken place in a house, it is burned down, for no one will live in it.

Warfare.

721 **Mode of conducting wars.** The people are not fond of war and fortunately their wars are never very serious matters. Cattle-lifting and women-stealing are the chief causes of fighting. The battles take place after short notice, when it is found that cattle have been robbed or when the alarm is given that a woman has been captured by some other clan. When a fight is impending, the attacking party drive a few cows to some spot where the other party may see them and challenge the others to come and take them. The party challenged must either attempt to carry off the cows while the others protect them, or they must pay a fine imposed by the attacking army.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

775 133 In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which
171 it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tchien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
755 Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and
775 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jociendi*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

775 626 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives; and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

753 755 775 [787] Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compensate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 775 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's homestead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86 c]

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783 It seems that normally it is only kinsmen who haunt a man, but any man who kills another, whether he be related to him or not, is in danger of ghostly vengeance. For this reason a Luo does not care to spear an adulterer found with his wife. Also, as Roscoe says, a man who slays another in war may be injured by his ghost if certain rites are not performed. These purificatory rites, called *gut*, are conducted by a man, called *jagut*, who has himself killed a man and been through the ceremony. The slayer comes back from the fight to his homestead with a crowd of his companions, who make a demonstration there, singing and pulling out the eaves of his mother's hut. His father and mother strip themselves and cover their bodies with ashes. The slayer remains outside the homestead and there the *jagut* pierces the beak of a fowl and hangs it round his neck. He then cuts the beak of the fowl and it is killed when it falls. The slayer may now enter the homestead, but not through the gateway. A special entrance is cut for him through the euphorbia hedge which encircles the homestead.

[p. 87a]

775 He goes straight to the hut of the *pim*, the old woman
783 of the home, and there a goat is thumped and kicked to death. Afterwards it is skinned and cut open. The heart is extracted and bits of it are put by the *jagut* to the lips of the slayer and of some of his companions. He cuts strips from the skin of the goat and lays them along the backs of the slayer's fingers. He also gives the slayer medicines, among them a wild pig's tusk, which the slayer wears round his neck. The man is now purified and may drink milk again.

[114] Roscoe's account is very different from that given to me by Luo, which I have recounted above.

775 Clearly there is much more to be discovered about Luo beliefs about ghosts than what I have recorded, but I can only add to my account that the word *jociendi* is sometimes used for ghosts in general—and not with special reference to troublesome ghosts—and that some ghosts appear to be thought to become nature spirits dwelling in water and in the air, and others to occupy the gourds used by diviners and to answer questions the diviners put to them.

[p. 87 b]

Burial Customs of the Wa-Kavirondo in the Kisumu Province. 35

By A. S. Millikin

764 When a Kavirondo dies he or she, as the case may be, is stripped of everything in the shape of clothing and ornaments and these, as a rule, are distributed amongst the children, should the dead person have any; if not, they are taken by the near relatives. As soon as the person has expired the relatives in the same "boma" commence howling and crying, and in some cases this is done before the sick person has expired, but is close to death.

The first persons informed of the death are those relatives and friends residing close at hand, who arrive quickly to join in the mourning and do their share of crying.

The relatives and friends from a distance begin to arrive decked out in all their finery, bringing food for the dead, and also some of their cattle, as a rule a few cow and [765] bull calves. The mourning lasts for about a fortnight, but the body is kept only for about five hours after death, when it is buried underneath the floor of the hut of the dead person; but should several people have been buried there before and no space left, the body is buried just outside the hut, on the left-hand side.

As a rule after one person is buried in the hut, if it is intended to bury a second, and even a third person in the same hut, it is customary to knock out the back part of the hut and enlarge it.

● 775 The Kavirondo belief is that the dead can hear, and this is their reason for burying their dead in and close to their huts, as they like the dead to hear what they say.

764 The grave is dug about 4 feet deep and is circular, and the dead person is put there in a doubléd-up position. The body is buried quite naked, but sometimes the skin on which the person slept, or which he wore, is placed at the bottom of the grave.

When the grave is filled up, the earth is put back in small pieces, and is pressed tightly down, so that when all the soil is put back the surface is absolutely level, and to the casual observer it would not appear that the earth had been disturbed. As a precaution against hyænas and other wild animals a species of cactus is placed for a few days over the grave.

765 Should the dead person be a grown male, the wife or mother or the nearest relative of the dead man will cry continually for three months for about an hour before day break, but will stop when day breaks.

A peculiar custom is followed by the near relatives, who, during the first few days of mourning, smear their faces with wood ashes.

764 When a grown-up person dies, male or female, neighbours will come and hold a "ngoma" (dance), dressed up in all their finery, especially the warriors, who walk into the "boma" and march round on the inside, passing the hut of the dead person and sticking their spears into the roof of the hut. They continue to march round two or three times, finally passing the dead person's hut and withdrawing their spears,

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

the bridegroom and part with her parents. The bridewealth payments now begin and the wife's parents try to hurry up the payments by luring her home on frequent visits. The bridegroom cannot prevent her departure or demand her return. To get her to return he hands over another animal and she then stays with him for a short while. This procedure is repeated until the bride is definitely recognised as his wife and stays with him except for brief visits to her old home.

The *riso* ceremony is the binding act of marriage. After it the husband is entitled to redress if the wife has intercourse with other men. As the husband is anxious to start a home and cannot do so while his wife keeps running back to her parents, he presses for the *riso* ceremony to be held as soon as he has paid 6 to 12 head of cattle. It is rare for a marriage to be broken off after this stage has been reached. The *riso* ceremony is held in the husband's homestead and is a day of celebration. The wife is given a series of presents by her husband's people, each gift being named as it is presented to her. She herself keeps none of them and they are taken by the girls of the *riso* party from her parents' village.

The final ceremony takes place a few months later when the husband tells his wife to cook for him instead of cooking in his mother's hut. Usually after the birth of the first child he begins to built an *ot* - a proper dwelling; up to this time the couple have lived in the bachelors' hut (*simba*). Necessary household articles are collected by the wife from her parents' home and so, after a great number of ceremonies and rituals, the union is accomplished and the basis of a family is laid.

RESPECT (*LUR*)

The Luo practise extensive avoidance as a part of the general attitude of respect to a wife's family. A man turns his back to his parents-in-law when speaking to them and avoids them if he meets them on a path. He never visits his mother-in-law naked.(1) This attitude of respect is extended to all the members of his wife's lineage, particularly the older people, and including the lineage of her maternal uncle. The husband's brothers, on the other hand, respect only his parents-in-law and immediate kin of their generation.

The avoidance rules are relaxed as the marriage gradually grows more stable and children are born. A ceremony is held at the birth of the first child to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and eat there. The husband and his brothers are invited to eat after a goat has been presented to them.(2)

RITUAL AND OTHER CULTURAL FEATURES

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Luo believe in a supreme being whom they call Nyasi. He is

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa*, XX, p.141. (2) *Ibid.*

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Roscoe, Nyasi is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.(1)

[777] Johnston states that the Luo believe in a supreme god, Chieng, which is the name for the sun.(2) Stam, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Luo worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Luo beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost *(jacien,* pl. *jociendi)* and the Luo methods of dealing with it. *Jacien* is the Luo equivalent of the Shilluk *cien*, the Acholi *lacen*, Lango *chyen* and the Anuak *acieni*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any [753 of these may become a *jacien*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The 626] Luo regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5)

755 The diviner *(ajuago)* discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appro-775 priate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *mugalu*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *mugalu* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jadilo* is called in; an ox is sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jagut* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Stam, *Anthropos*, 1910, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.63
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.133, p.86.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

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Beliefs.—They call the Divinity by the name Chieng, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

If a hailstorm occurs no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

9: Owen M-5 (ca. 1920)1933 FL11 Luo FL11

FOOD PRODUCTION AND KINDRED MATTERS, AMONGST THE LUO.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

(Paper read at the 3rd Annual Scientific Meeting held in Nov., 1933.)

Soil:

134 The production of food must necessarily be associated with knowledge of the soil. The principal soil varieties have been named by the Luo, and the methods appropriate to each variety are well known. Black cotton soil, called " anywang," occurs over a wide area, mainly around the lake shores, and is conspicuous in the locations of Uyoma, Karachwonya, Kasigunga and the Kano Plains. Red earth, called " lwala," is, speaking generally, found further back from the lake, on the higher lands, and is to be found over wide tracts in Central and South Kavirondo, a notable location being North Gem, in Central Kavirondo. Sandy soil, called " kwoyo," is generally found in the neighbourhood of outcrops of granite, which is a prominent feature in many parts. The locations of Asembo in Central Kavirondo, and Suna in South Kavirondo are good examples of areas where this sandy soil is abundant. Murram, called " gu " when solid and " ge " when disintegrated into a soil, occurs in places all over the country, Sakwa and Alego in particular providing many examples of it. Stony soil, called " kite," is to be found over large stretches, particularly in those neighbourhoods where escarpments rise from the regions round the lake. Though the labour involved in the cultivation of this stony soil is very great, where there is pressure of population, every available patch is made to produce food.

Rainfall:

132 Over certain sections of the country rainfall is very uncertain. The worst locations in this respect are lower Seme, Uyoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, parts of Asembo, Mirunda, Kasigunga and Rusinga. In other districts rainfall is abundant, running from forty to sixty five inches in the year, well distributed over the months, with the exception of January and early February. January is reckoned to be the driest [526] month of the year, and is the month when there is most relaxation from agricultural operations, this being the favourite time for the inter-clan wrestling matches.

789 Contrary to what many would expect, amongst people who
782 periodically suffer from lack of rain, the Luo have developed no system
776 of rain makers. At the top of Usenge Hill in Kadimo, there is still to be seen a site marked by a collection of votive pots, where the local

789 782 776 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit, together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call " Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches [782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the [609] rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were " of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 791 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family.

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk.

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind.

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans.

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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776 782 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Musoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amodwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, waya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor waya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod waya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar waya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, wonwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse.

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits.

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust.

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES.

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Roscoe, Nyasi is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.(1)

[777] Johnston states that the Luo believe in a supreme god, Chieng, which is the name for the sun.(2) Stam, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Luo worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Luo beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost *(jacien,* pl. *jociendi)* and the Luo methods of dealing with it. *Jacien* is the Luo equivalent of the Shilluk *cien*, the Acholi *lacen*, Lango *chyen* and the Anuak *acieni*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any [753 626] of these may become a *jacien*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The Luo regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5)

755 The diviner *(ajuogo)* discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is 775 due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appropriate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *augalu*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *augalu* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jadilo* is called in; an ox is sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur- 783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jagut* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Stam, *Anthropos*, 1910, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.63
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.133, p.86.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*. 695

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crushed up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign. 787

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*. [777]

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, and some chiefs are said to be able to foretell whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri. [241]

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name. 551

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
[683] man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingo." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if
● 777 it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that
787 is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
[844] for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

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Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

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Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

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A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

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The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B 778 769

excitement would then ensue and stupendous efforts would be made to recover the cow, which rarely failed to be returned to the owner before nightfall in order to redeem the sacred stone.

L 769 778 782

The Ja-Luo do not erect altars to the spirits of their ancestors like the Bantu Kavirondo, but for all that they believe in the influence of the spirits of the departed. If a man is stricken by illness, he will make a feast at the door of his hut, and he will take small pieces of meat and throw one to each of the four quarters of the compass; he will then fill his mouth with native beer and squirt a mouthful out on the ground in different directions and finally in a similar way toss out spoonfuls of *mtama* porridge in various directions as propitiatory offerings, at the same time imploring the spirits to take the food and not to worry him.

Charms.

B 789

Charms are legion among all the Kavirondo, and like other native races (and European, too, for the matter of that), they make no attempt to explain why such and such a charm should produce a certain effect.

The Awa-Tsoso tie a feather from a white chicken on the end of a stick as a charm to keep off hail; the sticks, which are about four feet long, are planted at intervals in the fields of beans and sem-sem; some seem to pin their faith to a wisp of grass which is tied to the stick and placed among the growing crops in the same way. This was only noticed among the Eastern Tsoso people of the Koweri clan, but is probably wide spread.

B [824]

The Tiriki people suspend a ball of clay by a string which is fastened to a stick, and plant one of these in a field of sweet potatoes or ground nuts to prevent thieving; the ball of clay has one of the yellow fruit of the common wild *Solanum* stuck into it.

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The use of this combination of the fruit of the Solanum and clay, as a charm for good, seems to be rather widespread, for at the close of the Nandi campaign of 1900 when the chiefs were making overtures for peace, they brought to the Government station a native stool on which was a conical mass of moist red clay which rather reminded one of a child's mud pie; this was studded all over with the yellow Solanum fruit, and was said to be great peace medicine.

B 751

In some parts of Bantu Kavirondo, an old earthenware cooking pot will often be seen fixed as a finial on the point of one of the natives conical huts. This is a charm to prevent the children becoming cross eyed, for it is said children, when quite babies, are often stricken with a disease of the eyes which leaves a chronic squint; the charm does not render them immune to the disease, but averts the after effects; this belief occurs among many tribes in Bantu Africa, and the same charm is used.

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Among charms we may perhaps mention that curious tree the *Ekirikiti* or, as it is called in Kavirondo, the *Murembe* tree (*Erythrina tomentosa*) which is remarkable both for its brilliant red flowers, and from the fact that it bears its leaves and flowers at different seasons.

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have been more common in South Kavirondo whither the cult had spread and had been received with enthusiasm.

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The priests started " schools " which they usually placed on hill-tops, and in the best proselytising traditions, attracted potential adherents by giving feasts of their slaughtered cattle. They also built here and there what might be called groves or places for the worship of Mumbo where sacrifices were made to the accompaniment of many obscenities and dancing.

In some of these Groves were wooden idols, one of which has been presented to the Natural History Museum by Mr. C. M. Dobbs, late Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province. This practice of constructing sacred Groves to Mumbo and erecting idols is interesting since all the people who were questioned about this cult said definitely that such things had never been commanded by Mumbo himself. True, he had said that there were to be sacrifices made to him with dancing to the accompaniment of drums and bull-roarers (without musical accompaniment), but he meant them to take place in each boma. No instructions had been given for groves or idols.

An extract from the report of the District Officer who found the idol is worth inserting at this point:—

" . . . .The meeting place of the cult consisted of a beautifully swept enclosure adjoining the High Priest's Boma and capable of seating some two hundred people. From the next boma to that of the High Priest ran a made path, four feet wide and trenched at the sides . . . . The enclosure was surrounded by a well-built dry stone wall. In the centre was a little semi-open hut about six feet in diameter, finished with white mud . . . . There was no door, it appeared symmetrical all round, thus:—

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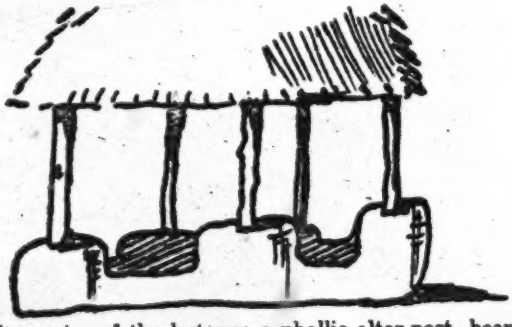

" In the centre of the hut was a phallic altar-post, bearing traces of blood-stains . . . . The High Priest's daughter produced some unpleasant animal relics from a hole in the wall in the enclosure. In the Western corner a bush plant (Nyaluthkoth) had been planted. . . .

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In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls."

795 The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the
778 Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about
5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result
231 that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo boma the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has
[531] a post—called in Dholuo, "Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of the boma has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby boma.

795 The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all
778 carved Loches appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

174 Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these
831 Loches is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Loches in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who held parallel beliefs.

795 It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo
174 religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

795 The prophesies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out,
797 especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the* abila
Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses
Most to *mikayi*, next to *nyachira*, rest among *rero* wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rach kede* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ataka* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuorwa, luong' wuoru uchiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

THE special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhondi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B 778 769

excitement would then ensue and stupendous efforts would be made to recover the cow, which rarely failed to be returned to the owner before nightfall in order to redeem the sacred stone.

L 769 778 782

The Ja-Luo do not erect altars to the spirits of their ancestors like the Bantu Kavirondo, but for all that they believe in the influence of the spirits of the departed. If a man is stricken by illness, he will make a feast at the door of his hut, and he will take small pieces of meat and throw one to each of the four quarters of the compass; he will then fill his mouth with native beer and squirt a mouthful out on the ground in different directions and finally in a similar way toss out spoonfuls of *mtama* porridge in various directions as propitiatory offerings, at the same time imploring the spirits to take the food and not to worry him.

Charms.

B 789

Charms are legion among all the Kavirondo, and like other native races (and European, too, for the matter of that), they make no attempt to explain why such and such a charm should produce a certain effect.

The Awa-Tsoso tie a feather from a white chicken on the end of a stick as a charm to keep off hail; the sticks, which are about four feet long, are planted at intervals in the fields of beans and sem-sem; some seem to pin their faith to a wisp of grass which is tied to the stick and placed among the growing crops in the same way. This was only noticed among the Eastern Tsoso people of the Koweri clan, but is probably wide spread.

B [824]

The Tiriki people suspend a ball of clay by a string which is fastened to a stick, and plant one of these in a field of sweet potatoes or ground nuts to prevent thieving; the ball of clay has one of the yellow fruit of the common wild *Solanum* stuck into it.

N 789 824 728

The use of this combination of the fruit of the Solanum and clay, as a charm for good, seems to be rather widespread, for at the close of the Nandi campaign of 1900 when the chiefs were making overtures for peace, they brought to the Government station a native stool on which was a conical mass of moist red clay which rather reminded one of a child's mud pie; this was studded all over with the yellow Solanum fruit, and was said to be great peace medicine.

B 751

In some parts of Bantu Kavirondo, an old earthenware cooking pot will often be seen fixed as a finial on the point of one of the natives conical huts. This is a charm to prevent the children becoming cross eyed, for it is said children, when quite babies, are often stricken with a disease of the eyes which leaves a chronic squint; the charm does not render them immune to the disease, but averts the after effects; this belief occurs among many tribes in Bantu Africa, and the same charm is used.

B 824 778

Among charms we may perhaps mention that curious tree the *Ekirikiti* or, as it is called in Kavirondo, the *Murembe* tree (*Erythrina tomentosa*) which is remarkable both for its brilliant red flowers, and from the fact that it bears its leaves and flowers at different seasons.

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" [786] in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an un- [791] intelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the 795 priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with 788 the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards 782 it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only 782 encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however 839 uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

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have been more common in South Kavirondo whither the cult had spread and had been received with enthusiasm.

The priests started " schools " which they usually placed on hill-tops, and in the best proselytising traditions, attracted potential adherents by giving feasts of their slaughtered cattle. They also built here and there what might be called groves or places for the worship of Mumbo where sacrifices were made to the accompaniment of many obscenities and dancing.

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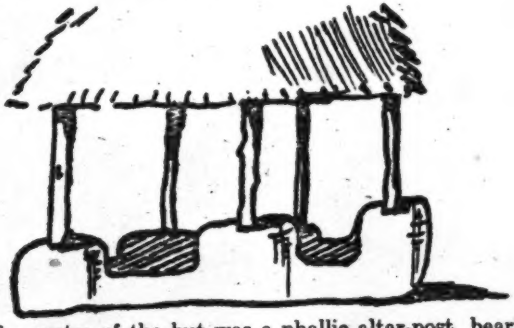
In some of these Groves were wooden idols, one of which has been presented to the Natural History Museum by Mr. C. M. Dobbs, late Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province. This practice of constructing sacred Groves to Mumbo and erecting idols is interesting since all the people who were questioned about this cult said definitely that such things had never been commanded by Mumbo himself. True, he had said that there were to be sacrifices made to him with dancing to the accompaniment of drums and bull-roarers (without musical accompaniment), but he meant them to take place in each boma. No instructions had been given for groves or idols.

An extract from the report of the District Officer who found the idol is worth inserting at this point:—

" . . . .The meeting place of the cult consisted of a beautifully swept enclosure adjoining the High Priest's Boma and capable of seating some two hundred people. From the next boma to that of the High Priest ran a made path, four feet wide and trenched at the sides . . . . The enclosure was surrounded by a well-built dry stone wall. In the centre was a little semi-open hut about six feet in diameter, finished with white mud . . . . There was no door, it appeared symmetrical all round, thus:—

[346]



" In the centre of the hut was a phallic altar-post, bearing traces of blood-stains . . . . The High Priest's daughter produced some unpleasant animal relics from a hole in the wall in the enclosure. In the Western corner a bush plant (Nyaluthkoth) had been planted. . . .

8: Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

dowry had been paid; he was thus enabled to spread his payments of the bride-price over a longer period than would otherwise have been possible. Also the fact that the girl was with child prevented her from being carried off by any other man; apparently a not unheard of occurrence. 583

The wedding feast itself—the *kirisya*—took place in the bridegroom's *dala*. The bride arrived accompanied by her sisters, or, if her sisters were too young to go with her, by her brothers' wives. She was also attended by one older woman, perhaps a married sister, who acted as a chaperone. It was the special duty of this older woman to see that the bride was properly treated, and to make herself polite to the father and mother of the bridegroom. But with this excepion older men and women were never included in the bride's party. Any man who attached himself to it would have been laughed at for mixing himself up with an affair that concerned women only. On the other hand not only did the bridegroom's sisters attend the feast but, as well, all his brothers, half brothers, and first cousins (in other words all the people he called " brother "), the wives of his brothers, and all his male friends. 585

As a rule the wedding feast lasted only one day, but if the guests had come long distances, it might last two or even three days. The feast consisted of porridge and meat. The young people were not given beer, but the bridegroom's mother usually brewed a small quantity for her husband and his brothers.

The meat provided consisted of the flesh of a bull which was cut up and apportioned according to certain definite rules. The division was the duty of the bridegroom's father, who first of all cut a small piece from the neck and sent it into the bridegroom's mother, who waited in her hut to receive it. He then cut more small pieces from the neck and scattered them outside and inside her hut. This was an offering to the ancestral spirits, and was accompanied by the following prayer:— 585 782

Dho waniego dhiang mar dhakonye juogi duto ubi ucham bad jachien aketo nū tieloka kwara gi woura gidega umi ringere nyani okwe natu kiringia marach obed man gima maber dalo duto.

Prayer and offering were together intended to placate the ancestral spirits and to persuade them to bless the marriage. After this the right fore leg was cut off and placed in the centre of the mother's hut. This fore-leg had a special name, *badjachien* and was a gift to all the ancestral spirits. It was afterwards eaten by the bridegroom's father and mother, and part of it was dried and sent to the bride's mother.

The whole of the breast, with the exception of a small piece reserved for the bridegroom's brothers, is sent to the brothers of the 585 184

9: Owen M-5 (ca. 1920)1933 FL11 Luo FL11

FOOD PRODUCTION AND KINDRED MATTERS, AMONGST THE LUO.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

(Paper read at the 3rd Annual Scientific Meeting held in Nov., 1933.)

Soil:

134 The production of food must necessarily be associated with knowledge of the soil. The principal soil varieties have been named by the Luo, and the methods appropriate to each variety are well known. Black cotton soil, called " anywang," occurs over a wide area, mainly around the lake shores, and is conspicuous in the locations of Uyoma, Karachwonya, Kasigunga and the Kano Plains. Red earth, called " Iwala," is, speaking generally, found further back from the lake, on the higher lands, and is to be found over wide tracts in Central and South Kavirondo, a notable location being North Gem, in Central Kavirondo. Sandy soil, called " kwoyo," is generally found in the neighbourhood of outcrops of granite, which is a prominent feature in many parts. The locations of Asembo in Central Kavirondo, and Suna in South Kavirondo are good examples of areas where this sandy soil is abundant. Murram, called " gu " when solid and " ge " when disintegrated into a soil, occurs in places all over the country, Sakwa and Alego in particular providing many examples of it. Stony soil, called " kite," is to be found over large stretches, particularly in those neighbourhoods where escarpments rise from the regions round the lake. Though the labour involved in the cultivation of this stony soil is very great, where there is pressure of population, every available patch is made to produce food.

Rainfall:

132 Over certain sections of the country rainfall is very uncertain. The worst locations in this respect are lower Seme, Uyoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, parts of Asembo, Mirunda, Kasigunga and Rusinga. In other districts rainfall is abundant, running from forty to sixty five inches in the year, well distributed over the months, with the exception of January and early February. January is reckoned to be the driest [526] month of the year, and is the month when there is most relaxation from agricultural operations, this being the favourite time for the inter-clan wrestling matches.

789 Contrary to what many would expect, amongst people who
●782 periodically suffer from lack of rain, the Luo have developed no system
776 of rain makers. At the top of Usenge Hill in Kadimo, there is still to be seen a site marked by a collection of votive pots, where the local

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
● 782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
776 entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches [782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the [609] rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were "of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
791 without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

241 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the
826 ordinary African kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, feeding in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

241 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called " bilo " was performed before sowing took place. If the " Jaduong' bilo " was
782 warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. " Bilo " was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to graze. The present " Jabilo " in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of " bilo " in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1933 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

241 When the time was ripe for sowing, the " Mikayi " or chief wife
177 of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the " mikayi " had thus given permission.
[626] Any who were so bold as to begin before the " mikayi " were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the names of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the " mikayi " is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the sturdier crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called " kal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the weeders squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the striga weed, called by the Luo " hayongo." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

butter being used for cooking a special meal which is eaten by the owner of the cow and his wife; a little of the butter is set aside and they smear it on their lips, but none of it may be smeared on their bodies. After the meal has been eaten, the cow is milked regularly and the milk may now be drunk by all the family.

Oxen used for riding. Oxen are frequently used for riding. The young men train the animals to this and ride them constantly. They turn them as they wish by prodding the side of the animal's cheek with a stick from which it turns away. The animals are trained, however, to obey the voice rather than wait for the stick. They trot along at a fast rate and cover the ground quicker than a man can walk.

Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats are kept by all villagers. Goats especially are eaten by men and women without any restrictions. Fowls are also kept, though, as is usual among most African tribes, fowls have to find their own food, and their chickens are constantly preyed upon by hawks and kites, and those that grow up are of a poor and miserable kind.

Building.

Architecture and mode of building. The houses are round huts with conical thatched roofs They have an outer wall of stakes three and sometimes four feet high with mud smeared over them on the inside and a central pole passing through the roof, to which the rafters are attached. The roof is thatched with grass and the end of the central pole, which passes through the roof, is rudely carved. The houses are grouped together, leaving room enough to pass between them, and a growing fence surrounds them. Many villages have no outer fence, but are built high up the hill-sides for protection from hostile clans.

Religion.

Religious beliefs. Apart from worship of the dead and a belief in ghosts, the people have little religion. They call the supreme being Nyasi, who, they say, is to be found in large trees. In times of trouble or sickness they make offerings to him of an animal which is killed under a large tree, and the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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782 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

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791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Musoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amodwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, waya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor waya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod waya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar waya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, wonwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him, 769 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway 753 of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First 769 however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special ●782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs, ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of 273 no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the [824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant 301] (*ochok*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*. These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it is poured on the fermented *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a [754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die; and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch. No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her socalled pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an ochokplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

this tail behind and receives a present from her husband. Afterwards it is considered very bad manners for a married woman to serve food to her husband without putting on this tail. On the other hand, if the husband or any other man should touch the married woman's tail, it is considered that he wishes to bewitch her, and such an offence must be atoned for by the usual sacrifice of a goat.

430. PATTERN FREQUENTLY SHAVED ON MEN'S HEADS (JA-LUO)

The Ja-luo *pull out the incisors* in the lower jaw. It may also occur amongst these people, as amongst the Lango tribes to the north, that not only the four incisors, but even the canines, are taken out, at any rate from the mouths of boys. They *do not circumcise*, nor do they *scar or tattoo* their bodies, with the exception that women raise three parallel lines of dots in a semi-circle on either side of the body, the ends of the semi-circle meeting in front just below the navel, and again on the backbone. If a man has killed an enemy in war, he propitiates his enemy's spirit by shaving his head for three days after his return. Heads of men are also shaved in the pattern given in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 430).

The Ja-luo, together with tribes remotely allied in origin, such as the Sūk and Lango, *ornament the outer rim of the ear* in a remarkable manner. About fifteen small holes are pierced along the edge of the cartilage, and a flattened ring of brass (looking in shape rather like a melon seed) is inserted. Hanging on the outer side of the brass ring is a large blue glass bead. In the lowest hole towards the lobe a plain brass ring is inserted. Regarding these blue beads Mr. Hobley writes: "For a long time I thought these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as 'kiketi'; but upon inquiry I found this idea was indignantly repudiated. It was explained to me that the beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills* after a heavy thunderstorm, and it was believed that they descended with the rain." Some of the chiefs also wear bits of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole. These beads were formerly of great value, and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead. They are said to have been picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is

* In North Kavirondo.

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[587] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides
●782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village, and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[231] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main *a healthy people.*

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

together again, and singly or in twos and threes run out and go through a fight with some invisible foes, again presumably, the evil spirits. They are very serious all the while, and the rest watch in silence their champions as they charge, retreat and cower down behind the huge shields. Then comes more feasting, with the customary offering to the sun, and finally they disperse. 764

The wailing is kept up in the case of a chief for six days, and performed twice a day at sunrise and sunset, but after the day of the dance each village mourns by itself; for a common person three days is the limit.

The corpse is buried in a recumbent position in the deceased's hut, but the hut continues to be occupied, generally by the deceased man's heir; it is not at once destroyed or disused, as some authorities, among them Sir C. Eliot, maintain. Last of all, when the mourning is over, an offering of beer, grain, and chicken flesh, is put on the grave.

The Jaluo religion is extremely slight. They worship the sun, and to a less extent the moon. They regard the sun as a deity seldom beneficent, more often malignant, and usually apathetic; as one of them said to the writer, "It does not matter how much you pray, you fall sick and die just the same." The offerings made at all important occasions in their daily life they make more with the idea of appeasing him than of obtaining positive benefits. 776 781 782

Witchcraft, however, and demonology occupy their minds far more. The wizard is greatly dreaded, and it is easy for an unscrupulous Kavirondo to obtain his neighbour's property by accusing him of having killed one of his relations by witchcraft, knowing that he will have his neighbours' support and sympathy. The wizard is sought both for good and evil purposes; his aid is invoked alike to detect criminals and to do harm to an adversary. In a recent case brought before the writer a man was accused of having murdered one of his wives by witchcraft. According to his accusers, the supposed murderer missed his razor and accused two of his wives of the theft. They both denied all knowledge of the missing article, and he gave them till the evening of that day to find it. When their term of grace came to an end, and the razor was not produced, he was alleged to have struck one of his wives, who was on the point of bearing a child. He then produced two charms which he affixed to their respective huts, threatening that the thief would be detected by the charm and would die. Next day the woman who was said to have been struck died after producing a still-born child. The curious result was that the man was tried for murder, the accusers believing that the crime had been committed by witchcraft, and the magistrate holding that, if the man caused his wife's death at all, it was by the blow which he was alleged to have given her. The blow turned out to be a myth, and the man was discharged, much to his accusers' disgust. 754 754 674

When a Kavirondo wishes to kill his enemy secretly, the usual method is to bury a dead rat or chicken at his victim's door. If, when the latter comes out the next morning, he treads on the spot where the animal is buried, it is believed that he will die that day. 754

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

All herded together

Head of homestead titular owner of all

1. *Cattle of the* abila

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

Cattle of the wives' houses

Most to *mikayi*, next to *nyachira*, rest among *rero* wives.

2. Cattle strictly property of the wives.

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *roch kode* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *atake* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage ceremonies.

3. Cattle held for sons' marriages.

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Milk from these used by the wives.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of accruing cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young, while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

diagram, p. 17). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the ritual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elders of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *wuoṛwa, luong' wuoṛu uchiemo*—'our father, call your father and eat'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on insulating the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the status of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being jeered at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child cries unusually the diviner (*ajuoga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of ascent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the necessary reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

THE special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot*, *gweng'*, *libamba*, and *anyuola*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *anyuola* of class B segments only, and *libamba* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speaker, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoudi*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages already referred to as class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, jural, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,[1] responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

[1] By settlement I mean simply a defined area of territory, containing the dwellings and all the land resources of a specified social group. The Luo have no villages in the sense of recognized aggregations of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God; *wasigu*, enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *libamba* all those forces of friction and competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *libamba* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *libamba* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoudi* which stand in the *libamba* relationship to one another which play together at *adhula*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of compound and elementary families, are constantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a misfortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ajuoga*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble. Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoudi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its major segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *anyuola*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *anyuola* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *anyuola* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Tallensi concept of *suuzot* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 32, 37, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but to the Tallensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *libamba* to one another whether their eponyms were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 35. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Tallensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 31).

[3] *nyuol* n., birth; *nyuolo* v., to give birth. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead.
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends.
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps.

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *riso*.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

as to which particular people should help her; this obligation merely rests on whomsoever happens to be present. The assistance of a midwife is required more for a first child than for those following. Anyone in the family may help the woman in an emergency; but the presence of the husband is not considered necessary unless the case is a difficult one. In a difficult labour several strong men may be required to hold the woman, but many women give birth to their babies without any assistance. The usual positions adopted are: lying on the back with knees bent, or sitting with the back supported by a tree. Some leaves serve for the mat. Older women often have their child without assistance, but it is an obligation upon everyone who finds a woman in need of help to assist her, even if she is unknown to them.

On some occasions a woman about to give birth is made to run, eventually being seated to deliver her baby. A light pressure is exerted on the shoulders. The instructions are given by midwives, who sometimes slap the woman across her face if she does not obey their orders.

After a child is born, cold water is poured over it to make it cry. If it does not cry, iron hoes are brought and a series of loud tinkling noises made as a form of persuasion. Among the pagans, tobacco smoke is sometimes puffed into the child's nose. When it has been made to utter its first cry, its head is shaped to the normal form, and while the nurse waits for the placenta, she cleans the baby's forehead with a soft leaf. Before the cord is cut it is tied with strips of dried banana leaves at three equal intervals for a girl and at four equal intervals for a boy, to indicate the length of the period of rest. The midwives used to chant a prayer, but this is now no longer heard. It is possible that this chant was a thanksgiving and a request for the newborn baby to fare well in life.

776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Birth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Roscoe, Nyasi is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an animal killed under a large tree; the meat is eaten at a little distance away.(1)

[777] Johnston states that the Luo believe in a supreme god, Chieng, which is the name for the sun.(2) Stam, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and writes that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.(3) Northcote states that Luo worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the new moon appears.(4)

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Luo beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost *(jacien,* pl. *jociendi)* and the Luo methods of dealing with it. *Jacien* is the Luo equivalent of the Shilluk *cien*, the Acholi *lacen*, Lango *chyen* and the Anuak *acieni*. A spirit which has been forgotten by the living; the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - any [753 of these may become a *jacien*, and cause harm to those who wronged it. The 626] Luo regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kinship group.(5)

755 The diviner *(ajuago)* discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a particular spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appro-775 priate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another magician is called in, the *mugalu*. To protect the sick man's homestead the *mugalu* buries in or near it a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the *jadilo* is called in; an ox is sacrifices and the ghost warned that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for someone who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jagut* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the gourds used by diviners and answer the questions put to them.

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.291.
(2) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol.II, p.791.
(3) Stam, *Anthropos*, 1910, p.360.
(4) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.63
(5) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1950 (July), No.133, p.86.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Personal marks, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. 304
If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover 783
does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the 727
fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked (Plate V). Married men who have a 291
child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important 576
matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on [606]
no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to [574]
visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in a married woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Ja-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about 301
fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a 304
ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of 301
the variety known as *kiketi*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood [172]
of the Maragolia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Luo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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that she left and went on to the Shekwi people in Nyole, where the great grandfather of Mgahanya married her, and she taught him all the secrets of the art of rain-making. The following is the genealogy of the family of rain-making chiefs:—

Agine or Ashue (married the witch).
|
Luchiri.
|
Namonwa.
|
Mgahanya.

The Cult of the "MKIA."

L B 291 171

As is well known, the dress of the female sex in Kavirondo is probably the most scanty in the world. Such as it is, perhaps its most distinctive feature is the tail, or "*mkia*," as it is termed by the Swahilis. This is common to both the Nilotic and Bantu races; among the former its name is "*chieno*," and among the latter "*livoya*." The tail is made of fibre, usually obtained from an aloe called "*tuoro*." Among the Nilotic tribes it is stiff, and fairly short, rather like a bottle-brush, from six to eight inches in length. It is usually ornamented at the top by a few small white beads, or half-a-dozen cowries, and is of the natural colour of the fibre. Among the Bantu Kavirondo it is much thinner, and is, moreover, about twelve inches in length, dyed black, and very pliant.

Finding this peculiar attire among two such different races, one cannot help thinking that it was invented by one and copied by the other, and, if anything, I incline to the view that it was introduced by the Ja-Luo, and copied by the Bantu tribes. The Lur people to the west of Lake Albert, who are very closely allied, both in speech and name, to the Ja-Luo, wear it. The Wamia people on the west side of Elgon, who are also of Nilotic extraction, wear a more elaborate and highly developed form, while many of the women belonging to tribes in the Nile Valley wear a kilt of numerous narrow strips of leather, which, one would imagine, might be fined down to the tail behind, and to the little fringe, often worn in front.

L B 291 484 576

There is an interesting ceremonial connected with this article of dress. The "*mkia*" is the special mark of the married woman; if, however, a young girl is going on a visit to another village, she can wear one on her journey, but must take it off directly she reaches her destination, and not don it again till she leaves. This is done as a sort of artificial protective mimicry; by wearing the tail she is taken for a married woman, and is not likely to be molested by anyone she may meet on the way.

L B 291 783

If a woman who has borne a child runs out of her house in a hurry—say, because she has been beaten—and goes into another house without the tail, the house she enters is considered unclean, and the husband has to give a goat, which

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 291 [783]

is killed on the doorstep of that house, before it is considered to be purified; the meat is divided between the aggressor and the owner of the house.

A woman is not entitled to don the tail immediately after marriage, but has to wait a month or two, the husband then presents her with a goat wherewith to purchase this important part of her trousseau.

Among the Bantu tribes, married women generally wear a small black fringe of fibre in front, but the Ja-Luo married women very rarely wear anything in front, the requirements of decency are, in their opinion, quite fulfilled if they have the tail. Ja-Luo girls, in their villages, are quite nude, but when they go to market, or to a dance, they wear, for ornament, a small fringe of various coloured beads strung on fibre. The Bantu women consider that the Ja-Luo tail is not at all a decent covering, and often jeer at them on this account. The chief Mumia thought that the tail might have originally been imitative of the tail of a cow. The Bantu Kavirondo have a superstition that, if a woman wears cloth round her loins she will not bear children.

B [842]

THE "MIKA" OPERATION UPON GIRLS AMONG THE GUASANGISHU AND NANDI.

Ceremonies attending the Operation on "Nditos" or young Unmarried Girls.

B 881 304

The ceremony among the Guasangishu always take place about the time of the full moon, and is generally performed at sunrise. The proceedings commence the night before by a dance, and the young woman's head is shaved and oiled. At dawn, the old women decorate the young women with their iron necklaces, beads, and other ornaments. The young *elmoran* ("fighting men") of the neighbourhood come along, and the young woman kneels down, while each *elmoran* makes her a speech, and hands her his club and leg bells. The speech is to the effect that she has been brought up among them, fed and protected by them, and has slept with them, and that she is to bear the operation without a sound; if she cries out she will be disgraced among women, and must leave the settlement, but in order that she may not leave them empty-handed, she can take the clubs, etc., given by the *elmoran*, as a symbol that she will not start life empty-handed.

The people then proceed in a cluster to the scene of the operation, while the mother of the girl wails. The girl is then laid out on a skin, and the people stand round in a circle. An old woman sprinkles the *pudenda* with powdered wood ashes, and taking a small curved knife with a blade about 1½ inches long (Fig. 7) excises the *labia* and *clitoris*. Milk is then poured over the wound, and the old women run round, all crying out; this is done to drown any groan or cry she may unavoidably make. The girl stands up, and shakes a bunch of iron leg bells, and she is then wrapped in a skin, and taken away to her hut.

FIG. 7.

During the operation, the girl is held in a reclining position, her head and shoulders resting in the lap of one old woman, while two other women hold each knee. Young and old of both sexes are allowed to be present at the ceremony.

B [413]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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783 of his village and lives in a hut with an old woman who attends to his wants, cooks for him and also feeds him, because he may not touch food with his hands. Separation lasts for three days, and on the fourth day a man who is himself a murderer, or who has at some time killed a man in battle, takes the murderer to a stream where he washes him all over. He then kills a goat and cooks the meat, takes four sticks and places a piece of meat on each stick and gives the man the meat to eat from each in turn. When the meat has been eaten, he gives him four pieces of porridge made into balls and put on the sticks. After this meal the goat-skin is cut into strips, one strip being put on the neck and one strip round each wrist of the murderer. This ceremony is performed by the two men who are alone at the river, and after it the murderer is free to return home. It is said that, until this ceremony is performed, the ghost cannot take its departure for the place of the dead, but hovers about the murderer.

428 **Inheritance.** It is usual for a son to inherit property. While a man is still in health, he makes known his wishes as to whom he desires to inherit his property, and his wishes will be observed. Should a son be too young to succeed to his father's estate at the time of death, the deceased man's brother manages the property until the son is old enough to take control. Should a man with property die intestate, the members of his clan elect one of his sons to be heir. There is no fixed law as to which son shall inherit. It is not a question of age nor may the son of a particular wife claim precedence over the sons of other wives, but the clan-members are at liberty to choose the man they consider the most suited for the office. Women never inherit or hold property. The father's stool and bracelet are given to the heir and are the insignia of lawful succession.

[562 421]

Marriage, Birth and Puberty.

582 **Marriage customs.** It was impossible to discover the ritual of marriage or the groups into which a man might or might not marry, all that could with certainty be learned being that there are exogamous divisions within the tribe.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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The warriors are armed with long-bladed spears and use large shields three feet high and of a V shape, behind which the bearer crouches and is completely hidden. The shields are made of cow-hide and are so dried that they are hard enough to resist a spear-thrust. Each warrior is painted with red and white clay in fantastic designs and wears a head-dress. Some of the head-dresses are like helmets adorned with ostrich feathers, while others are small straw hats such as a child's doll might wear.

The battle is decided when the cattle are carried off by the one party or when the other party prove themselves strong enough to retain them. The victors dictate terms of peace and the vanquished pay a fine in cattle and women.

Treatment of a warrior who has slain one of the enemy. When a warrior kills another in battle, he is isolated from his village, lives in a separate hut some four days, and an old woman cooks his food and feeds him like a child because he is forbidden to touch any food. On the fifth day he is escorted to the river by another man who washes him, a white goat is killed and cooked by the attendant, who feeds the man with the meat, the goat-skin is cut into strips and put upon the man's wrists and round his head, and he returns to his temporary home for the night. The next day he is again taken to the river and washed, and a white fowl is presented him. He kills it and it is cooked for him, and he is again fed with the meat. He is then pronounced to be clean and may return to his home. It sometimes happens that a warrior spears another man in battle and the latter dies from the wound some time after. When death takes place, the relatives go to the warrior and tell him of the death, and he is separated at once from the community until the ceremonies above described have been performed. The people say that the ceremonies are necessary in order to release the ghost of the dead man, which is bound to the warrior who slew him and is only released on the fulfilment of the ceremonies. Should a warrior refuse to fulfil the ceremonies, the ghost will ask, "Why don't you fulfil the ceremonies and let me go?" Should the man still refuse to comply, the ghost will take him by the throat and strangle him.

775
783 It seems that normally it is only kinsmen who haunt a man, but any man who kills another, whether he be related to him or not, is in danger of ghostly vengeance. For this reason a Luo does not care to spear an adulterer found with his wife. Also, as Roscoe says, a man who slays another in war may be injured by his ghost if certain rites are not performed. These purificatory rites, called *gut*, are conducted by a man, called *jagut*, who has himself killed a man and been through the ceremony. The slayer comes back from the fight to his homestead with a crowd of his companions, who make a demonstration there, singing and pulling out the eaves of his mother's hut. His father and mother strip themselves and cover their bodies with ashes. The slayer remains outside the homestead and there the *jagut* pierces the beak of a fowl and hangs it round his neck. He then cuts the beak of the fowl and it is killed when it falls. The slayer may now enter the homestead, but not through the gateway. A special entrance is cut for him through the euphorbia hedge which encircles the homestead.

[p.87a]

775 He goes straight to the hut of the *pim*, the old woman
783 of the home, and there a goat is thumped and kicked to death. Afterwards it is skinned and cut open. The heart is extracted and bits of it are put by the *jagut* to the lips of the slayer and of some of his companions. He cuts strips from the skin of the goat and lays them along the backs of the slayer's fingers. He also gives the slayer medicines, among them a wild pig's tusk, which the slayer wears round his neck. The man is now purified and may drink milk again. [114] Roscoe's account is very different from that given to me by Luo, which I have recounted above.

775 Clearly there is much more to be discovered about Luo beliefs about ghosts than what I have recorded, but I can only add to my account that the word *jociendi* is sometimes used for ghosts in general—and not with special reference to troublesome ghosts—and that some ghosts appear to be thought to become nature spirits dwelling in water and in the air, and others to occupy the gourds used by diviners and to answer questions the diviners put to them.

[p. 87b]

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goals which have been carefully weighed and assessed as to the possible supernatural and social consequences. The Joluo believe that a goal does not justify the means if the means require violence, unless all methods of arbitration, conciliation, appeal to authority, both temporal and supernatural, have been tried and proved to be unsuccessful or inadequate.

Violence requires cleansing—physical and spiritual cleansing of the most exacting nature—to avoid the supernatural consequences (*chira*) which violence may bring in its wake. One case has been recorded which contains an excellent description of the ceremonial and ritual cleansing thought to be essential after a murder. This particular murder was planned and executed by a group which, after years of thought and effort to resolve the conflict without violence, finally resorted to murder. Obviously, with the coming of the European, other factors were involved to escape detection for an act which in the old days would have given the group high status within its own community and which would have created feuds or precipitated a war that ultimately would have been resolved by blood compensation or schism of the political unit and migration by the weakest group.

Violence which arises immediately and unpremeditatively from quarrels, drinking, infidelity, sex, marital tensions, or family differences, and which results in a death, is not regarded in the same way as predetermined action decided upon as a last resort. Ceremonial cleansing is still necessary but does not take the extreme form because these acts are regarded by the Luo as bringing consequences which affect the individual only, that is *kuer*, and not *chira*, which affects the group, clan, or tribe as a whole. Fortunately British law makes a similar distinction: that between murder and manslaughter. It will be found therefore that the majority of cases involving Joluo which have come before the courts of Kenya as murder cases are resolved and punished as cases of manslaughter. The Joluo do not, however, understand why many of those convicted un-

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der the head of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings *chira* to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakwaro*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuoro*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jadak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to

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because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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761 which is the infidelity of the spouse of the deceased; in the case of a child, by the adultery of its mother. Ritual cleansing of the members of the minor lineage is therefore necessary, as for *kwer*.

I mentioned above a classical case of homicide which illustrates what the Joluo regard as a calculated risk of the consequences. It deserves fuller analysis.

Case No. 1.

This case involved a group of nine related men. Only one of them was convicted, and he eventually was acquitted on appeal through lack of corroborative evidence.

A quarrel began between members of two major clans of the same tribe over the appointment of an assistant chief. The clan from which the assistant chief was appointed—we shall call it Jokoth—is alleged to have taken advantage of the clan—which we shall call Jokech—which was unsuccessful. The clans feuded in every way, over land, cattle grazing and so on, until the elders of Jokech decided, as a warning in the ancestral way, that they should burn the hut of a leading elder of Jokoth. This was done. The assistant chief arrested a member of clan Jokech, a person with whom he is alleged to have had a personal grievance, and this man was convicted of the burning and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His sons fought hard and long to have him released on grounds of ill health and, when finally successful, took him home only to have him die shortly after. On his death bed, he made his sons swear to avenge his death.

Diviners and medicine men were consulted, and many methods were tried unsuccessfully for several years to bring clan Jokoth to its knees and to bring about the death of the assistant chief who had by now retired.

All was not well with the affairs of Jokech clan. Each new catastrophe was taken as evidence of the malevolence of the ghost of the deceased because his death remained unavenged.

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Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *jokakwaro* consulted the head diviner, *jabilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jabilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jabilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *buombwe* vine. The minimal lineage, *jokakwaro*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jabilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jabilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jabilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of

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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

SUICIDE AMONG JOLUO

We have discussed the Luo attitude toward death at some length in our description of homicide. These attitudes apply equally to suicide, except that they are extended to an association of the idea of death and its concomitant link with the supernatural to self-destruction, as an assurance or determination on the part of the individual to hasten the day when supernatural forces can be made to bear on the frustrations which led up to the act of suicide. The motives for suicide are thought to be to avenge the deed by the malevolent supernatural forces which at death become allied to the dead, who are able to use them against those on earth to solve problems which they found beyond human solution.

Throughout childhood there is constant reference to suicide, and in adolescence, early marriage, and old age the threat of suicide is an effective technique used by the Joluo to achieve goals or to avoid distasteful consequences. Threats are not often put into practice because they are used only when their effectiveness is relatively assured.

Unfortunately for the student, suicides are not usually reported to the authorities, although legally they should be. Therefore, few cases are recorded as in advanced countries in the coroner's court. The Joluo believe that suicide brings *chira* to a large segment of the clan of the suicide, and it is therefore kept as quiet as possible and dealt with immediately by the clan elders and clan medicine men, *jobilo*. The family of the suicide are forced to perform cleansing rituals and ceremonies before they may again participate in the social life of the clan. Data are for these reasons hard to collect. The few cases which were brought to the attention of the authorities were only those suspected of having been cases of murder which were made to look like suicide.

During a two-year tour among the Joluo tribes of Central Nyanza, I was able to collect 220 cases from informants. Of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful.

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the *thim*, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree.

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the *jabilo* and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white cockerel and a black sheep.

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the *jabilo*. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 553 was given his name reveals their attempt to avoid the consequences of his act.

762 159 684 The second case arises from a breach of customary law which in the old days would have meant banishment but which today brings social ostracism.

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Suicide Case No. 2.

The suicide was caught in the act of intercourse with his full brother's wife. The Luo believe that such an act involving members of the same *Jokamio* (that is, those descended from the same mother or grandmother) brings *chira* to the whole clan. The security and solidarity of family relationships are [578] threatened by the act because it involves quarrels which may lead to violence within the primary segment of the clan. In this case the brother did not tell the elders of the clan but merely threatened to do so. The guilty man returned to his own homestead and hanged himself in his hut. The house was destroyed [783] and members of the extended family were cleansed by the *jabilo*. The cleansing ceremony took the same form as in the first case, with the addition that the village was sprinkled with medicine in order that it might continue to be used by the dead man's family.

In the next case there are two clear motives which led to the suicide. The first, perhaps the most important, lies in indigenous beliefs and attitudes, while the second lies in more modern attitudes.

Suicide Case No. 3.

159 762 556 [661] This Luo was about 30 years old and had been employed as a driver for the Government for many years. Drivers in Kenya receive a relatively high salary, and in addition some take advantage of their position and make extra money by illegally charging people for transportation. Through these activities, he became a relatively rich man and was able to marry a total of five wives at his comparatively young age. He was also wealthy

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from the fear of consequences arising from the behavior of her son and, in two cases, there was a suspicion that the women did not in fact commit suicide, but were murdered by their husbands in such a way that it looked as if they had committed suicide. 762

Suicide Case No. 11.

A young woman was accused by her husband at a beer party of having slipped quietly out for intercourse with a man from the village. To prove that she was innocent, she hanged herself on a tree which was near the homestead. If she had been guilty, the Joluo argue, "she could have been cleansed, but she could not be cleansed for having done nothing." 762 159 684 783

Suicide Case No. 12.

A young wife, newly married, had offended her husband in some way and he refused to eat her food. (This is a customary curse and is a very severe punishment to a wife.) She threatened to kill herself if he did not eat it. He then took the food to the senior wife, who ate it, adding insult to the injury already done. The young wife went to her hut where she stood on her grinding stone and hanged herself from the roof. 762 159 578

The elders were quick to point out in this instance that since her death the village had been abandoned and many children of the lineage had died. All this, they believe, was caused by the ghost of the abused wife. 762 159

The third case involved a young girl who committed suicide because she did not wish to marry the person chosen for her by her parents. 762 159 584

Suicide Case No. 13.

A very young girl, little more than a child, objected in the traditional way to the union which her parents had arranged.

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762 his mother and took the *sim-sim* by stealth. When the husband came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large portion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel between him and the boy's mother.

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In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for milking, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body caned it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked to bring hoes, axes, and *pangas* to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

● [783]

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Luo believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

[824]

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

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The husband of this suicide had been having considerable trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her daughter with a young man who had neither paid bride-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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while relations of a personal kind and kinship links between individuals run across their common frontiers and are compelled to do so by the exogamous rules obtaining in Luo society.

Several of the clans and maximal lineages possess sacred spears and other objects believed to have belonged to their founders. The best known sacred spear (*tong ma lisua*, spear of sacrifice) is the *tong* Alego, the spear of Alego, the founder of the JoAlego clan. In Ugenya the JokaGer clan have several such spears and there are others in possession of the lineages descended from Cuanya to the south of the gulf. Where there are important stranger lineages in a tribe they may also have their sacred objects, e.g. in Alego the KaLuo and the JokOgelo have sacred spears and the JoAgoro have a sacred stone and a sacred pot handed down from their founders. These objects are symbols of the unity of a clan or lineage and, by extension, of the tribe or tribal segment in which it is dominant, and they were used ritually in time of war or of common calamity, such as drought and invasion by locusts. They seem generally, if not always to be held by the senior line (*dho ot ma duong*) of a lineage or clan and are kept either in a granary or in hiding in the bush. The senior line is often called on by junior collateral lines to perform important sacrifices for them and the senior lineage ought to provide the sacrificial beast at ceremonies common to all the lineages. I was told also that while each lineage had its *won gweng*, 'father of the land' the *won gweng* of the senior lineage had chief prestige among them.

Some clans and lineages have certain ritual prohibitions (*kwer*), mostly on certain foods, particularly kidneys and liver. The Luo do not give the impression of attaching much importance to them and if a man and a woman observe the same taboo it is not in itself a bar to marriage. Reference must also be made to clan and lineage honorific, or praise, names. The *nying paak* is generally derived from the name of a paternal ancestor whose name is a lineage cognomen, e.g. Okwiri (see the chart of the JoOwila clan) can be called, according to the circumstances, *wud* (son of) KoOkelo, *wud* KaJeje, and *wud* Owila. These names are much used at communal gatherings, expecially at large beer parties.

A feature of clanship which would seem to be of some importance is the annual inter-lineage wrestling. Unfortunately, I only became aware of these shortly before I left Luoland and had afterwards no further opportunity to enquire further into the custom, or to discover whether it is practised all over Luoland or only in some tribal areas, such as U-yoma where the closely related collateral lineages wrestle for practice prior to the wrestling matches between the big lineages. Thus the Ko-Okwiri are matched against the KoObong, then these two lineages together against the KaAtuenga and KaAbudha, and so on. The lineages send a messenger to challenge the other party and when they meet an elder presides over the joint bouts and the exhibition matches between famous wrestlers on each side. The matches are said to occasion much excitement among the spectators.

The sketch given above of the Luo clan is only an outline delineating feature of it. A little detail is filled in here and there in the following

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kĭketi* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—VIEW OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS SHAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

Miscellaneous customs.—If a person shuts the door behind him when he leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

Witchcraft, etc.—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called Jamkingo; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Beluchistan.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

The Bantu group use the word "*Musiro*" to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any mischance, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred to can be averted by making a medicine "*daca*," extracted from certain herbs, and this extract is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the patient.

Among the Nilotic Ja Luo the totems are called "*Kwero*," and there is a long list of "*Kwero*" animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch.

Upon no occasion is the rule of the *Kwero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this "*index expurgatorius*" are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any "*Kwero*" animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Belearica gibbericeps*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gemi tribe, however, do not consider it wrong to kill and also eat this beautiful bird. The Gemi, Lego, and Sakwa tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them "*Oywang.*" The Ja-Luo often wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the "*Kwero*" law.

Examples of the Totems of the Bantu Family.

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisesi clan of Awa Wanga	*Imbongo*, bushbuck.
Marama and part of Tsoso and Isukha...	*Kuru*, waterbuck or *Ikulu*.
Awa-Genya and Awa-Mrashi	*Liusi*, pigeon.
Awa Shekwi of Nyole	*Njofu*, elephant.
In Ketosh there are several, according to to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	*Makuyi*, a large black and white stork which appears in large flocks about November, it eats locusts.
Tasoni tribe (Ngaki section)	*Iswuu*, reed buck.
Ithako, E. Tsoso, S. Kabras	*Iwlongo* or *Ngawe*.
Probably the totem most common in Kabras is	*Mbinkalo*, white ants in the flying stage (but cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

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The Totems (Kwero) of the Nilotic Group.

	Name in Tho-Loo.		Name in Tho-Loo.
Crocodile... ...	*Nyang.*	Nile monitor (lizard)	*Ngnech.*
Hyæna	*Ndiek.*	Python	*Nyelo.*
Leopard	*Okwash.*	Mongoose	*Gori gori.*
Baboon	*Bim.*	Rock hyrax... ...	*Kumnĕr.*
Monkey	*Ongnur* (*Cercopithecus sp.*).	Tortoise	*Upuku.*
Wild cat	*Ogwang.*	Colobus monkey ...	*Kuru.*
Jackal	*Buwen.*	Wart hog	*Imbirri.*
Vulture	*Achut-th.*	Frog...	*Ogwan.*
Crow	*Agako.*	Crested crane ...	*Iwang.*
Kite	*Otenga.*	Ground hornbill ...	*Arumtich.*

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[784]

The following are in addition "*Kwero*" or "tabu" to the women:—Fowls, eggs, elephant, hippopotamus, sheep (latter only among Kisumu and Gemi).

The women's "*Kwero*" are not serious ones, *i.e.*, a breach of the law is not followed by death.

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The Totems of the Nandi Group.

	Nandi Name.		Nandi Name.
Hyæna	*Magetiet.*	Water tortoise ...	*Chebkukuchet.*
Jackal	*Leluet.*	Chameleon	*Nyeretiat.*
Kite	*Chebineret.*	Crested crane ...	*Kungonyot.*
Buzzard	*Chebkukusiot.*	Elephant	*Beliot.*

The elephant, although looked upon as a totem, can be eaten without evil effects.

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I omitted to mention above that the Kadimu people, who live on the Lake near the mouth of the River Nzoia, believe that they are descended from the python; these reptiles are looked upon as sacred and annual sacrifices are made upon a hill in Kadimu to the common ancestor. The Kadimu people are a Bantu tribe which has adopted the language of the Nilotic Ja-Luo, and it is thus the only Bantu tribe in the country which looks upon its totem as its ancestor.

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Certain snakes, however, are looked upon as sacred animals among some of the Unyamwezi clans and it is highly probable that, as among the Kadimu, this is due to the belief that the snake was their common ancestor. Many Wanyamwezi consider it a deadly sin to kill a snake, and one occasionally meets an individual belonging to one of these clans who is said to be immune from the effects of snake poison.

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The totems of the Koromojo people who live north of Mount Elgon, are snakes, frogs, the monitor lizard, the hyæna, and the cheetah; they believe they will die

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

The Isira Custom.

L B 628

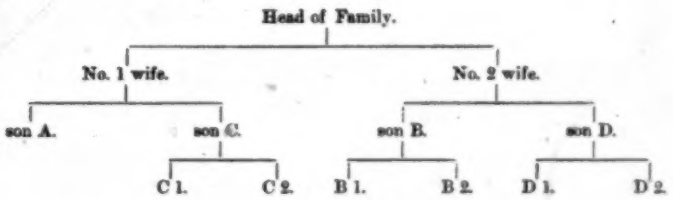
In Sir Harry Johnston's recent work on the Uganda Protectorate, reference has been made to the presence of a vendetta custom among the Kavirondo, in which, if a man is killed, the sons of the deceased endeavour to hunt down the murderer, and if they fail, the sons again carry on the feud.

This custom doubtless accounted for much petty bloodshed in times past. I am glad to say, however, that it is dying out now to a great extent, and one murder no longer leads to a succession of crimes.

L B 628 784

The old blood feuds are, however, still recognised, and a man may not eat with a person with whom his branch of the family has a blood feud, or, it is believed, he will surely die within 24 hours.

To make it clear how this curse operates, I append an example in which a man kills his brother by a different mother.



The feud commences by A killing B. After this D will not, nor dare, eat with A or C. In the next generation B 1, B 2 and D 1, D 2 cannot eat with A or C, neither can they eat with C 1 and C 2, although they are only nephews of the murderer, but they belong to that branch of the family through their common mother.

Curiously enough, although this custom is hinged on the female line, it only applies to the males of the family; the females can eat with the descendants of the tainted line without evil effects.

The men are desperately afraid of unconsciously infringing the *tabu*; if a member of a murderer branch has cooked his food in a certain pot, that pot is defiled for any representative of the other branch; thus when a number of men are travelling together and the cooking pots are few, the situation becomes rather difficult at times and numerous disputes arise. Everything connected with this custom is called "*Isira*" by the Bantu Kavirondo.

The custom has been adopted in a half-hearted manner by the Nilotic Ja-Luo, but it is not carried out in such a persistent manner, and rarely goes so far as the defilement of the cooking utensils above described.

B 628

Among the Bantu people of the Kakumega Tiriki, this *Isira* custom is often indirectly taken advantage of in rather a cunning way as a means of obtaining revenge for their private grievances. Suppose a member of a certain clan has

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it. [1]

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Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

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[illegible]. HUSBAND AND WIFE, [illegible]

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e., a very bad omen; among the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (on p. 752-not processed). -Analyst]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

originate all the larger lineages which provide the political framework of Luo society.

My illustrations of Luo lineage structure are taken from material on one large lineage group, that of Karachuonyo. This group inhabits the present locations of Karachuonyo and Kasipul, and in 1947 had a population of 90,000. I lived here from December 1946 till March 1947 and again for the month of September 1947. On each occasion I took with me a Luo student from Makerere College as interpreter and research assistant. I went through my material with a dozen or more of the Luo students at Makerere who themselves came from a number of different locations. Clearly, from such a short period in the field, my results are not complete, but in so far as they add to the information at present available, I present them for what they are worth. The map (Fig. 3) shows all the Luo locations of South Kavirondo, those of the Karachuonyo group and of the other lineages which claim descent from the common ancestors, Jook and his wife Awando, being shown in heavy type.

III. THE FAMILY

The most prominent cultural features of the Luo landscape are the euphorbia hedges, at stages of growth varying from that of 3-foot saplings to that of 30-foot trees, dating each site by their planting at the time of first occupation, and throwing a thick green wall round the cluster of huts within. This residential unit is the *dala* or *pacho*, and will be referred to as the homestead. The dwelling-huts ranged in a circle round the inside of the hedge are those of married women, the chief wife's hut being at the side opposite to the entrance through the hedge, and the huts of subsequent wives arranged in alternate succession on either side of that of the chief wife.[1] The husband and head of the homestead divides his time between the huts of his wives, the chief wife's hut taking precedence,[2] having no other quarters of his own except an *ebila*, a smaller hut usually in the centre of the circle, which was his only place of privacy. There is a belief that if the husband leaves the homestead to escape from the bickering of his wives he will die on re-entering it, and the *ebila* provides him with a safer sanctuary. It was also a vantage point from which he could keep a watchful eye on his cattle in the nearby kraal. The homestead is the spatial correlate of the compound polygynous family and is subdivided into the households of its component elementary families. Just as *dala* or *pacho* applies both figuratively to the social group and concretely to the homestead occupied by it, so *ot* applies both to house and to the household of wife and children occupying it. The title of the head of the homestead and its family group is *nyaka dala* or *nyaka pacho*; *jodong'* (elder) may be substituted for *nyaka*. Correspondingly, each wife is *nyaka ot*, signifying that she is head of the household, proprietress of its hut and all other effects, and leader of its domestic and economic activities. The word *nyaka* is usually translated as 'father', and is in fact the classificatory term for all agnates of the generation senior to the speaker, including the 'genitor'. But its use with reference to all married women,

[1] See Gluckman in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde. The Luo family has a "house-property complex" of the Zulu type but in a less extreme form.

[2] This is often striking in detail. The husband's most valuable possessions are also kept there. With the present changes in hut design the chief wife's hut is often of the new and more pretentious rectangular pattern, while a second wife's may also be rectangular but smaller, and the third wife's still of the traditional circular type.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out [854] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

Restrictions on the suckling of babies. It is considered a [784] breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her [761] neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a [177] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been abandoned. One exception to the restriction, however, is [603] that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

853 595 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 [177] The social restriction with regard to the suckling of infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

843 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family
262 habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children
while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to
[753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction
may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases,
generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family
group. The restriction does not apply to others who are
free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives
birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not
change.

[756] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruc-
tion of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who
has had no child for a long time. During his treatment
[784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and com-
pulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food
during pregnancy may also result from personal dis-
agreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to
the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well
as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired
from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to
than the traditional restrictions.

843 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expec-
278 tant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from
177 the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for kill-
ing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong Euro-
pean laxatives are eliminated, such measures being
designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant
[177] mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of
Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations,
[516] such as those connected with sitting, still observed by
women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a
straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on
top of another, because it is believed that the expected
child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" in very much the same way as Onyango had been "called." They [786] were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an unintelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous [791] demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying
795 person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called "Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially "Called" by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically "Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with
788 the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely
782 until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only
782 encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to
839 indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

Mirnd Kumu is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the paricular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Ordeals.—They have a form of ordeal called Kiviri; a small pot of water is taken and a little *wimbi* flour and a bit of the medicine are put into the water; if the mixture boils over the man is guilty, and *vice versâ*. 695

Another ordeal is as follows: a piece of calabash open at both ends is placed on a stone in a bowl of water (Fig. 12). Water is ladled up from the bowl and poured into the calabash, and normally it immediately runs out where the calabash rests on the stone; the medicine man however puts some medicine into the water, and if the man is guilty the water no longer runs out at the bottom of the calabash, and eventually the water runs over the top. I have seen this performed and found that it was the medicine that enabled the calabash to be filled; this medicine was the crushed up leaves of a kind of mimosa, and being of a fibrous nature it stopped up the points of leakage between the calabash and the stone. There is another trial by ordeal: some dry flour is given to the suspected person, if innocent he can swallow it, and *vice versâ*.

FIG. 12.—THE ORDEAL OF THE CALABASH, OFTEN USED FOR THE DETECTION OF THIEVES, ETC.

Omens.—If the omen bird cries out on the left side of the road it is bad if the journey is for war, but if the journey is a mere visit the person will get food. If the bird cries out on the right side it is good for war but bad for visiting. If a cat crosses the road from right to left it is a good omen, if *vice versâ* it is bad. If you see a rat on the road and it runs in front of you it is a good, but if it crosses the road it is an inauspicious sign. 787

In some clans it is lucky for the first child to be female and in others it is *vice versâ*. [177]

If on a journey a man strikes his little toe on either foot it is a very bad sign, if he strikes the big toe it is propitious. If a man whose eldest child is a boy is travelling and the first person he meets is a man it is a good sign, but if a woman it is bad, and *vice versâ* if his eldest child is a girl.

They profess to be able to tell whether a man will be killed on an expedition or not by examining the entrails of an ox or sheep. Some even say that in this way a skilled soothsayer will prophesy future events; for instance, he will perhaps say that in so many days news of fighting will arrive, or that a certain disease will appear, or that in say three days a white cow will arrive at the village.

The head chief of each tribe decides when the people are to plant their crops, and some chiefs are said to be able to foretell whether the harvest will be good or bad. The chief Odera is said to have prophesied the advent of European rule when he was quite young. They go to the Nyole rainmaker Mgahanya for rain, and also went to his father Ligiri. [241]

Names.—Many names of men and women are the same, others again only differ in the first letter; for instance, Apio is generally a female name and Opio a male name. 551

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

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Beliefs.—They call the Divinity by the name Chieng, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

If a hailstorm occurs no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
787 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women
791 who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
252 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great.
462 Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax,

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

775 unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives;
626 and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

753 Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the
755 cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular
775 ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compensate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by
● [787] sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a
775 magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's homestead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86 c]

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. EMPTYING THE FISH-BASKETS (JA-LUO)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in *a supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by *witchcraft*, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
[683] man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingo." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

●787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man
777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that
787 is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
[844] for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

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[pp. 36-51 not processed]

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon [redacted] spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attracti[redacted]gramme, it was not long before he had a considerable follo[redacted]hey were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" [786] in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an [791] unintelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying
795 person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and
● 788 held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards
782 it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only
782 encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to
899 indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

436. REPTILE TRAPS (Ja-luo)

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

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765 a dead person shave their heads for three days after the death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool outside the village, and has his head shaved. If any one of importance dies, the neighbours do not
766 cultivate for three days after the death. If a big chief dies, all the surrounding people collect at the village, and in such cases even hostilities between clans are suspended, and all join in the funeral rites of the late chief, even if he happens to be at war with some of his dependent clans. In the case of the death of a chief, a new hut is built. The grave of the chief is dug by his brother. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water-pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown in the vicinity are put into the grave, but sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink "tembo" for ten days, and slaughter many oxen. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

428 When a man dies, his *property* goes to the brother, if the children are small. If the eldest son is grown up, he takes the property and gives his brothers a share, but a man is not allowed to take the amount paid by any one who marries one of his sisters. This marriage payment goes to
[58] the deceased father's brothers. The brothers of the deceased take his wives,
[622] but the eldest son probably takes the youngest wife of his deceased father. When a chief dies, the son whom he has chosen succeeds him. This successor is chosen really some years before the chief dies. The successor divides the private property of the chief with his brothers.

727 When a warrior *has killed a man in warfare*, he must (besides
782 shaving his head) catch a fowl and hang it round his neck head uppermost. He must not enter his home village until this has been done. Whilst the fowl is suspended to the man's neck by the beak its head is severed from the body, and the head is left hanging from the man's neck. The warrior then enters the village and shortly afterwards prepares a big feast to propitiate the man he has killed, so that his ghost may not give
● 788 trouble. If a house is struck by *lightning*, and any one is killed inside, the head-man of the village must obtain a male fowl of a red colour and walk round the house holding up the fowl three times. The house is then broken up, and the wood is used for other purposes. When desiring
728 *to make peace* with another tribe with whom they have been at war, they kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar such as is used for crushing grain. The representatives of each side then take out pieces of the flesh and exchange them reciprocally. An old man belonging to the side which has been worsted, and which is suing for peace, must
[234] then go to the head village of the conqueror and proceed to sweep up the cattle kraal. This is accepted as a kind of submission.

145 Like the Bantu Kavirondo, the Ja-luo are in the main a *healthy people*.

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *mon koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted.

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witch-doctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' (*jambingo*) which, among the Gesi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth.

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances.

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Games.—They play a kind of *bao* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the *chief*; the *chief* then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the *chief*. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

Food, etc.—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do but eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balearica pilbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

Medicine, etc.—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.* Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Odola*.

Peace ceremonies.—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

Killing animals for food.—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

Succession customs, etc.—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

* After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phyteuma Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Spermacoce pedunculata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

584 dispose of it as he pleased. On her return a feast was held—the *tero*
nyako—for her and her companions. Preparations for this feast were
made before her arrival, and the guests invited and the kind of enter-
tainment provided seems to have varied according to the family
circumstances. If the parents were poor only the girl's sisters and
the friends of her own age who had accompanied her were present;
porridge and milk were set before them, and the guests returned on
the same day to their own homes. But if the family was rich, older
relations and friends of both sexes were invited and were given meat
and beer. The quantity of beer required was often more than could
be stored in the accustomed place, namely the hut belonging to the
[393] girl's mother, and in this case a temporary shelter was built, known
as the *siwandha*. It was constructed of reed mats between the
mother's hut and the hut next to it, and if the number of reed mats
available in the *dala* was insufficient, more were borrowed from the
neighbours. After the beer had been drunk the *siwandha* hut was
dismantled and its component parts returned to their owners. The
[435 guests stayed two or even three days, and it was the convention that
before their departure a final meal of meat or of a kind of dried fish
252] called *kabaka* (an expensive dish that cost a goat to buy) should be
provided and cooked for them by the mother of the bride.

A sort of parallel to this feast known as *lupo* then took place in
the bridegroom's *dala*, a cow or a goat being sent to him by the bride's
parents to be killed and eaten by his brothers and sisters.

After the *tero nyako* and the *lupo* had taken place a bull known
291 as the *dho golo onyimbo* was paid by the bridegroom, and with them
584 he sent a new *onyimbo*, specially made for her, to the bride. She
then returned the *onyimbo* lent to her by the bridegroom's sister, and
also took off the small *chicno* and burnt it, being now entitled to wear
the big *chicno* of the married woman. This was a bunch of aloe fibre
about ten inches long and thick enough to have a diameter of three or
four inches. It was tied tightly at the top like a tassel, and was worn
hanging from the small of the back, being attached to a string which
passed round the waist. This, and a six inch square apron of fibre
[177] string was all that a Luo woman wore, apart from her ornaments until
the advent of the Indian trader with his cotton piece goods at the
beginning of the century.*

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[681] * Even now a woman who puts on a cotton dress when she leaves the *dala* sometimes reverts in the privacy of her home to the traditional nakedness adorned only by the tassel and the fringe, and often the dress is put on over the tassel. This curious ornament has clearly a ritual if not a magical significance, of which I hope to obtain details later. I was informed that if a man touches, accidentally or purposely, the tassel of a married woman, he has to pay a fine of three goats to her husband. Moreover, when a woman loses her husband she discards her tassel of aloe fibre and replaces it by one of banana fibre, and this tassel apparently has maleficent properties. For if any man annoys her, she is likely to take it off and beat one of his cows with it, whereupon the cow is regarded as bewitched, and no one will buy it, or accept it in payment of a debt.

9: Owen M-5 (ca. 1920)1933 FL11 Luo FL11

FOOD PRODUCTION AND KINDRED MATTERS, AMONGST THE LUO.

By Archdeacon W. E. Owen.

(Paper read at the 3rd Annual Scientific Meeting held in Nov., 1933.)

Soil.:

134 The production of food must necessarily be associated with knowledge of the soil. The principal soil varieties have been named by the Luo, and the methods appropriate to each variety are well known. Black cotton soil, called " anywang," occurs over a wide area, mainly around the lake shores, and is conspicuous in the locations of Uyoma, Karachwonya, Kasigunga and the Kano Plains. Red earth, called " lwala," is, speaking generally, found further back from the lake, on the higher lands, and is to be found over wide tracts in Central and South Kavirondo, a notable location being North Gem, in Central Kavirondo. Sandy soil, called " kwoyo," is generally found in the neighbourhood of outcrops of granite, which is a prominent feature in many parts. The locations of Asembo in Central Kavirondo, and Suna in South Kavirondo are good examples of areas where this sandy soil is abundant. Murram, called " gu " when solid and " go " when disintegrated into a soil, occurs in places all over the country, Sakwa and Alego in particular providing many examples of it. Stony soil, called " kite," is to be found over large stretches, particularly in those neighbourhoods where escarpments rise from the regions round the lake. Though the labour involved in the cultivation of this stony soil is very great, where there is pressure of population, every available patch is made to produce food.

Rainfall:

132 Over certain sections of the country rainfall is very uncertain. The worst locations in this respect are lower Seme, Uyoma, Sakwa, Kadimo, parts of Asembo, Mirunda, Kasigunga and Rusinga. In other districts rainfall is abundant, running from forty to sixty five inches in the year, well distributed over the months, with the exception of January and early February. January is reckoned to be the driest [520] month of the year, and is the month when there is most relaxation from agricultural operations, this being the favourite time for the inter-clan wrestling matches.

● 781 782 776 Contrary to what many would expect, amongst people who periodically suffer from lack of rain, the Luo have developed no system of rain makers. At the top of Usenge Hill in Kadimo, there is still to be seen a site marked by a collection of votive pots, where the local

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
776 entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches
[782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no
[609] earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were "of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
791 without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop.
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a
" medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists
of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high,
which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a
herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is
unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time
to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms.
In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on
136 the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and
elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo
it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at
night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary
business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where
mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[224] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in,
organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like
136 Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage
both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried
to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture
forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts.
This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and
occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through
guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of
the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life
in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he
told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to
his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on
guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was
happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons
mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal
results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of
136 the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds
are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

241 life of the countryside. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from
136 which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or
857 into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in
136 their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or
789 " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied
[837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

578 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry
685 passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task
[462 of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets
857] and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

584 the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the [273] beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment [675] to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar oseke," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties, 584 mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the ●789 parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposed to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

789 Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger 593 position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this 241 stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of 841 women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses *no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives* dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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681 pay the fine, and from the amount the judge takes a portion for himself and passes the remainder to the successful litigant.

728 627 **Making peace between sections of the tribe.** Should there be a quarrel between two sections of the tribe and a desire be felt to end the strife, the chief of one section goes to the chief of the other with a few of his principal men, and they spend the afternoon and night together discussing the difficulty and finally coming to terms. The following day a goat is killed, some of the contents of the stomach are smeared over the chests of those present, and a little of the meat is pounded in a mortar and eaten as a sacred meal to ratify the terms of peace. As they eat the meal, they promise to live at peace, the form of oath taken being "By the dead dog."

674 789 **Theft.** Cattle lifting is the most common form of serious theft. Men seek to steal cattle from members of the same tribe living at a distance from their own district, because the animals stolen can thus be more easily secreted. A man who intends to rob a kraal first visits the place with his son in order to work magic and to make his preparations. He takes with him a number of sticks pointed and prepared for the magic, and indicates certain spots to his son, who drives a stick into the ground at each place. These are magical sticks which cast a spell upon owners of cattle. The magic is followed up at night by the man's going to the kraal, opening the gate and driving away the cattle while the people are sleeping. Should the animals make any noise or prove stubborn and refuse to leave the kraal, it is a sign that the owners have received some intimation of the intended theft and have taken precautions to make more potent magic to frustrate the robbery. Under [685] such circumstances the cattle-lifter beats a hasty retreat before he is discovered and captured, as he knows that he will receive no quarter, but will certainly be put to death.

Chiefs possessing large herds of cattle take the precaution to keep a supply of powerful medicine over the gateway leading into the kraal, and also place it in various parts of the kraal so that, when a thief enters the kraal, he loses his strength, is unable to walk and so is captured and put to 554 death. A successful cattle-lifter soon becomes a noted man

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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776 782 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Musoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amodwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, waya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor waya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod waya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar waya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, wonwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

754 The evil eye, it is claimed, can make a sound man sick, and kill a man who is
755 ill, or an unborn child. Most diseases are attributed to the evil eye or to
757 malignant spirits, and so the best remedy is to make as much noise near the sick man as possible, in order to drive the evil ones away. In addition to this universal remedy, the Jaluo use a considerable variety of herbal medicines, and they are also expert at wet and dry cupping. Sometimes, however, the treatment is of a distinctly quack nature. Some time ago a native practitioner brought a case of assault against the husband of one of his patients. The defence set up was that the accused called in the prosecutor to treat his wife, and that the latter, after much cogitation, ordered the woman to climb to the roof of her hut and stay there till she was better. Unfortunately, the patient died under her open-air cure; her husband laid her death at the doctor's door and took steps to settle his account with the professor of healing arts, with a club. On another occasion the writer was summoned to an accident in the lime quarry in the district. One of the injured was suffering from a broken thigh and internal injuries. He put on a temporary splint, sent for the Indian apothecary, and gave orders that the patient
[752] was not to be moved in the "interim." Next day, however, the apothecary found, on arriving at the scene of the accident, that a Kavirondo surgeon had been called in; the latter was much puzzled by the complications of the case, and, in order to make a better diagnosis, cut the man open, with the not unnatural result that he died.

● 789 But, although the wizard is held in abhorrence and dread, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed: his success probably depends upon a knowledge of the signs of the heavens, but his methods are as follows: His village is to be found as a rule near a big tree, which he asserts is sacred; when rain is wanted he gathers some herbs and puts them in a large pot containing water, which he boils beneath the holy tree. Of the decoction thus prepared he draws off a little into a smaller pot, above which he squats on his haunches. Next a reed is produced, and through this the rain-maker draws up a little of the liquid and then squirts it forth into the air after blowing through the reed and causing the fluid in the pot to bubble; the whole process being punctuated by voluble mutterings and *abracadabra*. A reputation for uncanny powers, however, can be obtained even more easily than this, as the following anecdote will show. Some time ago, during the lesser rains, the natives of the valley in which the writer's station is situate, came and complained that a famous rain-maker was deflecting all the rain to the hills, so that the crops in the valley were dying. Would the Bwana (master) send a policeman and arrest the evil-doer? The Bwana did not see his way to such an arbitrary proceeding, but, being curious to see the wizard, scribbled a few crooked lines on a sheet of paper and told the applicants to show this to the rain-maker as a sign that the Bwana wished to speak with him. Next day they came back and said that the wizard had refused to come for the reason that the letter was not genuine but had emanated from an Indian shopkeeper; the writer told them to wait a few days, meaning to postpone the matter *sine die*. It so happened, however, that that evening a tremendous

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-landed Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arise in

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

Behind and beyond are old beliefs that are still alive. A man can lay upon a piece of land, when he is dying, an oath that binds his heirs to hold on to it for ever, and will destroy anyone who sells it out of the family—an entail with the sanction of magic. And then old homesteads on the Kano plains sheltering behind euphorbia hedges contain the bones of the deceased owner, who is buried under the floor of his hut. So consolidation may ask the son to exchange not merely a field of maize, but the bones of his father, the terrestrial anchor of his father's spirit. No wonder it is often too much to ask, and that politicians find these deep fires easy to fan.

To reach Nyabondo we climbed a small escarpment, the beginning of the Kipsigis hills, left the car beside a track and walked to the farm of a young, pleasant-mannered school supervisor called James Onyango, one of the leaders of the enclosure movement. We sat under a tree near his new tin-roofed modern bungalow, above a shallow valley with a stream. The country here is gently rolling and thickly dotted with roofs of homesteads. Many people had gathered in a circle; the women sat together in bright cottons and gay head-scarves, plump and glossy, most of them with grave-faced, round-eyed babies sleeping in their arms or crawling about the grass beside them. This question of land touches the women at the core. James Onyango told his story in English.

"The idea of exchanging gardens came to us two years ago; we had heard of it in other places; most of us were interested, and asked the Government to advise. We held a meeting and agreed unanimously to consolidate, all of us within the Kadianga clan, fifty-nine families. In our clan are three sub-clans; each appointed three men to form a committee. Each of these three was a *n'gura*—an elder whose task is to look after the land, and one of these was made the president.

"We started to exchange our gardens, and at first everything was fair. Then came elections for the Legislative Council and the District Council. The candidates thought they would gain popularity by speaking against the land schemes. They campaigned among the people, and some listened. They had clever ways. In each sub-location they had an agent who

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The won *gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peace-maker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jaboth* or *won koth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jokoth* or *won koth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *nyieka*, co-*wife*, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognised that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the JoSeje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" [786] in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an un- [791] intelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the 795 priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with 788 the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and 782 held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only 782 encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long 859 before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
776 entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

●791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches [782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the [609] rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were "of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
791 without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

241 " Jabilo " or leading medicine-man of the community concerned per-
•791 formed a sacrifice or " misango " the purpose of which was to render ineffectual any harmful magic left behind in the soil by those from whom it had been taken. It occasionally happens even to-day that a cultivator will suspect that an enemy has buried " yath " or harmful medicine in a field. In this case no preparation of the soil of this field for a crop is begun until a diviner has been consulted in order to find out the enemy. The Luo have a great faith in the power of the diviner to discover an enemy. That the diviner denounces people, and that he is oft times right, cannot be denied. Sometimes it may be guess work, as when there has been a notorious quarrel and it is simple to suspect the other party in the quarrel, but at times the medicine man has more certain sources of information. In the year 1910 I had the good fortune to get into rather friendly relationships with a medicine man who had become a Christian. In one of our conversations I asked him how it was possible to divine a wrongdoer. He told me that it was generally very easy. If a man wished to put down medicine, he had to procure it from a medicine man. Or, if he proposed to rob his neighbour he applied to the medicine man for protective medicine. Following upon the injury or the robbery, the injured party applied to the local medicine man in order to find out the enemy. If the injured person was prepared to pay a fee exceeding that paid by the enemy, the medicine man had no scruples about giving his client away. But I do not say that this is a complete explanation of all the powers of divination exercised by medicine men. Still, there can be no doubt that often both parties consult the same diviner, just as at times in our own social life both parties to a lawsuit will approach the same lawyer. Perhaps I had better safeguard myself. I am not, please, to be understood as implying that a lawyer will give his client away.

241 In the preparation of the soil for the crop, all members of the family who are fit, take their share. Only in bush country, where there is heavy clearing to be done, is the work left to the men. This operation is called " bete." In all other types of land there is no discrimination between the sexes, even where tall grass, called " olenge," has to be dug up. But there is a certain amount of dis-
241 crimination amongst the age groups. When a man has advanced in
887 years, and younger members of his family are sufficient for food production, he leaves it to them, while he devotes himself to less arduous tasks, possibly herding, or some form of social service such as the elders perform in settling the lawsuits of the clan.

241 The next operation after "bete " is " puro," the turning over of the soil. Where weeds or grass have been heavy, this is followed by " wang'o " or burning. In sandy, stony or red soil, sowing the seed

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
578 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and have off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The store varies in size according to the grain for which it is
285 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is "dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the
[431] custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the
[742] Jabilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
462 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a "thigo" or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep these dry. Seeds of seeds, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

422 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
593 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called "mondo." The head of the family would have his own "mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means widespread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

Child Labour:

Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or women may be seen herding. With the opening up of avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
[illegible]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Loo FL11

776 782 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Musoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amodwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, waya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor waya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod waya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar waya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, wonwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao

7: Nyangweso U-4 (no date)1930 FL11 Luo FL11

THE CULT OF MUMBO IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH KAVIRONDO.

By "Nyangweso."

124 Owing to the African's habit of giving the answer he imagines to be the one required instead of the real answer to a question, it has been a little difficult to sift fact from fiction as regards the Mumbo cult. A further complication is that in this religion, as in others, there are different sects who hold their own views as to the interpretation of the teachings of the founder. I have however endeavoured, after several interviews with members of the cult, and with others in a position to give reliable information, to eliminate minor local divergencies of belief, and to give a broad outline of the main beliefs and practices of the Mumboites.

795 In 1913, there lived in the Central Kavirondo location of Alego, a man named Onyango Dunde, of the Aseje clan. One evening as he sat in his hut, a gigantic snake appeared and swallowed him up. It was so big that as it stood on end in the lake (Lake Victoria) its head reached up into the clouds. Almost immediately afterwards it vomited Onyango back again into his hut, unscathed but rather shaken. Indeed it appears that this was just the snake's method of drawing Onyango's attention to the fact that it wished to speak with him, which it proceeded at once to do. It spoke more or less as follows:—

"I am the God Mumbo whose two homes are in the Sun and in the Lake. I have chosen you to be my mouth-piece. Go out and tell all Africans—and more especially the people of Alego—that from henceforth I am their God. Those whom I chose personally, and also those who acknowledge me, will live for ever in plenty. Their crops will grow of themselves and there will be no more need to work. I will cause cattle, sheep, and goats to come up out of the lake in great numbers to those who believe in me, but all unbelievers and their families and cattle will die out.

[134] "The Christian religion is rotten (mbovu) and so is its practice of making its believers wear clothes. My followers must let their hair grow—never cutting it. Their clothes shall be the skins of goats and cattle and they must never wash. All Europeans are your enemies, but the time is shortly coming when they will all disappear from our country.

"Daily sacrifice—preferably the males—of cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls shall be made to me. More especially do I prefer black bulls. Have no fear of sacrificing these as I will cause unlimited black cattle to come to you from the Lango (Masai, Nandi, and Lumbwa).

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an unintelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

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761 795 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Bucmbwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 788 782 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 782 859 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

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have been more common in South Kavirondo whither the cult had spread and had been received with enthusiasm.

The priests started " schools " which they usually placed on hill-tops, and in the best proselytising traditions, attracted potential adherents by giving feasts of their slaughtered cattle. They also built here and there what might be called groves or places for the worship of Mumbo where sacrifices were made to the accompaniment of many obscenities and dancing.

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In some of these Groves were wooden idols, one of which has been presented to the Natural History Museum by Mr. C. M. Dobbs, late Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province. This practice of constructing sacred Groves to Mumbo and erecting idols is interesting since all the people who were questioned about this cult said definitely that such things had never been commanded by Mumbo himself. True, he had said that there were to be sacrifices made to him with dancing to the accompaniment of drums and bull-roarers (without musical accompaniment), but he meant them to take place in each home. No instructions had been given for groves or idols.

An extract from the report of the District Officer who found the idol is worth inserting at this point:—

" . . . .The meeting place of the cult consisted of a beautifully swept enclosure adjoining the High Priest's Home and capable of seating some two hundred people. From the next home to that of the High Priest ran a made path, four feet wide and trenched at the sides . . . . The enclosure was surrounded by a well-built dry stone wall. In the centre was a little semi-open hut about six feet in diameter, finished with white mud . . . . There was no door. It appeared symmetrical all round, thus:—

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" In the centre of the hut was a phallic altar-post, bearing traces of blood-stains . . . . The High Priest's daughter produced some unpleasant animal relics from a hole in the wall in the enclosure. In the Western corner a bush plant (Nyalothkoth) had been planted. . . .

795 778 In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls."

795 778 231 The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about 5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo home the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has a post—called in Dholuo, "Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of [531] the home has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby home.

795 778 The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all carved Lochas appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

174 851 Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these Lochas is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Lochas in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who hold parallel beliefs.

795 174 It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

795 747 The prophecies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out, especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

7: Nyangweso U-4 (no date)1930 FL11 Luo FL11

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altogether. It gains very few new converts and nearly all of these are natives who have broken away from a native-run Christian Mission known as the Nomiya Luo Mission, but these are not very numerous.

In conclusion I would like to offer my explanation of the nature of the " Snake " which swallowed Onyango. One morning in April this year while at Asembo location, on the Lake-shore, I happened to look out towards Homa Mountain on the other side of the Kavirondo Gulf. About a mile from the mountain and over the lake hung low a small bank of clouds. It was about half-past eight in the morning. From the centre of the clouds, and reaching down tentatively to the lake, twisting and swaying, hung a water-spout. The distance, some fifteen miles, made it difficult to estimate its height, but I think that a fair guess would be from 350 to 400 feet. I turned to my interpreter and said, " What do the wata make of that?" and he replied, " Oh, they say that that is the great snake Mumbo!"

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422 less as titular owner of the whole herd. The scheme of division may be represented as in the diagram below. All other livestock is divided in the same way. The eldest
582 son of the first wife must marry before any other sons can do so, and if the first wife has no sons the rest must wait till there is no further chance of her bearing
585 any. When the first wife dies, the second wife becomes chief wife of the homestead, but a first wife's full status can only be succeeded to when she is replaced by a sister
428 and a new homestead is built. The property of a barren wife is inherited by a stepson
587 who is adopted into her household to do the man's work in it.

CATTLE HERD

422 All herded together

428 Head of homestead titular owner of all

583 1. *Cattle of the shrine*

Strict property of homestead head.

Used to help sons or brothers' sons to marry, or to marry new wives for homestead head.

Residue ultimately inherited by the youngest son of the homestead, who also takes the father's share of cattle from any subsequent marriages of sisters.

All derived from the heifer and bull taken by the father at every daughter's marriage, and from their increase.

Milk from these used by the homestead head.

2. *Cattle entirely property of the wives.*

Ultimately inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the heifer called *rub bub* received by the mother at each daughter's marriage, and from the heifer of *ondu* and bull settled upon a wife by her father at the end of her marriage commission.

Milk from these used by the wives.

3. *Cattle held for sons' marriages.*

Any residue inherited by youngest son of each house.

All derived from the cattle received at daughters' marriages other than those specified under 1 and 2.

Homestead head has over all discretion in the original division of secondary cattle, and can persuade wives to give up cattle from category 3 to help stepsons to marry, and may by agreement take an extra heifer from those received at a daughter's marriage, to complete the bridewealth of one of his other wives.

592 Succession to authority in the family, and also in the lineage, depends on a combination of three qualifications: primogeniture, personal suitability in character and
613 wealth, and appointment by one's predecessor. Primogeniture is highly regarded and
554 preferred, but is never an absolute rule. Whenever an eldest son is unsuitable, or another agnatic relative is clearly more suitable, the latter is chosen to succeed. But a successor must be named by his predecessor, and as a result of the strong common sentiments in family and lineage segment, the predecessor's appointee seems usually to have been the one whom the elders of the group wish to elect when they meet at the funeral of the predecessor to confirm his choice.

769 Ancestor worship is falling into abeyance among the Luo of today. All those who go to school become at least nominal Christians, and this affects most of the young,
778 while the old are becoming diffident in the performance of rites which no longer
782 command universal respect. The spirit shrines which used to be placed between the
[793] first and second wives' huts are hardly seen today, nor the three stones which used to stand before the spirit shrine, with the stone of sacrifice buried beneath (see

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

7

HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE AMONG THE JOLUO OF KENYA

G. M. WILSON

101 The Luo ("Jaluo," singular; "Joluo," plural) are unique in that they are the only Nilotic speaking people in Kenya. Their place of origin is the Nile Valley; through the centuries by gradual expansion by war and peaceful penetration, they migrated up the Nile Valley, through Uganda, into Kenya, along the shores of Lake Victoria. The term Luo means "swamp" and Joluo "the people of the swamp." Through their migrations they have left behind other Nilotic groups in Uganda and in the Sudan.

131 The Joluo are chiefly concentrated in Central Nyanza where over half a million of them are found today. There are, however, Luo pockets in North Nyanza and also in South Nyanza.

631 The Luo of Central Nyanza are divided into twelve tribal groups. Each tribal group, with a Government-appointed chief, today forms an administrative unit, a "Location," within the District of Central Nyanza. These administrative units, laid down in the early twenties, coincide fairly accurately with the former tribal boundaries and are accepted by the people.

614 Each Luo tribe can be described as a society of agnatic parallel lineages or clans, each tracing either real or mythical descent from a common eponym or descent through an adopted or affiliated family to the eponym.

614 178 The original form of the clan and lineage structure remains today in comparative purity. The Joluo people—although on the surface they have accepted Christianity—still retain the ceremonial, religious, and ritual aspects of their culture to a very large degree.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. xx, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum xxvi, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 762 where he was headmaster. His final act was to write to all those involved in this series of incidents, which had taken nearly three years, to the effect that his daughter had killed him, that shame was brought to his clan and lineage, and that the liaison she had formed with Okare would end in disaster. He swore he would return in spirit to ensure that the marriage would end in failure.

159 762 568 747 It can be seen from this case that the difficult transition faced by even the most educated Christian Jaluo is complicated by the intense residual customary law and the attitudes of the people regarding the authority of a father and the duty of his daughter to this authority. The father in his case was a well educated, highly respected, important person in his district. The daughter, by her behavior, had humiliated him and he took recourse in indigenous rules and beliefs to solve his problems. They were initially successful. In the end, however, the threat to his status as a Christian of the fact that he had married his daughter by force to a Christian who was already married and therefore a bigamist in the eyes of the Church, brought shame and disaster to his social position as a Christian headmaster. His final act, however, was typically an indigenous one. He would not face the shame and humiliation brought to him by the course of events, so he took refuge in traditional recourse to suicide as a curse to the future happiness of those whom he thought had caused his grievance. To the end, therefore, he struggled to obtain the best of two worlds.

FEMALE SUICIDES

762 The most common cause of suicide among females is domestic quarrels and, coupled with that, the fear of physical violence from their husbands. Secondly, jealousy between co-wives; thirdly, the result of extreme grief, and finally, illness.

In the first category, out of the thirteen cases recorded from our sample, seven were of the domestic quarrel type. Of these, one was complicated by a curse from the husband, another

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

I

INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Feeding

Under one year. For the first month of a baby's life its chief food is its mother's milk. But when the mother's milk is insufficient, gruel may be given as early as at two to three weeks old. Although cow's milk is now sometimes used instead of gruel, it is still chiefly regarded as a modern introduction by the missionaries in an effort to promote infant health.

Between the ages of one and three months, gruel and breast-feeding play about equal parts. When the mothers go out to work, suckling tends to be limited to mornings and evenings. The average age at which babies are given gruel is one month. From the third to the sixth month milk from the breast and gruel continue to form the child's main diet, but after this, gruel begins to prevail over breast-feeding. Although maize flour is occasionally used in the preparation of gruel, the usual flour for this purpose is obtained from sorghum and eleusine, a species of millet. Whenever possible a little sour milk is added to the mixture. Between five and six months certain children have frequent tastes of adult food given to them by their nurses.

Although nurses are allowed to give gruel to the children, difficulties in handling a baby sometimes result in under-feeding, which is often made worse by the low food-content of the gruel itself. Through training by nurses, babies are accustomed to adult food before their mothers actually give it to them, so it can happen that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

over 3,000 people are spraying; here, with sixteen times the population, not 500 are. In the whole of Nyanza, with its 900,000 families, we have only sixty-seven Sahiwal bulls.

'On cattle, most of them won't budge. For instance, a man's prestige is somehow linked with that of his bulls, and they are most reluctant to castrate anything. Pioneers who try improved methods are unpopular and their neighbours are apt to gun for them; one man, for instance, had his pigs burnt alive. Still, we plug on. We have controlled rinderpest, if not East Coast fever—every year we give about 200,000 rinderpest inoculations. We export half a million hides and skins and are trying to improve their quality.'

It is perhaps worth noting that crops, whose improvement is considerable, are grown by women, but livestock is the exclusive concern of the men.

'In the years ahead,' this rather disillusioned vet concluded, 'we have only got to get across two basic principles: that a cow wants food all the year round, and that a calf needs milk. But it will take another twenty years before we make any real dent in Nyanza.'

On the other hand, some things unexpectedly catch on. A district officer who had seen fish-ponds in Malaya made half a dozen and stocked them with tilapia. Local people observed the ponds and, without any serious propaganda, dug others like them. Now there are over a thousand in Nyanza. They cost nothing, the Government provides free fingerlings and is full of plans for fish-ponds everywhere as the basis of a small industry.

V

Maseno is a dynamo of education. It was started by the Church Missionary Society. 'The general plan of campaign was based on the model of Iona,' wrote the Rev. John Willis, later Bishop of Uganda, who with Bishop Tucker chose the site in 1904. On 14th January, 1906, the first resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Savile, moved in—there was not much to move into, merely a grass hut under a tree that housed both the Saviles and a primitive dispensary. Nearly

21:Huxley Q,T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Ondiso, Odindo, Owiti and Orua were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

*From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press, 1956.

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4: Nobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

301 originally came from the north-west. I imagine that the original possessors of these beads had considerable settlements in the neighbourhood of the Maragolia Hills, and that beads were continually being lost in the fields, and now when a heavy thunderstorm comes it washes some of the surface soil away and exposes an odd bead now and again. The supply of the blue Nya-Luo beads is of course quite inadequate for the population, and many make up for the scarcity with the ordinary blue *kikoti* bead.[1] Occasionally these ancient beads are green and yellow, but the usual colour is blue.

302 The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of shaving curved patterns on their heads (Fig. 11).

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FIG. 11.—TOP OF THE TOP OF A MAN'S HEAD; SHOWING HOW THE PATTERN IS GRAVED.

The young men often wear an armlet of cylindrical wooden blocks on the upper arm; the wooden blocks are coloured red with oxide of iron. A band similarly ornamented with wooden blocks is often worn round the forehead. Some of the older men wear the curved canine tooth of a hippo on the forehead. The tooth is ground down laterally till it is only about one-eighth of an inch in thickness; others wear the tooth of a wart hog attached to a necklace.

516 The Ja-Luo have a curious habit of standing on the top of an ant hill or in some prominent place on one leg with the flat of the other foot resting against the knee, reminding one of the attitude adopted by a stork; they will remain in this attitude quite comfortably for a considerable time. This habit is I believe characteristic of the Dinka and others of the tribes on the Nile south of Fashoda.

759 *Miscellaneous customs.*—If a person shuts the door behind him when he
784 leaves a house, people at once say he is a witch doctor. If a wife does this to her husband, the husband will not enter her house again until she fetches a goat from her father and kills it. Similarly if a man is the culprit he has to kill a goat to avert the ill luck. If a house is struck by lightning and anybody is killed
[766] inside, the head of the village walks three times round the house with a red
[821] rooster and the house is then broken up and the wood utilized for any purpose.

754 *Witchcraft, etc.*—It is believed that people are killed by witchcraft; the person possessing the medicine has only to show it to a person in order to kill him; to save the person bewitched it is necessary to catch the wizard and to bring him to the patient and he can remove the spell, and the wizard has to pay a fine; this class of medicine man does not hide himself. There is a deeper kind of witchcraft which is only practised at night and with great secrecy. It is called *Jamkingo*; among the Gemi tribe many of the clan previously referred to who forge iron possess these powers.

[771] [772] [1] With the kind assistance of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, I examined the collections of beads at the Museum from various parts of the world, and I found yellow and blue beads of the exact colour and shape among the Egyptian antiquities and jasper beads identical in appearance to the Nya-Luo both from ancient Egypt, and also from excavations made on the site of some buried cities in Baluchistan.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Loo FL11

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When a chief dies the son chosen by the chief succeeds him; the successor is chosen as a rule some years before the chief dies. The successor will however divide the private property of his father with his brothers like anyone else.

Religion.—They call the Divinity by the name Chiong, which is the sun; when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and in the evening he expectorates to the west. If the sunset is extremely red it is said to be a sign that an important man will die in the tribe. They believe that the spirit of a man goes upwards at death.

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If a hailstorm occurs no one goes to work in the fields on the following day.

Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war.

[pp. 36-51 not processed]

B: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1906) 1903 FL11 Leo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL11

B 628 suffered an injury at the hands of certain other members of his clan, *e.g.*, has had his wife enticed away or had a cow stolen, he will often proceed to the territory of a neighbouring tribe and lie in ambush, attack and spear the first passer by, likely to fall an easy prey, and will then return home.

In a few days it will leak out that one of the "Wa-so and so" has done this, and the clan of the murdered man will up and wage war with the clan of the murderer, who hopes to obtain his revenge vicariously in this manner; latterly, it is said, it has been done in the hope that the administration will be induced to punish the clan, and, incidentally, the man who has wronged him.

As a variant of the same line of conduct during the last few years, several cases of suicide have been brought to my notice.

B 782 For example, in Nyde district a young man one day had a violent quarrel with his own mother while cultivating, and eventually beat her with a stick. She ran crying to a village near by, and one of the elders came out and gave the young fellow a thrashing; to every one's astonishment the young man hanged himself that afternoon, and the people of the vicinity told my agent, who went to enquire into it, that he had committed suicide so that his blood relations might lay his death at the door of the elder, and thus start a blood feud against him. Word was, naturally, promptly sent forth that such a procedure would be strongly discouraged, and the incident apparently closed.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

L 821 The Ja-Luo believe that the sun goes back to the east overhead during the night, hidden behind the heavens. They use the word *Chieng* indifferently for sun and the Deity. They do not associate the daylight sky with the light of the sun, but look upon it as something quite distinct, and asked what became of it at night. It is known by the term *Polo*. They professed the belief that Europeans were the children of the sun.

L 821 941 They believe that menstruation is caused by the new moon, and also that a woman can only become pregnant at the time of the new moon, and generally that the moon has a great deal to do with the occurrence.

During menstruation a woman does not cook food for others, but merely her own food. She performs all other work as usual.

L 372 The people have no ceremonies connected with fire, such as the extinguishing of all the fires at a certain time, and the relighting with certain rites.

B 845 846 893 Among the Awa-Wanga, many believe that within five or six days of the birth of a child the parents must cohabit, or the child will die. After the birth of twins, the parents are secluded for from twenty days to a month; at the end of the ordained period the brother of the man then formally opens the door of the hut, and the couple can go about as usual. This seclusion of the male parent is probably an attenuated relic of the "*couvade*" custom.

7: Nyangweso U-4 (no date)1930 FL11 Luo FL11

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altogether. It gains very few new converts and nearly all of these are natives who have broken away from a native-run Christian Mission known as the Nomiya Luo Mission, but these are not very numerous.

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In conclusion I would like to offer my explanation of the nature of the " Snake " which swallowed Onyango. One morning in April this year while at Asembo location, on the Lake-shore, I happened to look out towards Homa Mountain on the other side of the Kavirondo Gulf. About a mile from the mountain and over the lake hung low a small bank of clouds. It was about half-past eight in the morning. From the centre of the clouds, and reaching down tenuously to the lake, twisting and swaying, hung a water-spout. The distance, some fifteen miles, made it difficult to estimate its height, but I think that a fair guess would be from 350 to 400 feet. I turned to my interpreter and said, " What do the natives make of that?" and he replied, " Oh, they say that that is the great snake Mumbo!"

241 comes next, but in cotton soil, there is further preparation by breaking up the clods, getting a fine tilth. This is called " buon." I well remember my surprise, and critical attitude, when first I noticed that sowing was done without any attempt being made to break up the rough grass-matted clods. However, the crop, which happened to be " bel " or millet, which resulted from these primitive methods, was, a heavy one. I was told that the clods afforded protection to the young seedlings.

With regard to the sowing or planting three terms are used. Broadcast sowing, as of millet, simsim and beans, is called " chwoyo " or " ludo." The planting of each seed individually, as with maize, is termed " komo," while the planting of cassava and sweet potatoes is known as " pidho."

24 Under the system now fast dying out, sowing was surrounded by
805 many taboos. First of all, was the knowing the time to sow. In
a normal year there are two sowings, one in the early part of the
●821 year, February or March, and one during the shorter rains about September-October. The slower growing crops were put down in the spring, and the quicker crops in the autumn. For the spring sowing guidance was sought from the stars. Amongst a people who had no names for the months of the year, natural phenomena had to be relied upon. These the stars supplied, and especially the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades. These two constellations are called by one name " Yugini " by the Luo. They further differentiate by calling the three stars of Orion's belt, the " chuo " or " men," and the cluster of the Pleiades the " mon " or " women." (The men are obviously polygamists.) When the time of the year comes round during which these stars are observed shortly after nightfall, to be about midway between the zenith and the horizon, then they know that sowing time has arrived. No matter how good the rains may have been before these stars reach the traditional position none must sow, and, conversely, if rains do not come by the time the stars say that sowing ought to be done, there are dismal forebodings about the crop. The Luo say that if the millet (their main food crop), has not flowered by the month when these stars dip below the horizon shortly after nightfall, then there will be a poor harvest and scarcity of food.

241 Other natural phenomena which guide them are birds. There is
825 a bird called by the Luo " Ondiek ti oyieng " (" the wild beasts are well fed ") which has a very monotonous three note cry. Some Europeans call it the brain fever bird, from the deadly monotony of this call. The Luo have given words to this cry " Dak tu kom " meaning " Aren't you going to sow to-day." There is another bird, called " Oliech ga apol " which follows behind the digger for the insects turned up with the soil. The presence of these birds is held to

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

husband and runs away, the amount which he has already paid on her behalf is returned and the marriage is broken off. If a woman finds herself unmarried after a long period, it is customary for her to go to a chief or a rich man and state that she has come to stay and cook for him. In such case she is usually taken to wife, but a very small complimentary present is paid for her. Chiefs may have from ten to forty wives. The Ja-luo are, generally speaking, very moral. They do not intermarry in

the same clan, but a man may marry the daughter of one who bears the same name as himself.

The Ja-luo believe in a *supreme God* whom they call "Chieng." This, however, is the same name as the sun. When a man comes out of his house in the morning, he spits towards the east, and in the evening he spits towards the west. If the sunset is extremely red, it is said to indicate the approaching death of an important person. They believe that after death the spirits of the departed go up to the sky. If a hailstorm occurs, no one goes to work in the fields on the following day. Shooting stars are said to be a sign of war. They believe that people can be killed by witchcraft, and that a wizard has only to show "medicine" to a person

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock. A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions" are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

234 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth because the average man does not possess a number of oxen with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle, especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however, also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours, but there are some colours which are considered objectionable. 232 Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark, dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagreement during the arrangement of the marriage or between the wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *nendewat*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug.

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes.

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

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*See footnote to page 138.

4: Nobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Lao FL11

CHAPTER III.

Native Tribes of Kavirondo.

101 The *generic* name used of these peoples by themselves is *Ja-Luo*. The Bantu Kavirondo people call them *Awa-Nyuro*. A very common term for them is *Wa-Nilo*.

231 *Modes of subsistence.*—They all live by agriculture. They reside in fixed
291 villages of from ten to fifty huts. Nearly all the villages are surrounded by
301 euphorbia hedges; formerly many villages had mud and occasionally stone walls, but this custom has died out. They breed cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls.

[224] *Hunting and fishing.*—They dig pitfalls for elephants and also spear
226 elephants. They catch large quantities of fish in the Lake Victoria Nyanza by means of large conical wicker traps "*dowo*." The process is as follows:—They have two enormously long ropes; one end of each rope is secured on shore, and the ropes are then paid out into the lake, one rope floats on the surface and from it hangs a fringe of papyrus stalks; the other rope is a ground rope, and is weighted with stones, and the two ropes are connected at intervals. By means of canoes these ropes are gradually brought round in a semi-circle the size of which gradually decreases. The fish rush shorewards to escape from the drawing in of the net, and rush into the mouth of the big wicker traps which are placed in a row in the shallow water near the shore. At the same time the women walk up and down dragging smaller meshed traps in which they collect myriads of tiny fish the size of a sardine. They fish a great deal at night by torchlight. They state that they get the best hauls of fish after rain; in the dry season they catch
[228] comparatively few. Rafts of ambatch wood are used for laying out the net (ambatch is a very light spongy wood growing on the lake shore; it has a prickly
[438] bark). They split and dry large quantities of fish and carry it inland from the lake for considerable distances to sell for grain.

227 Lines and hooks are also used to a certain extent by the Nyakach people and
601 others. The people bordering the lake possess a few dug-out canoes and also a few of the sewn canoes bought from Baganda or Banga.

441 *Bridges.*—They build rough bridges of timber across the rivers when in flood, but not suspension bridges like the North Kavirondo.

264 *Cooking, etc.*—They cook in earthen pots inside their huts, and also in the
252 verandah of the huts. All cooking is done by women. The food is served up in little baskets. The father eats with his sons; they generally eat in a little separate hut with open sides built for the purpose. Women eat separately and inside the house.

372 *Fire.*—They know the use of firesticks but rarely need them, as they can always obtain a glowing ember from one or other of their neighbours.

[pp. 11-25 not processed]

S: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11

Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

B 824 778 The word *Marande* in Lu-Wanga means peace, and when peace is made between two tribes, the ceremony, if possible, always takes place at the foot of one of these trees, as the tree is a great peace charm, and the dog, which is slaughtered as part of the ceremony, is generally tied by its neck to the tree.

B 825 751 Among the Awa-wanga, if a man kills a python, it is believed that the snake will return, or possibly that its spirit will return and afflict his children with blindness. Prompt measures must, therefore, be taken to avert this disaster, and he accordingly measures the length of the reptile, and not later than the day following, hoes a path through the grass near his village equal in length to that of the snake, kills a white fowl, then sprinkles its blood in the clearing and also pours a little *ndama* or *wimbi* gruel there too; this acts as a charm to render the python's malignancy futile. Even if a python is seen only, it is considered safe to go through this ceremony. The next child that is borne to the man after killing a python is called *wanwanke* if it is a boy and *nwanke* if it is a girl; (*wanke* is the Lu-Wanga word for python).

B [553]

B 766 [824] A most extraordinary custom, which holds among the Awa-wanga and may be mentioned under the present heading, is that if a young girl, a virgin, dies, her female relatives, whose duty it is to bury her, artificially deflower the body before burial; this is always done by the forcible insertion of the pointed bulb of spathes which cover the immature flowers at the lower end of a growing bunch of bananas. If this is omitted, it is believed that the sisters of the deceased will not be found to be virgins on their marriage; this would be considered somewhat of a disgrace.

B [831]

B 171 It will be remembered that in Mr. Roome's account of the Baganda customs,[1] the flower of the plantain or banana plays a certain part in the ritual which is gone through upon the birth of twins, and is there, I believe, used as a symbol of fruitfulness or plenty; possibly a similar idea may, in the past, have had some connection with its employment in the instance now described.

L 765 766 824 There are two curious customs, in which the thorn of the acacia plays a part, which may, perhaps, be mentioned under the heading of charms. Among the Ja-Luo when a person dies, for days, perhaps months after, the whole village wails with great fervour, and at stated intervals according to the conventions laid down for the case. If, however, a barren woman dies, the people of the village at once commence to wail in the usual way, and the brothers and sisters of the deceased proceed as quickly as possible to the village where the death occurred. The first blood-relation of the deceased who arrives on the scene takes a sharp acacia thorn, sticks it into the sole of the foot of the corpse and breaks it off; immediately this is done all wailing ceases at once, nor is it renewed as in the case of an ordinary death. The origin and the object of this strange custom appears to have been entirely lost.

N 787 824 Among the Nandi, when a raiding party is being arranged, the *chwaran* (warriors) proceed to a *laibon*, or medicine man, an ox is killed and the *laibon*,

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 25, et seq.

844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thudge* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffirorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

If the babe is a boy the Kaffirorn stalk is pulled out of the roof
[201] at the side of the fire place of the hut (*Ker ámach* — lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Ker ahung* — the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never cockamed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, sinsim
852 is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared
[829] with butter and sprinkled with sinsim seeds, seedballs of a wild plant (*achek*) are strung on plaited grass (*eganga*) and creeping grass (*mathono*) and
[301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of smaltricular pieces of ostrich eggs (*rek*) and big iron beads.

When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called
[262] to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *owinje* (= pounded sinsim mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wondi*. She kneads a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it (*athwonyo etinge*) which she fills with *owinje*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child (*ingado imbo nyathi*).

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

11: Herrmann 36-5 (ca. 1928)1928 FL11 Loo FL11

743 ock in the village and he withdrawn says that the sickness is due to neglect of
787 deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
753 then they put some stalks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway
of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd
and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewed again. Two
769 kwanzwe deceased's sons visit the witchdoctor, who tells him to sacrifice a special
782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
273 etc. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of
no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on
the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wanda* for the beer is carefully ground
and put to soak for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wanda* is roasted
and the next morning dried. Unground *wanda* is soaked in water, which is strained
off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout,
after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another
visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed,
this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
● [824 women and children of deceased only pick some *umbipala* of a certain wild plant
588] (*ombele*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass (*mwikuwa*).
These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-
vessels with which they go to the well to fetch water for the further preparations of
the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become lukewarm, it
is poured on the fermented *wanda* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted
wanda is ground and put in the beer-pots too. The following morning early the
relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the
grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some
of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs
alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medicine, and it remains
hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations,
friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormous
earthen pot (*ndoka*) in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed
for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway
where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the
chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there,
the medicine would start working on him, and he would leave the place with sore
eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the
village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to
spit on the ground, so that the person bewitched may not die, and doing so his
eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch.
No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village
they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round
about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by
their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g., an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandaruni** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

*Dolichos sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.
†Solanum sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—Editor.

When a cow calves about two days are allowed to pass while the calf is suckled before milking commences. The milk obtained from the cow during the first two weeks or until the umbilical cord of the calf drops, is all drunk by young men in the village. This milk is stored in a pot in which a little buttermilk, which has been treated with urine, has been placed. As mentioned before the Luo believe that drinking fresh whole milk is the cause of tapeworm infestation, and the buttermilk is added to the fresh milk so as to eliminate this danger. When the umbilical cord of the calf has dropped the woman who owns the cow is allowed to use the milk for churning butter. The roots of a plant known in Luo as obuuo is added to the churning calabash as a preserving agent because fresh milk is stored in the calabash for about twelve to twenty-four hours before churning. During the churning process a little bovine urine, which has been stored for a few days, is added to the milk to accelerate the formation and facilitate the separation of the butter. This urine is also believed to be a good preservative for both the butter and the buttermilk, which will be stored for use in cooking various kinds of food. On the day the first butter is made into ghee, a little of the ghee is fed to the calf and the rest eaten by a group of people in the house. The reason why a sample of the first ghee is given to the calf is not very clear; but some people say that it protects the calf from developing diarrhoea and indigestion when the later butter of the dam is boiled and made into ghee. They believe that otherwise the boiling of the butter during ghee-making would cause diarrhoea in the calf.

Milking is done twice a day, in the morning and evening, by the boys and young men. Girls, women and old men are only allowed to milk in homes where there are no young men. Before commencing milking, the calf is allowed to suck its dam for a minute. It is then tied in front of the dam while she is milked. After some milk has been drawn the calf is allowed to suck for another minute and then re-tied while more milk is taken. Finally, the calf is allowed to suck and stay with the dam for about an hour, after which it is separated from the mother for at least ten hours before the next milking.

If a cow is slow to wean her calf a method used for drying her off is to fix a muzzle (osembo) on which strong thorns are fixed around the mouth of the calf so that when it tries to suck, the thorns prick the dam and cause her to kick the calf away. Another device is to smear the teats of the dam with cow dung, the taste of which stops the calf from sucking.

If the calf dies, its hide is dried, folded properly and a little salt solution is sprinkled on it to make it taste pleasant when licked by the dam while being milked. Before milking, the teats are washed or cleaned with warm water to stimulate the milk flow.

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies. 231 232

Treatment of Animals.

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *ponderuri*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug. 232 239

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes. 278

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

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*See footnote to page 138.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Finally, in desperation, his sons and a group of his *pakakuoro* consulted the head diviner, *jubilo*, to choose an auspicious day for the killing of the ex-chief and to collect the animals and materials necessary for cleansing after the deed had been accomplished.

The ex-chief was found and stabbed to death at the place named by the *jubilo* and his body was hidden in a nearby river. It was found several days later, and a witness was found who alleged that he came upon the group on the day of the murder in the act of disposing of the body.

Those who had had actual physical contact with the blood of the murdered man were cleansed as soon as they arrived home by the leading *jubilo* of the clan. He used a grey ash from burning the sacred *buowbuow* vine. The minimal lineage, *pakakuoro*, assembled at the village of the senior son, who was the head of the lineage segment, and who had struck the fatal blow. There the following cleansing ritual was performed: at about two o'clock the following afternoon, a black sheep and red chicken were slaughtered by the head of the lineage. The sheep and chicken were first prepared by the *jubilo*, who placed his medicines in the mouth of the sheep and of the chicken before the sacrifice. The *jubilo* cut strips of skin from the animal and wrapped them around the spear and knives used in the murder. The spear had to be destroyed at sundown because the victim was related to the spear clan of the tribe. The meat was divided on the lineage principle and consumed ceremonially. The meat of the chicken was eaten only by those who actually struck blows.

The purpose of these sacrifices was stated by the *jubilo* to "keep the spirit of the murdered man from doing evil to the clan." It also cleansed the bodies of those who drew blood so that they could now eat with their families and once more participate in the activities of the village and clan.

After the meat was eaten, those present held a meeting to decide which old woman should act as a wife to the ghost of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 his mother and took the sim-sim by stealth. When the hus-
159 band came to collect it for the Chief, he found that a large por-
[595] tion of it had disappeared. This caused a bitter quarrel between him and the boy's mother.

In fear of the consequences of what her son had done, the woman placed a rope, which was used for tying up one of her cows for milking, in a small basket and went out of the village as if to collect vegetables. She went to one of the largest trees in a nearby valley which was hidden from sight by thick bush and there hanged herself. My informant then described the scene as follows: "The first person who found the body cared it very hard and, after having cut the rope, started mourning. The place was soon filled with people and some were asked
[783] to bring hoes, axes, and pangas to destroy the tree. There and then people of the village and her lineage started their work and within a day the tree was completely destroyed and all the roots dug up from the ground and burned."

"When I asked why the tree was being destroyed," the informant went on, "the elders told me that it was being done to stop more people from hanging from it, for we Luo believe that hanging is inherited by different people in different clans. If a clan had not had a person hang himself before, it is difficult
[824] for one in that clan to hang himself or herself. If a tree on which someone had hanged himself was allowed to remain, it would drag other people to it for the same purpose."

The next case involves a curse as well as domestic trouble.

Suicide Case No. 17.

159 The husband of this suicide had been having considerable
762 trouble with his cattle and many were dying from disease. The
578 beginning of the illness coincided with the elopement of her daughter with a young man who had neither paid bride-wealth nor seemed likely to pay it. Her husband blamed his misfortunes on this incident and his suspicions were confirmed by

20:Ominde 1-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

this place they make regular visits to it. Thus the place used by the children for this purpose appears very insanitary. Furthermore, children are in this way exposed to the danger of attack from worms of various kinds. 863

Weaning

There are very few cases where children are not weaned against their will. The maximum period of suckling is determined by the date of the following pregnancy. Thus if the mother is not again pregnant a child is suckled for as long as it wishes. It is considered that once a mother is expecting another child the milk in her breasts naturally belongs to the coming baby and would be poisonous to the older child. It is also believed that children who are suckled when their mothers are pregnant waste away and eventually die if the feeding is not stopped. 862

Methods of weaning. Methods of weaning do not vary much between different mothers. First, the child may be persuaded that the milk is 'pus', and as such should not be taken. Certain children are deliberately disgusted and are weaned immediately in this way.

The second method involves smearing with the bitter aloe sap, or a substance which irritates the mouth, like pepper. Much pain is inflicted on children weaned in this manner, and no doubt psychological studies of these children would bring to light the tremendous effects created by different methods of weaning. [824]

Another method used is that of discouragement through fright. A mother may play on the sensory nerves of the child's face at night by touching it with grass, telling the nursing child that the grass is a caterpillar. As children are afraid of caterpillars this greatly upsets them, and the mother succeeds in severing the last physiological connection between herself and her [825]

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Bantu Kavirondo FL4
Nandi FL13

Among the Bantu people each clan appears to have its own particular totem, and this may have given rise to their custom of exogamy, but in Nandi each individual is said to have his own totem irrespective of the clan. Practically the whole of the Nilotic group appear to have the same totems, but, in some parts, there are certain variations from what may be called the standard list of forbidden foods. Thus, although the exogamy which exists among the Nilotic Kavirondo may have originally arisen from totemism, the present survival of the belief has lost its original character.

In all the groups the totems appear to be animals, no example of a vegetable totem has been discovered.

The Bantu group use the word "*Musiro*" to denote the totem and, contrary to the usual belief, the eating of a totem animal is not thought to be followed by death, but only by a severe skin eruption; and if, by any mischance, the meat of the totem is eaten, the evil consequences referred to can be averted by making a medicine "*Awa*," extracted from certain herbs, and this extract is mixed with the fat of a black ox and rubbed all over the body of the patient.

Among the Nilotic Ja Luo the totems are called "*Kuero*," and there is a long list of "*Kuero*" animals which are forbidden as food to both men and women; there is, however, an additional list of food that women must not touch.

Upon no occasion is the rule of the *Kuero* relaxed, but, curiously, the animals on this "*index expurgatorius*" are considered malignant in their influence, and it is thought praiseworthy to kill them. Thus any "*Kuero*" animal can be hunted, with the exception of the crested crane (*Balearica gibberiaya*), which is, generally speaking, strictly preserved by all the Kavirondo. The Gomi tribe, however, do not consider it wrong to kill and also eat this beautiful bird. The Gomi, Lego, and Sakwa tribes can also eat the wild cat, called by them "*Oyuang*." The Ja-Luo often wear the teeth of the leopard and crocodile as ornaments, and the skin of the leopard and wild cat; this is not considered an infringement of the "*Kuero*" law.

Examples of the Totems of the Bantu Family.

Clan or Tribe.	Special Totems.
Kisasi clan of Awa Wanga	*Isobongo*, bushbuck.
Marama and part of Tsoso and Isukha...	*Kuru*, waterbuck or *Ikulu*.
Awa-Genya and Awa-Mrashi	*Liusi*, pigeon.
Awa Shekwi of Nyole	*Njofu*, elephant.
In Ketosh there are several, according to to the clan, but over a large portion the special totem is	*Makugi*, a large black and white stork which appears in large flocks about November, it eats locusts.
Tasoni tribe (Ngaki section)	*Isuna*, reed buck.
Ithako, E. Tsoso, S. Kabras	*Isobongo* or *Ngawe*.
Probably the totem most common in Kabras is	*Mbinkulo*, white ants in the flying stage (but cooked). They can be eaten raw, but not when cooked.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
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The Totems (Kuoro) of the Nilotic Group.

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	Name in Tho-Luo.		Name in Tho-Luo.
Crocodile	*Nyang.*	Nile monitor (lizard)	*Nyuoh.*
Hyæna	*Ndiek.*	Python	*Nyolo.*
Leopard	*Okuoch.*	Mongoose	*Gori gori.*
Baboon	*Bim.*	Rock hyrax	*Kumnär.*
Monkey	*Ongner (Cercopithecus sp.).*	Tortoise	*Upuku.*
Wild cat	*Ogwang.*	Colobus monkey ...	*Kuru.*
Jackal	*Buzum.*	Wart hog	*Imbirri.*
Vulture	*Achuc-ch.*	Frog	*Ogwen.*
Crow	*Agaba.*	Crested crane ...	*Iwung.*
Kite	*Otenga.*	Ground hornbill ...	*Arumtich.*

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[784]

The following are in addition "*Kuoro*" or "tabu" to the women:—Fowls, eggs, elephant, hippopotamus, sheep (latter only among Kisumu and Gumi).

The women's "*Kuoro*" are not serious ones, *i.e.*, a breach of the law is not followed by death.

The Totems of the Nandi Group.

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	Nandi Name.		Nandi Name.
Hyæna	*Magetiet.*	Water tortoise ...	*Chebkukuchet.*
Jackal	*Lelwet.*	Chameleon	*Nyeretiat.*
Kite	*Chebineret.*	Crested crane ...	*Kungonyet.*
Buzzard	*Chebkukuziet.*	Elephant	*Beliet.*

The elephant, although looked upon as a totem, can be eaten without evil effects.

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I omitted to mention above that the Kadimu people, who live on the Lake near the mouth of the River Nzoia, believe that they are descended from the python; these reptiles are looked upon as sacred and annual sacrifices are made upon a hill in Kadimu to the common ancestor. The Kadimu people are a Bantu tribe which has adopted the language of the Nilotic Ja-Luo, and it is thus the only Bantu tribe in the country which looks upon its totem as its ancestor.

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Certain snakes, however, are looked upon as sacred animals among some of the Unyamwezi clans and it is highly probable that, as among the Kadimu, this is due to the belief that the snake was their common ancestor. Many Wanyamwezi consider it a deadly sin to kill a snake, and one, occasionally meets an individual belonging to one of these clans who is said to be immune from the effects of snake poison.

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The totems of the Koromojo people who live north of Mount Elgon, are snakes, frogs, the monitor lizard, the hyæna, and the cheetah; they believe they will die

241 comes next, but in cotton soil, there is further preparation by breaking up the clods, getting a fine tilth. This is called " buso." I well remember my surprise, and critical attitude, when first I noticed that sowing was done without any attempt being made to break up the rough grass-matted clods. However, the crop, which happened to be " bel " or millet, which resulted from these primitive methods, was, a heavy one. I was told that the clods afforded protection to the young seedlings.

With regard to the sowing or planting three terms are used. Broadcast sowing, as of millet, simsim and beans, is called " chwoyo " or " ludo." The planting of each seed individually, as with maize, is termed " komo," while the planting of cassava and sweet potatoes is known as " pidho."

241 805 821 Under the system now fast dying out, sowing was surrounded by many taboos. First of all, was the knowing the time to sow. In a normal year there are two sowings, one in the early part of the year, February or March, and one during the shorter rains about September-October. The slower growing crops were put down in the spring, and the quicker crops in the autumn. For the spring sowing guidance was sought from the stars. Amongst a people who had no names for the months of the year, natural phenomena had to be relied upon. These the stars supplied, and especially the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades. These two constellations are called by one name " Yugini " by the Luo. They further differentiate by calling the three stars of Orion's belt, the " chuo " or " men," and the cluster of the Pleiades the " mon " or " women." (The men are obviously polygamists.) When the time of the year comes round during which these stars are observed shortly after nightfall, to be about midway between the zenith and the horizon, then they know that sowing time has arrived. No matter how good the rains may have been before these stars reach the traditional position none must sow, and, conversely, if rains do not come by the time the stars say that sowing ought to be done, there are dismal forebodings about the crop. The Luo say that if the millet (their main food crop), has not flowered by the month when these stars dip below the horizon shortly after nightfall, then there will be a poor harvest and scarcity of food.

241 ●825 Other natural phenomena which guide them are birds. There is a bird called by the Luo " Ondiek ti oyieng " (" the wild beasts are well fed ") which has a very monotonous three note cry. Some Europeans call it the brain fever bird, from the deadly monotony of this call. The Luo have given words to this cry " Dak tu kom " meaning " Aren't you going to sow to-day." There is another bird, called " Oliech ga apol " which follows behind the digger for the insects turned up with the soil. The presence of these birds is held to

241 826 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the ordinary African kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, feeding in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

241 782 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called " bilo " was performed before sowing took place. If the " Jaduong' bilo " was warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. " Bilo " was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to graze. The present " Jabilo " in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of " bilo " in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1933 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

241 177 [626] When the time was ripe for sowing, the " Mikayi " or chief wife of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the " mikayi " had thus given permission. Any who were so bold as to begin before the " mikayi " were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the names of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the " mikayi " is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the sturdier crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called " kal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the weeders squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the striga weed, called by the Luo " hayongo." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this place they make regular visits to it. Thus the place used by the children for this purpose appears very insanitary. Furthermore, children are in this way exposed to the danger of attack from worms of various kinds. 863

WEANING

There are very few cases where children are not weaned against their will. The maximum period of suckling is determined by the date of the following pregnancy. Thus if the mother is not again pregnant a child is suckled for as long as it wishes. It is considered that once a mother is expecting another child the milk in her breasts naturally belongs to the coming baby and would be poisonous to the older child. It is also believed that children who are suckled when their mothers are pregnant waste away and eventually die if the feeding is not stopped. 862

Methods of weaning. Methods of weaning do not vary much between different mothers. First, the child may be persuaded that the milk is 'pus', and as such should not be taken. Certain children are deliberately disgusted and are weaned immediately in this way.

The second method involves smearing with the bitter aloe sap, or a substance which irritates the mouth, like pepper. Much pain is inflicted on children weaned in this manner, and no doubt psychological studies of these children would bring to light the tremendous effects created by different methods of weaning. [824]

Another method used is that of discouragement through fright. A mother may play on the sensory nerves of the child's face at night by touching it with grass, telling the nursing child that the grass is a caterpillar. As children are afraid of caterpillars this greatly upsets them, and the mother succeeds in severing the last physiological connection between herself and her [825]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

524 *Games.*—They play a kind of *bao* with sixteen holes; they put three small stones in each hole. The boys play a kind of hockey with a wooden ball.

727 Upon return from war about two out of every three cattle go to the chief; the chief then divides his share of the cattle with his brothers, and a man who has distinguished himself in war is given a reward of cattle by the chief. A man who distinguishes himself in war is also often given a wife without payment.

262 *Food, etc.*—They eat practically all meat except that of the hyæna. Some young men eat leopard meat to make them fierce in fighting; the meat of a serval cat is not eaten. The women do not eat fowls; some women do not eat sheep and eggs; some eat hippopotamus meat, some not; women do not drink milk, but eat it cooked with food. They have a curious custom of mixing cow's urine with the [272 826] milk of the cow; the urine is allowed to stand a day or two to increase its flavour; they say it increases the amount of the butter and gives it a nice flavour, and it is moreover supposed to have a medicinal effect. The crested crane (*Balaeriea gibbericeps*) is never killed or eaten by these people.

752 757 *Medicine, etc.*—They pierce the chest until the lung is reached for chest complaints, and they even sometimes cut a small piece out of the lung through the aperture. They have medicine for wounds and for arrow poison, also for ulcers and for purging, but not for diarrhœa. They also have medicine to avert [164] a threatened miscarriage. They profess to have a certain antidote for snake poison.[1] Venereal disease is practically unknown among the Ja-Luo.

789 Before going to war they often eat the outer seed case of a certain tree, and this is supposed to ensure their return unwounded; it is called *Ochola.*

728 *Peace ceremonies.*—They kill a sheep and put part of it into a wooden mortar used for crushing grain, and the representative of each side takes out a piece and gives it to the opposite side. An old man from the side that is beaten will go to the village of the chief of the enemy and proceed to sweep up the cattle boma; this will be accepted as a sign of submission.

231 *Killing animals for food.*—They kill oxen by sticking a knife into the jugular vein; the head of the beast must be pointed to the west during the operation. Sheep and goats are killed the same way. Fowls are strangled.

428 768 *Succession customs, etc.*—When a man dies the property goes to the brother if the children are small; if the eldest son is grown up he takes the property and gives his brothers a share; but a son is not allowed to take the amount paid by anyone who marries one of his sisters; this amount all goes to the father's brother. The brother of the deceased takes the wives, but the eldest son will probably take the youngest wife of his deceased father.

[1] After considerable difficulty I obtained specimens of the plants said to be used as antidotes for snake poison, and Dr. Rendle, of the Botanical Department, British Museum, has kindly identified the plants for me. One plant, named *Phytolacca Abyssinica*, is used internally, an infusion being made from the leaves. The other plant, *Ipomea palmata*, is used externally, a plaster of the macerated leaves being placed on the wound. I have not been able to discover the physiological action of these plants.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

753 The ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict
755 grandchildren because their father has failed to fulfil the
775 duties of a son to his father in his old age, either by direct unkindness or by neglect. The medicine-man will now order
769 a shrine to be built by the grave of the grandparent concerned, and the sick person's father offers a goat or a sheep at the grave, pouring out the blood as an offering upon the ground, and then eating the meat on the spot with a few relatives. The medicine-man is afterwards able to treat the sick man with reasonable hope of restoring him to health, because the offended ghost has now been pacified and will allow the sick man to benefit by the treatment. Sometimes sickness is transferred to another person by rubbing herbs over the sick man and burying them in the road for some other person to walk over and thus contract the disease.

828 **Ghostly possession.** Fits are supposed to be the manifesta-
775 tion of ghostly possession. They can often be overcome by giving the person warm blood to drink drawn from the veins
761 of an ox and by feeding the patient with a generous diet. During the time a fit lasts the man is held down, if he is violent, until the attack is over. Should a man fall into the fire during a fit, no help is rendered and he is allowed to burn to death, because it is said that the ghost has claimed him and would resent any interference and would affect the person who attempted to rescue the stricken man with a similar malady. A drum beaten near a person subject to fits is said to bring on an attack of the malady.

764 **Death and mourning.** When a person dies, his legs are bent up into a squatting posture, the right arm is raised under the head and the death-wail commences. The dead are not washed but merely have their ornaments stripped off; an ox or a cow is then killed and the body is wrapped in the skin and is stitched up tightly in it. The grave is dug in the house. When the body is laid in it, all the relatives stand round with their backs towards it and, at a given signal, they stoop down and with their hands scrape the earth into the grave without looking where it falls. After they have scraped in earth for some moments they walk out of the house, and the brother of

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

159 762 propriate prestige of beer parties and entertainment of his father's friends. On the day of the suicide, a group of the father's friends arrived at the village and the father asked his son's wife to prepare food and drink for them. This she refused to do, so that night he burned himself in his house, which the Luo believe brought ruin to the lineage and particularly to his son.

762 159 556 754 The next case is an interesting one because it illustrates an inherent Luo trait: the profound jealousy of anyone who is successful.

152 ## Suicide Case No. 9.

[587] The man who died was the brother of the suicide in case number 2, and took the latter's wives as leviratic wives. He also inherited his gardens. Shortly after this, he began to prosper phenomenally. The elders state that his cattle produced mostly heifers and some produced twin heifers. His crops were better than his neighbors, so they began soon to suspect him of witchcraft. In the space of a few years as his prosperity increased, he was more and more ostracized from the activities of the community. The final blow came when his own *libamba*, minimal lineage group, denied him entrance to a lineage sacrifice on the grounds that he was a witch. Ten years after his brother's suicide, almost to a day, he hanged himself.

When the elders were questioned as to whether or not this man was a witch, they replied that he could not possibly have been a witch, because he had committed suicide. If he were a witch, his medicine would have been so powerful that the effect of being ostracized by the community would not have bothered him at all, let alone driven him to suicide.

762 159 828 The Luo believe that those most likely to commit suicide are those who have descended from a lineage in which there has been a history of suicide. Case number 2 was the brother of case number 9, and case number 5 the son of case number

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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9. This example is used time and time again by the Luo to prove the point that the tendency to commit suicide is inherited or caused by ancestors.

I was able to follow one particular series of events in connection with Luo marriage laws and customs over three years, which began with the elopement of a girl and her lover, and ended in suicide only a month before this chapter was written.

Marriage in Luo is traditionally arranged by the family of the boy and the family of the girl. Not infrequently, because of debt or close friendship, a father may promise his daughter in marriage to a friend or creditor while the girl is still very young. He obtains the animals to which he is entitled (*dho i keny'*) approximately one half of the final bride-wealth, at that time and the girl is known as *nyar kiseke*, "the wife of the beer reed," as this arrangement is usually contracted and finalized at a beer party. So it was in the case we are about to describe.

Suicide Case No. 10.

The girl in this case had been promised by her father when she was but three years of age to a friend of his own age group. The father, Opio[2], was a well educated Jaluo, and by the time his daughter, Akech, was ready to be taken in marriage, at the age of 18, he was employed as the headmaster of an intermediate school administered by a local mission. He had insisted that his daughter be educated to enhance the final payment (*dho miluhini*) of her bride-wealth. She was, for an African woman, a well educated girl. She had received a secondary school education where, in this particular segment of the Joluo tribe, fewer than 1 per cent of the girls have had as much education.

Akech had been prepared for this event all her life. She knew her future husband and from a child, each time he visited

[2] All names are fictitious, but common Joluo names.

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In the Eastern corner was a small length of inner wall covered with dry grass, from which a shrub was growing so as to leave a covered but hollow space between the walls."

795 778 231 The altar-post mentioned in the report and which is now in the Museum, is a piece of wood standing some 3½ to 4 feet high and about 5 or 6 inches in diameter. One end has been carved with the result that it appears to be an unmistakeable phallus. That this is intentional, however, has been strongly denied by all those questioned about it, and, from the manner of my informants, I am inclined to believe that what they say is true—as far as it goes, and for the following reasons. In every Luo boma the cattle are tied up at night to wooden posts embedded in the ground. Each beast as a rule has a post—called in Dholuo, "Loch,"—to itself. Where the owner of [531] the boma has an exceptionally fine bullock he marks it out for distinction by putting a metal bell—not unlike a Swiss cattle-bell—round it's neck and further he carves it an especially ornamental Loch. This carving is almost invariably phallic in shape, and I expect that the idol in the Museum was probably a loch uprooted from a nearby boma.

795 778 The point which was stressed to me was that although nearly all carved Loches appear to be undeniably phallic, yet this is entirely accidental and has no intended sexual symbolism or meaning whatsoever. It was just the custom to carve them thus.

174 831 Now I am prepared to believe that the phallic appearance of these Loches is produced unconsciously and without sexual significance, but, considering the geographical origin of the Luo and further the nature of the Mumbo beliefs, I consider that it is more than probable that the Loches in their present-day domestic capacity are the unconscious relics of phallic cults and practices handed down from unremembered antiquity, and have by now lost all their former phallic meaning. That they have been seized on as symbols in this religion is not surprising when one considers firstly their probable origin, which I have just indicated, and secondly the fact that the gospel of Mumboism in its promises of plenty without having to work for it (the phallus always having been the symbol of Fertility and Plenty) is typical of all phallic religions. If their choice of a phallus for a symbol is not an unconscious re-emergence of long forgotten rites, then it is an extremely interesting instinctive gesture that their choice of emblem should coincide with that of other and unconnected races who held parallel beliefs.

795 174 It would seem then that Mumboism is a mixture of the old Luo religion of sun worship, and of an even older religion, long forgotten in the mists of Time and now reappearing in a new guise.

795 797 The prophesies of Mumbo having failed, the cult is dying out, especially in Central Kavirondo, though it appears to be rather more tenacious in South Kavirondo. Further, active discouragement by the Government and the work of the Missions will soon banish it

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

845 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and
852 each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance;
[831 scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs,
[786 which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal
535] where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 *Miend Kumu* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has
831 given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some con-
535 siderable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last
786 as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well
[882] *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

583 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day
585 send the *jatielo* bach with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

allow a man's head and shoulders to enter; the roof is of grass. Outside these again is the circle of huts, strongly built of sticks and grass and with the sides plastered with a mixture of dung and mud. Each married male in the village has his own hut, and besides this a hut for each wife and two smaller huts, one for his sons and another for his daughters, which latter live with an old woman, often their grandmother. The two sexes are kept rigidly apart, and though, as will be seen, the Jaluo notion of morality is scarcely the same as the European, there is little of the promiscuity of intercourse among the Kavirondo which is so noticeable a feature among the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa.

As the sons grow up they marry and build houses in the father's village for themselves and their wives. The eldest son usually remains with his father for good and all, but as the other sons in turn become fathers of families, they often build villages for themselves near the paternal village; as often as not, however, the sons keep together after the father's death, the eldest becoming the head of the family.

There is a strict law of exogamy among the Jaluo, though a son may marry his father's wife if she is no blood relation of his; similarly two sisters are often simultaneously the wives of one man.

Their rule of inheritance, though apparently complicated, is really simple. The husband sets aside so many of his cattle to provide food for each wife, the chief or first wife naturally having a larger share than the rest. On his death the wife and the cattle set aside for her pass to her sons, her eldest son as the new *pater familias* again getting the larger share. If a man has no sons by the first wife but sons by another, all the property, including the first wife and her daughters, pass to these sons; if a man has no sons, all his property passes to his brother or nearest male blood relation; females can own no property, being themselves but chattels. On the death of a chief his power descends upon the eldest son of his first wife, even though his second or third wife may have borne him a son before the son by the first wife was born; *i.e.*, A is his first and chief wife and E his second. A may bear him two daughters, B and C, and then a son D. Though in the meanwhile E has borne him a son F, D will become chief in virtue of his mother's priority, even though he has an elder brother (F). But if D is not of fit age to govern, F may become chief, as a regency is too advanced an institution; and similarly if both D and F are infants, some elder blood relation, such as their eldest uncle, will succeed their father. This rule not unnaturally leads to much quarrelling, as, when the dispossessed heir grows up he often lays claim to rule, with disastrous results.

A great many formalities attend a Kavirondo marriage. As has been remarked above, exogamy is the strict rule. The young man having declared his choice to his father, the latter goes off to the girl's father and arranges the dowry. He then returns, and the intending bridegroom goes over with a bull or some goats as earnest money and partakes of the preliminary feast, an essential feature of this being an offering set aside for the sun-god, consisting of a little meat, part of a

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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582 the JoOwila of Uyoma ; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuonyo,
614 Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *codo* is permitted. *Codo* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
836 court the girls and bring them to the *simba* or bachelor's hut and sleep with them there and have relations with them *intra crura*. Thus the Ka-
[833] Abudha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *codo* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago ; likewise the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
614 and are beginning to *codo* between them it is done at first with discre-
836 tion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
582 eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*por*) and then the ordinary form (*meko*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the polito-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

582 A man may not marry a *nyakewo*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan,
614 though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards
184 as a *wat*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *wat*, kinsfolk, or *wasigu*, enemies. A man cannot marry kin and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuonyo man of the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. HARTMANN.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

596 The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmaried daughters.

595 Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women [833] that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

842 If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kedo)* made [304] all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(tero kedo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kelo kedo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nañgo misalo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yodh agulu)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

[837] In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

844 When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migou)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maluong*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailed by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut
● 834 and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

[Text continues on p. 57]

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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of thus causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried mud and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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cry of the midwives was heard announcing the birth of twins, the news had to be carried to the parents of the woman. This loud cry was intended to scare the evil spirits which had brought about the double birth. With it began a series of taboos on the couple as well as on the twins, the family being virtually isolated from society. For emptying their bowels a large pot was placed in a hidden corner at the back of the house. If either of the twins died during the early period it was thrown into this pot. In place of the usual clothing, the couple had creepers twined around them. The period of taboo closed with a large gathering at which a great deal of beer was drunk. At this final ceremony the dancing was rather obscene and was accompanied by foul language in reference to the couple. These proceedings lifted the taboo from the shoulders of the parents, but the twins continued to be affected until their deaths. Moreover, anything done to one of the twins had to be done to the other also, because they could not be treated as separate identities. Now the attitude has greatly changed and even among pagans these customs are no longer observed. 845 [177]

Similarly, a birth in which the baby's legs appeared first was dreaded. This was ascribed to the work of the evil spirit.

Renewal of marital relationship. Originally it was the custom for the renewal of a marital relationship to take place on the third day following the birth of a female child, and on the fourth day after a male child. No married relatives were allowed to enter the hut to see the baby before the parents of the child renewed their marital relationship. 846 834

Although none of my informants could testify that this practice still exists, it is possible that it persists in certain places. Some of the informants pointed out that [177]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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846 834 177 modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

751 854 *Protection against witches.* Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that 754 babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to 854 darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an 753 ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

751 Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these cus- [177] toms have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

8: Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

were other sons by other wives growing up in the *dala* (*dala*=homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resource. 582 583

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to refuse the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (not unnaturally in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family. 582 835 584 626 583 577

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by sucking her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Luo, as among the more civilised, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian 584 [201]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in 682 the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thim* - a 766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thim*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thim* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*, has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the 614 name of the clan or larger lineage *ao* and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

●836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the 582 separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less approved type of marriage *(por)* may be permitted. This is marriage by ab- 583 duction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(neko)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

582 A man is forbidden to marry a women who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.4.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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582 the JoOwila of Uyoma ; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuonyo,
614 Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *codo* is permitted. *Codo* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
836 court the girls and bring them to the *simba* or bachelor's hut and sleep
[833] with them there and have relations with them *intra crura*. Thus the KaAbudha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *codo* between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago ; likewise the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme, though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo. In these instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
614 and are beginning to *codo* between them it is done at first with discre-
836 tion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
582 eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage by abduction (*por*) and then the ordinary form (*meko*). When marriage begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders, it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in the language of kinship and that the polito-territorial system is reflected in the lineage system.

582 A man may not marry a *nyakewo*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan,
614 though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards
184 as a *wat*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to exclude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people are either *wat*, kinsfolk, or *wasigu*, enemies. A man cannot marry kin and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuonyo man of the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

114 THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It [184] does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from [115] the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simba

836 882 Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love to girls (*codo*) in the *simba* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simba*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *riso*, the final ceremony of marriage. I [533] was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simba* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

[1] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

[2] H. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1928.

[3] K. C. Shaw, 'Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A. & U.N.H.S.*, 1932.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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582
There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595]
may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom
he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836
woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883
careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried
women have their own quarters in a village and the young
men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse
than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however,
from another village pay visits to the young women during
the day and make love to them, and in the evening the
women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with
them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene
character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is
not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is
a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848]
relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed.
When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584
a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to
the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the
amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents 585
consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been
paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the
young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during
this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house
where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part
in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents
give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast
the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in
turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter.
The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to
obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee.
During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837]
to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to
live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as
before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride
claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste.
The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591
village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference.

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life.

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks.

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband.

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein.

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

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882 There is therefore frequent friction between some
593 mothers and daughters.

The father, while maintaining an interest of his own, does not exhibit his liking for his daughter so openly. The economic value of a girl to society is gauged by the extent to which a man may be excused his debts on the ground that after his daughter's marriage he will be able to pay them.

Allowances given to girls are not very generous despite the fact that daughters have a higher economic value than sons. There is a feeling that not much money should be lavished on someone who will not remain in the family to help the father in his old age. The main desire is to see the girl married, and it is a source of worry if she does not associate with men. The girl is also expected to be sociable towards neighbouring women, because if she is unpopular with them they might speak against her in the presence of her suitor or his relatives.

At this time disciplinary control by the parents slackens, since in order to contact men the girl requires a certain amount of freedom. Disciplinary measures may be exercised only in the event of misconduct, such as running away with a young man without notice to parents or having relations which are morally prejudicial to the community life. The mother, however, loses her dominating influence during the school age and the task of disciplining the older girl becomes the duty of the father or her older brothers.

The Sexual Life and Attitude of Adolescents

836 The sexual life of the adolescent is conditioned by the
883 prevailing social conventions on the nature of sexual relationship between males and females. Thus, though it may appear on the surface that Luo society makes no allowance for unrestricted sexual contact, in fact a

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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

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raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

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to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let
583 his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

585 Among the majority of young women an unwilling-
152 ness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violet outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

585 *The traditional ceremonies.* The news that a particular girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a
[836] group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the

241 life of the countryside. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from
136 which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or
857 into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in
136 their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our
789 civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied
●[837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

578 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry
685 passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task
[462 of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets
857] and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

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There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595]
may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom
he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836
woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883
careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried
women have their own quarters in a village and the young
men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse
than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however,
from another village pay visits to the young women during
the day and make love to them, and in the evening the
women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with
them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene
character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is
not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is
a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848]
relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed.
When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584
a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to
the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the
amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents
consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been 585
paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the
young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during
this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house
where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part
in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents
give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast
the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in
turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter.
The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to
obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee.
During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837]●
to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to
live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as
before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride
claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste.
The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591
village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

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Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. HARTMANN.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

596 The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmaried daughters.

595 Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women [833] that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

842 If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kedo)* made all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone [304] (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(tero kedo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kelo kedo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nañgo misalo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yodh agulu)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

[837] In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

844 When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" [786] in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an un- [791] intelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the 795 priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and 788 held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards 782 it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long 782 before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however 89A uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

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have been more common in South Kavirondo whither the cult had spread and had been received with enthusiasm.

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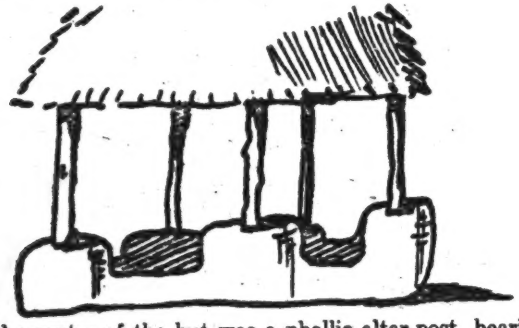
The priests started " schools " which they usually placed on hill-tops, and in the best proselytising traditions, attracted potential adherents by giving feasts of their slaughtered cattle. They also built here and there what might be called groves or places for the worship of Mumbo where sacrifices were made to the accompaniment of many obscenities and dancing.

In some of these Groves were wooden idols, one of which has been presented to the Natural History Museum by Mr. C. M. Dobbs, late Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province. This practice of constructing sacred Groves to Mumbo and erecting idols is interesting since all the people who were questioned about this cult said definitely that such things had never been commanded by Mumbo himself. True, he had said that there were to be sacrifices made to him with dancing to the accompaniment of drums and bull-roarers (without musical accompaniment), but he meant them to take place in each boma. No instructions had been given for groves or idols.

An extract from the report of the District Officer who found the idol is worth inserting at this point:—

" . . . .The meeting place of the cult consisted of a beautifully swept enclosure adjoining the High Priest's Boma and capable of seating some two hundred people. From the next boma to that of the High Priest ran a made path, four feet wide and trenched at the sides . . . . The enclosure was surrounded by a well-built dry stone wall. In the centre was a little semi-open hut about six feet in diameter, finished with white mud . . . . There was no door, it appeared symmetrical all round, thus:—

[346]



" In the centre of the hut was a phallic altar-post, bearing traces of blood-stains . . . . The High Priest's daughter produced some unpleasant animal relics from a hole in the wall in the enclosure. In the Western corner a bush plant (Nyaluthkoth) had been planted. . . .

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

avoid the immediate consequences and as a result war broke out between the people of Seme and the people of his tribe, Ugenya. After many years of intermittent and bitter warfare the elders of both tribes met to settle the dispute. Their solution was as follows: because the elder who lost his son did not have an unmarried son to take a woman of the killer's clan, and because the killer's minimal lineage did not have a suitable daughter to give in marriage, it was decided that the killer should marry the daughter of the deceased's father, and through her raise seed to the dead man. The killer, contrary to custom but as part of the settlement, was forced to live at the home of his bride and was subsequently adopted into the clan of the deceased. It is interesting, however, that the eponym of the clan which today traces descent from this couple is the bride, Kia, and not the killer or the deceased. It is, to my knowledge, the only clan in Luo which has a woman as an eponym, but then she was apparently regarded as a male by her contemporaries.

This background was given to provide the reader with some idea of the Joluo attitude to homicide. Deeply ingrained is the notion that life goes on after death on earth—that ancestors in the spirit world are able to influence the lives, conduct, fortunes, for good or evil, of their descendants. Ghosts are more likely to be benevolent if they can count numerous descendants on earth and extremely malevolent if life on earth was cut short by violence or unnatural death by war, accident, or suicide. The ghosts of the latter are believed to be more difficult to deal with than those of ordinary spirits of old men or women. The more descendants a ghost has, the higher its status in the afterworld, and therefore the greater its pleasure and benevolence.

The Joluo had developed several devices to deal with cases of homicide. A wife could be married in the name of a murdered youth to raise seed to his name, to placate his spirit and to continue his line for posterity. A young adolescent woman who died was deflowered by a stranger (*jokawiny*)

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

because a ghost of a virgin who has reached puberty was regarded as extremely dangerous. The defloration, still practiced in parts of Luo today, was regarded as satisfying her natural desire to bear children.

The spirits of warriors killed in battle were placated by the tribe as a whole in ceremonial and ritual held at the borders of the tribal land (*thim*) by *poro bilo* and *tero buru*, where sacrifices were made and the tribal ancestors placated to welcome the ghost of the hero. The affair became a tribal responsibility, whereas normally death is regarded as a responsibility of the family or minor lineage segment.

A person who found the body of a man or of a woman would commence wailing as a closely related mourner. If the body turned out to be that of a person among whose clan the finder could marry, then a wife or husband was found for the finder in the belief that the spirit of the deceased planned and directed the discovery of the body to the end that the group of the finder should be united in marriage with that of the deceased.

Witches, if caught in the act of "running about at night," were killed instantly and with equanimity. The body of a person killed as a witch was mutilated by driving a stake into the rectum after which the body would be thrown into its village. An old custom still associated with this is the insistence of the relatives of a woman who died suddenly, or inexplicably, to examine her body for signs of having been a witch. Female witches are believed to be trained by their husbands to run at night with them and, because they are weaker, are frequently caught and killed. Bride-wealth may not be reclaimed or, if not finally paid, must be completed by her husband if a woman is killed under these circumstances.

Accidental deaths are regarded as having been inspired by the ancestors, and therefore require placation of the spirit of the ancestor divined as having been responsible. Deaths from sickness are believed to come from many causes, the chief of

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
BANTU KAVIRONDO FL44

B 628

suffered an injury at the hands of certain other members of his clan, *e.g.*, has had his wife enticed away or had a cow stolen, he will often proceed to the territory of a neighbouring tribe and lie in ambush, attack and spear the first passer by, likely to fall an easy prey, and will then return home.

In a few days it will leak out that one of the "Wa-so and so" has done this, and the clan of the murdered man will up and wage war with the clan of the murderer, who hopes to obtain his revenge vicariously in this manner; latterly, it is said, it has been done in the hopes that the administration will be induced to punish the clan, and, incidentally, the man who has wronged him.

As a variant of the same line of conduct during the last few years, several cases of suicide have been brought to my notice.

B 762

For example, in Nyole district a young man one day had a violent quarrel with his own mother while cultivating, and eventually beat her with a stick. She ran crying to a village near by, and one of the elders came out and gave the young fellow a thrashing; to every one's astonishment the young man hanged himself that afternoon, and the people of the vicinity told my agent, who went to enquire into it, that he had committed suicide so that his blood relations might lay his death at the door of the elder, and thus start a blood feud against him. Word was, naturally, promptly sent forth that such a procedure would be strongly discouraged, and the incident apparently closed.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

L 821

The Ja-Luo believe that the sun goes back to the east overhead during the night, hidden behind the heavens. They use the word *Chieng* indifferently for sun and the Deity. They do not associate the daylight sky with the light of the sun, but look upon it as something quite distinct, and asked what became of it at night. It is known by the term *Polo*. They professed the belief that Europeans were the children of the sun.

L 821 841

They believe that menstruation is caused by the new moon, and also that a woman can only become pregnant at the time of the new moon, and generally that the moon has a great deal to do with the occurrence.

During menstruation a woman does not cook food for others, but merely her own food. She performs all other work as usual.

L 372

The people have no ceremonies connected with fire, such as the extinguishing of all the fires at a certain time, and the relighting with certain rites.

B 845 846 833

Among the Awa-Wanga, many believe that within five or six days of the birth of a child the parents must cohabit, or the child will die. After the birth of twins, the parents are secluded for from twenty days to a month; at the end of the ordained period the brother of the man then formally opens the door of the hut and the couple can go about as usual. This seclusion of the male parent is probably an attenuated relic of the "*couvade*" custom.

584 the negotiations, which is partaken of in a hut, not outside. To this feast three or four friends of each side are invited as witnesses. When the beer drinking stage has been reached, the company sit round the [273] beer pot in a circle, and the provider of the feast takes the long hollow beer-sucker, puts the end provided with a strainer in the pot, takes a few sucks, and then hands it across to the other party with the invitation to drink if he agrees to a matrimonial alliance between the two families taking place. If the second party desires at the last moment [675] to withdraw he declines to drink, but once having accepted the invitation and completed the contract by drinking, it is as irrevocable as a contract can be. The children thus pledged to marry may be so young that the marriage can not take place for years, or the girl may be a child, while the other may be a man already married. The girl so pledged in this way is known in some parts, as in Asembo, as " nyar oseke," " the girl of the beer sucker," and the Luo have no stronger matrimonial contract. It is hedged about with potent penalties, 584 mainly magical, in case of any breach of the contract by either of the 789 parties pledged. But even this most binding of all binding contracts is not invariably kept. Occasionally a girl will not submit to the fate marked out for her, and if she can find a man brave enough to join his fortune with hers, they undergo a ceremony, the essential feature of which is the drinking of " medicine " called " manyasi." This is supposed to render harmless the evils which would otherwise befall them.

789 Women are by no means so helpless when bound to their husbands as many are inclined to believe. *In some ways* wives are in a stronger 593 position than are women in lands where magic is not believed in. Luo women have many weapons in their armoury, by which they can bring their husbands into subjection, or perhaps I ought to say, something like subjection. I cannot find that these weapons are resorted to frivolously. A woman has to be hard pushed to bring them into play. One of which we hear a good deal is a curse debarring cohabitation. It is very simple in operation. Striking her thigh with her open palm, the wife vows never to cohabit again. The striking of the thigh is essential. Once this is done dire penalties, sickness of himself and children, will result if the husband attempts to force consent. The fat is now truly in the fire, and the husband has to come to terms with his wife. When he has succeeded in mollifying her " manyasi," the medicine already mentioned, is drunk to break the curse. At this 241 stage of social development a belief in magic does serve the needs of ● 841 women in certain circumstances. She has powers in connection with agriculture which can be devastating. For instance, during her menses no woman must sow seed. In the family of a polygamist lesser wives dare not approach the " mikayi " or chief wife to share in the labour at this time. Such contact with the seed would prejudice the crop.

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
● 841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
791 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
252 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great.
462 Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax.

5: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL11 Luo FL11
Nandi FL13
Bantu Kavirondo FL4

B 553

of the baby, if a boy, and round its left wrist, if a girl. Next morning, the body and head of the quail are cut off, leaving the lower half of the beak of the bird suspended by the string round the child's neck; everyone then knows that it has been named.

Names are often suggested by some event happening at the time.

Mumia was born on the day of an attack by the Wamia or Elgumi people, and was thus named Mumia. Formerly, again, when Europeans were great rarities in the county, if a child was born on the day a caravan camped at the village, it would often be named after the leader of it, if he chanced to be well known, thus "Jaksinis," "Martinis," and "Obiloe"[1] are very common.

Tattooing and Tribal Marks.

L 304 [847]

These rarely appear to have any special significance, but, among the Ja-Luo people, it is thought that a woman will not bear children unless she is tattooed.

All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel (Fig. 8). When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist. All the men are not marked, it is quite a matter of choice with them. For instance, the head chief of the Kisumu people is not tattooed.

Fig. 8.

The various tribes of the Ja-Luo have slightly differing tattoo marks.

B 304 [833]

Among the Ketosh, if a warrior kills an enemy in warfare, on his return he has two rows of round marks tattooed on his right chest and continued upwards over his right shoulder; moreover, upon reaching home, it is considered essential that he should have connection with his wife as soon as convenient; this is believed to prevent the spirit of his dead enemy from haunting and bewitching him.

The Turkana and Suk tattoo rows of spots from the chest over the shoulder, but whether this is significant of the warrior having killed an enemy or not, is not known.

An examination of the Ketosh language affords reasons for believing that there is a strain of Koromojo or Turkana blood among them, and this peculiar tattooing custom may be additional evidence of the affinity.

The Ketosh women have a number of raised dots tattooed on their stomachs and abdomen arranged regularly in chess board fashion. An irritant is rubbed into the cuts to produce weals.

L B N

Numerical Proportion of Sexes.

162 515

In a previous publication[2] I ventured the opinion that the female sex greatly outnumbered the male. My observation was based upon the prevalence of

[1] The native version of the names Jackson, Martin and Hobley.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 18

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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When A MAN MARRIES

591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[165] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. Hartmann.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmarried daughters.

Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kodo)* made all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(nyo kodo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kodo kodo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nudgo mindo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yath ogolo)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village. 765 [302]

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yweyo lit)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (stride) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home. [513]

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children. [842]

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwono lit)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a coarse untwisted one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree. [291]

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets 768 769 753

231 Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed
[837] and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn
is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if
764 necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen
although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock.
A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special
oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend
funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered
when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a
tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a
special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the
ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions"
are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather
straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so
honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop
hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals
when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are
usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

231 The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them
believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a
● [842] polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely
to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or
those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking
parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their
arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the
[556] horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth
because the average man does not possess a number of oxen
with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of
special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to
reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by
some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only
method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle,
[232] especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however,
also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this
disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from
headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood
from the ear the headache is eased.

231 Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours,
but there are some colours which are considered objectionable.
822 Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually
susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to
marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently
conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark,
dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted
for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagree-
ment during the arrangement of the marriage or between the
wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because
it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simbi*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbi* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*senga*) and father's sister (*sayia*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

said that since property has passed to the lineage of a wife it has no claim on her offspring, consequently they take their father's lineage affiliation and can always be claimed by him because they result from his semen.

The Luo conceptualization of primary kinship attitudes is in conformity with the patterns of actual behaviour briefly outlined. The relation of co-wives is visualized as one of jealous rivalry. The term for it in Dholuo is *nyiego* and co-wives refer to one another as *nyieka*.[1] From co-wives themselves this relationship tends to spread to the elementary families of which they are the female heads. Children stick up for their mother's rights over against those of a stepmother. They stand to gain all round from successful competition with the other elementary families of their homestead. This is not of great permanent importance to the daughters, but the sons have everything that is worth while to gain or lose in their rivalry with the groups of their half-brothers. Their inheritance of the most valuable and essential property—livestock and land—depends on the allocation made by their father between the elementary families. But for uterine brothers it also depends on the allocation made between them within their elementary family. Consequently uterine brothers have material reasons for competing with one another, and also for combining together to compete with all other groups of uterine brothers in their compound family, being reinforced in this solidarity by the coincidence of their mother's interests against her co-wives. These pivotal relationships within household and homestead are conceptualized by the Luo as the origin of lineage structure. It might be objected that the orientations noted here are of a kind which naturally tend to be latent in any polygynous family system. The point is, however, that such orientations not only occur in the Luo family but are expected to occur; that the pattern of residence, the kinship terminology, the general conduct of family affairs, and the usual behaviour of its members all reflect this particular alinement rather than any other of a number of alinements possible in polygynous families, and are consciously thought to do so.[2] The main features are represented diagrammatically below (see p. 21).

It is impossible, within the space of this article, to give a full account of marriage types and contracts, the system of inheritance and of succession to property and authority, exogamy, blood-feuds, ancestor worship, and the like. All these matters have a bearing on lineage organization, and I try to give here a brief general account of them, sufficient only to make clear the nature of their connexion with the other material presented.[3]

Exogamy is an attribute of the maximal lineage.[4] This study is mainly concerned

[1] *nyiego* v., to snatch suddenly, or take by surprise; *nyiego* n., the relation of co-wives, jealousy; *nyieka* n., my co-wife, my partner in jealousy.

[2] In fact there are great similarities in this respect with the family structure of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and other East African peoples, but unfortunately the material on them does not tell us to what extent it is reflected in their lineage systems. Compare also Mayer, op. cit., p. 6. The most valuable comparative treatment of family structure from this angle is that of Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, cap. iii, and *The Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 195–6 note and p. 198.

[3] For further details see Paul Mboya, 'Luo Kitgi gi Timbegi' (*East African Standard*, Nairobi), an English translation of which is to be published under the auspices of the East Africa Literature Bureau. See also Evans-Pritchard, 'Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya', *Africa*, vol. xx, 1950, p. 132.

[4] A Luo maximal lineage, as the most inclusive agnatic descent group based on an accepted and putatively continuous genealogy, may coincide with 'clan', or it may be a segment within it where clan refers to a group united by a sentiment of common descent without this explicit genealogical basis.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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762 the village, she would be teased and chided pleasantly about
159 the fact that he was her future husband. Perhaps she would
584 have been married sooner, had her future husband, Opala, not been employed in a city many hundreds of miles away. He returned on his long leave to consummate the marriage at the time when the girl had just finished her secondary education and was about 18 years of age.

While at school, however, Akech had fallen in love with a teacher, Okare, in a neighboring technical school and he was determined to marry her. He went to her father and pleaded to be allowed to repay the bride-wealth animals her father had received years before and to complete the bride-wealth payments to marry the girl by Luo law and custom. Opio adamantly refused, and her brothers threatened Okare with physical violence if he should try to see the girl again. Okare was heartbroken and returned to his place of employment. Akech, however, had other ideas. When she was told that the date of her wedding had been fixed, she pleaded and tried every traditional way of breaking the marriage, but was unsuccessful. Her father and her prospective husband remained adamant.[1]

159 The night before the wedding, she ran away from home to
762 join Okare at his place of employment. Both knew that they
584 would be pursued by the girl's brothers and by her father, so
684 they hired a car and fled to the boy's village in a distant Luo tribe, some 200 miles away. Her father, brothers and future husband pursued the lovers to Okare's village where the father had him arrested for taking Akech from his custody. Okare's brothers, however, took the girl to Nairobi to hide her pending the result of the case. One of the brothers was then arrested for aiding and abetting the elopement.

Now the essence of this case goes to show that the father

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[1] By tradition, a girl may run off to the home of a "bride" [illegible] to marry will produce sterility. She may climb a tree *bondo*, an *euphorbia*, which is believed to be closely associated with the ancestors. There are several other ways, all of which would cancel an ordinary wedding, but none is effective in the case of *nyar kiseke*.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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Childless marriages. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children.

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up.

Women's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby.

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] [593] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

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The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

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In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

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Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yeath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (Dholuo *jopidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would sustain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 133.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

[Text continues on p. 57]

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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of thus causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried mud and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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843 262 Dietary restriction may also be a matter of family habit or taboo. Thus a mother may inform her children while they are young that a certain kind of food is not to [753] be eaten by members of their family. This restriction may result from a fear of spreading certain diseases, generally skin ailments, latent in that particular family group. The restriction does not apply to others who are free from the supposed disease. When a woman gives birth to a baby her habits in these respects do not change.

[756] A dietary restriction may also result from the instruction of a medicine man, as in the case of a woman who has had no child for a long time. During his treatment [784] the medicine man gives instruction on taboos and compulsory dietary restrictions. Dislike of a certain food during pregnancy may also result from personal disagreeable experience. This is also generally assigned to the will of the child. Restraints of a family origin, as well as those imposed by the medicine man and acquired from personal experience, are more strictly adhered to than the traditional restrictions.

843 278 177 *Medicinal restrictions.* The list of medicines that expectant mothers may not take is a small one. Apart from the traditional strong purgatives and medicines for killing worms, modern drugs like quinine and strong European laxatives are eliminated, such measures being designed to prevent abortion or premature birth.

843 [177] [516] *Social relationship.* Superstitions affecting expectant mothers have very largely yielded to the influence of Christianity, but we find remnants of old regulations, such as those connected with sitting, still observed by women. An expectant mother is required to sit with a straight back. Neither should she put one of her legs on top of another, because it is believed that the expected child in assuming a similar position would be difficult to

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deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road.

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive.

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda.

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognized to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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843 [846] the custom which confines a female child in the hut with its mother for only three days, whereas a male child would stay with its mother for four days, thus giving her a longer rest. In reality, only those women who have given birth to two or more children seem to be able to make any successful guess as to the sex of their expected child.

The Birth of a Child

844 177 *Preparations.* Among the Christian women, customs connected with the preparation for a birth have largely been dropped; but superstition is still a very real factor in the life of every Luo woman. Hence, for example, the preparation of bedding and clothes before a birth is usually neglected on purpose, the position being even worse in families of low income. When women give birth in the maternity wards, the husbands therefore have to make a hasty preparation during the seven days spent by their wives in hospital.

843 177 [302] Among the pagans, the pain or nausea experienced during the first few months of foetal growth is mitigated by the administration of a certain medicine. When this trouble has ceased the woman is expected to grow long hair which should not be shaved until the child is born. Those pagan women who associate much with Christians, however, have abolished this custom of growing hair, though some of them still take the medicine. Among the pagans, the expectant mother takes a light purgative during the sixth month which is believed to free her from any abdominal impurity. Strong purgatives are forbidden in case they may cause abortion or premature birth.

844 *Assistance during delivery.* The assistance a woman receives when giving birth depends on the circumstances in which she finds herself. There is no ruling laid down

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

Birth customs.—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat: having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

Marriage customs.—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *wimbo* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

583 with him three or four cows. The party entered the dala very slowly
585 feigning indifference and reluctance. The bridegroom made himself as inconspicuous as possible, and tried to conceal himself in the midst of his companions. No ceremonies took place on the day of arrival, but the guests were given food and spent the night in the simba hut. On the following day the bridegroom was taken to the hut of the bride's mother and made formally known to her. Most was killed and the day was spent feasting and drinking. Finally in the evening the bridegroom and the bride's father sat down together and the
[533] bargaining began. The rest of the gathering were entertained by a professional minstrel who sang topical songs, some composed to meet the occasion. His fee, incidentally was a goat, which, for some reason I could not discover, had to be presented to him by the bride. He was also given presents by the girl's father and mother.

During the bargaining the bride's father tried to get as large a payment as possible out of the bridegroom. If he was too greedy the negotiations were broken off, and the bridegroom paid compensation for the expenses incurred in entertaining his party and for the loss of the bride's virginity. But if the two came to an agreement that agreement was final, and no further demands on the father's part or subtractions on the part of the bridegroom were allowed, unless the former demanded to see the cattle before accepting them. This was sometimes done, and if the cattle were unsatisfactory he might refuse to proceed with the marriage. If, on the other hand, he trusted the bridegroom, the negotiations were considered closed, and he might even consent to receive a proportion of the bride-price after instead of before the final marriage feast had taken place, and the girl left her home for good. In this case the bridegroom had to give an extra bull, known as the *rwadh kirisya*, which was sent over for inspection before the feast took place. If it was accepted the final ceremonies were then carried through.

583 In most cases the bride-price itself was paid by instalments over a period that varied with the ability of the bridegroom's father to meet his liabilities. Usually some months elapsed before the whole number of cattle had been handed over, and it might even be a year or two before the girl's father received all that was due to him. During this period it was customary for the girl to pay her future husband a visit from time to time. She was always accompanied on these visits by one or two girl friends, and was expected to stay for several days. She slept in the simba hut with her betrothed, and intercourse took place. It sometimes, though rarely, happened that the girl conceived
[841] on one of these occasions. This was bad luck for the girl's parents, but fortunate for the bridegroom, for it was absolutely necessary that the child should be born in his dala. He could in consequence hurry on the marriage, which could now take place before the whole of the

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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When A MAN MARRIES
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[165] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that
304 she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

● 844 **Birth customs.** A wife who expects her confinement calls in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

11:Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. Hartmann.

Contents:

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Birth.

The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmaried daughters.

Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kelo)* made all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(iwo kelo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kelo kelo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nadgo misalo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yudh agula)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody, generally a strong woman is called to *thuñgo* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[201] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut (*Kor amach* = lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor attung* = the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

852 After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, *simsim* is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with *simsim* seeds, seedballs of a wild plant *(ochok)* are strung on plaited grass *(oganga)* and creeping grass *(modhono)* and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of small circular pieces of ostrich eggs *(rek)* and big iron beads.

[262] When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *awinja* (= pounded *simsim* mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneeds a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(othwonyo otonge)* which she fills with *awinja*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(iñgado imbo nyathi)*.

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
[683] man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingo." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man
777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by
787 *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
[844] for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road. [843] [845] [576]

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive. [251]

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda. [844]

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognized to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of [846]

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843 [846] the custom which confines a female child in the hut with its mother for only three days, whereas a male child would stay with its mother for four days, thus giving her a longer rest. In reality, only those women who have given birth to two or more children seem to be able to make any successful guess as to the sex of their expected child.

The Birth of a Child

844 177 *Preparations.* Among the Christian women, customs connected with the preparation for a birth have largely been dropped; but superstition is still a very real factor in the life of every Luo woman. Hence, for example, the preparation of bedding and clothes before a birth is usually neglected on purpose, the position being even worse in families of low income. When women give birth in the maternity wards, the husbands therefore have to make a hasty preparation during the seven days spent by their wives in hospital.

843 177 [302] Among the pagans, the pain or nausea experienced during the first few months of foetal growth is mitigated by the administration of a certain medicine. When this trouble has ceased the woman is expected to grow long hair which should not be shaved until the child is born. Those pagan women who associate much with Christians, however, have abolished this custom of growing hair, though some of them still take the medicine. Among the pagans, the expectant mother takes a light purgative during the sixth month which is believed to free her from any abdominal impurity. Strong purgatives are forbidden in case they may cause abortion or premature birth.

844 *Assistance during delivery.* The assistance a woman receives when giving birth depends on the circumstances in which she finds herself. There is no ruling laid down

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as to which particular people should help her; this obligation merely rests on whomsoever happens to be present. The assistance of a midwife is required more for a first child than for those following. Anyone in the family may help the woman in an emergency; but the presence of the husband is not considered necessary unless the case is a difficult one. In a difficult labour several strong men may be required to hold the woman, but many women give birth to their babies without any assistance. The usual positions adopted are: lying on the back with knees bent, or sitting with the back supported by a tree. Some leaves serve for the mat. Older women often have their child without assistance, but it is an obligation upon everyone who finds a woman in need of help to assist her, even if she is unknown to them.

On some occasions a woman about to give birth is made to run, eventually being seated to deliver her baby. A light pressure is exerted on the shoulders. The instructions are given by midwives, who sometimes slap the woman across her face if she does not obey their orders.

After a child is born, cold water is poured over it to make it cry. If it does not cry, iron hoes are brought and a series of loud tinkling noises made as a form of persuasion. Among the pagans, tobacco smoke is sometimes puffed into the child's nose. When it has been made to utter its first cry, its head is shaped to the normal form, and while the nurse waits for the placenta, she cleans the baby's forehead with a soft leaf. Before the cord is cut it is tied with strips of dried banana leaves at three equal intervals for a girl and at four equal intervals for a boy, to indicate the length of the period of rest. The midwives used to chant a prayer, but this is now no longer heard. It is possible that this chant was a thanksgiving and a request for the newborn baby to fare well in life.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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844 in life. The women themselves seem to share a belief that neither their own efforts nor the assistance of others have much effect upon the actual delivery of children. They prefer to believe that it is some mysterious power of God which helps them to give birth to their children.

845 *Difficult labour.* Although difficult labour cases are now largely dealt with in the hospitals, the crude traditional methods are occasionally used in remote areas, and they indicate the extent to which people will go to save the lives of mothers. To the midwives a difficult labour was formerly a dreaded situation. The mothers could suffer for days, and many of them died before relief was given. If a woman died before the birth it was considered a very bad omen. A stranger had to be paid to cut her open and remove the dead child, but no relative of her own was allowed to touch her.

When there was any hope of saving the mother's life, a large number of people gathered about her, and many deaths may have occurred through over-manipulation. Sometimes as many as ten persons were engaged in operating, while others stood by giving confused advice. The group performing the operation included men as well as women. The men held the woman while the women pulled on the head of the child, which was hooked on an iron hoe.

When this was done, little attention was paid to the damage of the passage from the womb. If the woman suffered twice from such a difficult delivery, she and her husband were advised to cease having children. If the advice was not observed the midwives had a right to refuse their help.

[177] *Twins.* The birth of twins was an unwelcome experience in pre-Christianized society, but in these days it is rarely accompanied by its traditional ceremonies of lamentation. According to tradition, as soon as the loud

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *son koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted. 789

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' *(jamkingo)* which, among the Gemi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4) 753 756 [754]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845 ●

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

765 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [726] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat: having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [553] [535] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the age of seven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *mtama* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 846

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 845 [431]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 857 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 882

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the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere. 852

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*. 846 834

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her. 837 834 684 848

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up. 587

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry. [591]

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and 945 852 [514] [273]

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845 852 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; [831 786 535 scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 831 535 786 *Miend Kumu* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well [882 *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

583 585 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

437. A MEDICINE MAN FROM NYAKACH, SOUTH SIDE OF KAVIRONDO BAY

When a person *dies*, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is *buried* on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of *mourning* the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

[Text continues on p. 57]

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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of thus causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried mud and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

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deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road.

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive.

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda.

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognized to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of

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as to which particular people should help her; this obligation merely rests on whomsoever happens to be present. The assistance of a midwife is required more for a first child than for those following. Anyone in the family may help the woman in an emergency; but the presence of the husband is not considered necessary unless the case is a difficult one. In a difficult labour several strong men may be required to hold the woman, but many women give birth to their babies without any assistance. The usual positions adopted are: lying on the back with knees bent, or sitting with the back supported by a tree. Some leaves serve for the mat. Older women often have their child without assistance, but it is an obligation upon everyone who finds a woman in need of help to assist her, even if she is unknown to them.

On some occasions a woman about to give birth is made to run, eventually being seated to deliver her baby. A light pressure is exerted on the shoulders. The instructions are given by midwives, who sometimes slap the woman across her face if she does not obey their orders.

After a child is born, cold water is poured over it to make it cry. If it does not cry, iron hoes are brought and a series of loud tinkling noises made as a form of persuasion. Among the pagans, tobacco smoke is sometimes puffed into the child's nose. When it has been made to utter its first cry, its head is shaped to the normal form, and while the nurse waits for the placenta, she cleans the baby's forehead with a soft leaf. Before the cord is cut it is tied with strips of dried banana leaves at three equal intervals for a girl and at four equal intervals for a boy, to indicate the length of the period of rest. The midwives used to chant a prayer, but this is now no longer heard. It is possible that this chant was a thanksgiving and a request for the newborn baby to fare well in life.

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844 in life. The women themselves seem to share a belief that neither their own efforts nor the assistance of others have much effect upon the actual delivery of children. They prefer to believe that it is some mysterious power of God which helps them to give birth to their children.

845 *Difficult labour.* Although difficult labour cases are now largely dealt with in the hospitals, the crude traditional methods are occasionally used in remote areas, and they indicate the extent to which people will go to save the lives of mothers. To the midwives a difficult labour was formerly a dreaded situation. The mothers could suffer for days, and many of them died before relief was given. If a woman died before the birth it was considered a very bad omen. A stranger had to be paid to cut her open and remove the dead child, but no relative of her own was allowed to touch her.

When there was any hope of saving the mother's life, a large number of people gathered about her, and many deaths may have occurred through over-manipulation. Sometimes as many as ten persons were engaged in operating, while others stood by giving confused advice. The group performing the operation included men as well as women. The men held the woman while the women pulled on the head of the child, which was hooked on an iron hoe.

When this was done, little attention was paid to the damage of the passage from the womb. If the woman suffered twice from such a difficult delivery, she and her husband were advised to cease having children. If the advice was not observed the midwives had a right to refuse their help.

[177] *Twins.* The birth of twins was an unwelcome experience in pre-Christianized society, but in these days it is rarely accompanied by its traditional ceremonies of lamentation. According to tradition, as soon as the loud

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cry of the midwives was heard announcing the birth of twins, the news had to be carried to the parents of the woman. This loud cry was intended to scare the evil spirits which had brought about the double birth. With it began a series of taboos on the couple as well as on the twins, the family being virtually isolated from society. For emptying their bowels a large pot was placed in a hidden corner at the back of the house. If either of the twins died during the early period it was thrown into this pot. In place of the usual clothing, the couple had creepers twined around them. The period of taboo closed with a large gathering at which a great deal of beer was drunk. At this final ceremony the dancing was rather obscene and was accompanied by foul language in reference to the couple. These proceedings lifted the taboo from the shoulders of the parents, but the twins continued to be affected until their deaths. Moreover, anything done to one of the twins had to be done to the other also, because they could not be treated as separate identities. Now the attitude has greatly changed and even among pagans these customs are no longer observed. [177]

Similarly, a birth in which the baby's legs appeared first was dreaded. This was ascribed to the work of the evil spirit.

Renewal of marital relationship. Originally it was the custom for the renewal of a marital relationship to take place on the third day following the birth of a female child, and on the fourth day after a male child. No married relatives were allowed to enter the hut to see the baby before the parents of the child renewed their marital relationship.

Although none of my informants could testify that this practice still exists, it is possible that it persists in certain places. Some of the informants pointed out that [177]

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RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *won koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted. 789

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witch-doctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' (*jamkingo*) which, among the Gesi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4) 753 756 [754]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

766 worn is black. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relations in the village shave their heads three days after a death. The eldest son of the deceased sits on a stool in the road outside the village and his head is shaved by an old woman. For three days after the death of anyone of importance the villagers do not cultivate.

766 [724] If a big chief dies all the surrounding people collect at the village; even if a neighbouring clan is at war hostilities are suspended, and they attend the funeral rites of their late enemy. In the case of the death of a chief a new hut is built and the deceased is buried inside in a sitting posture; the grave is dug by a brother of the deceased. A new ox hide is placed at the bottom of the grave, and the head of the corpse is covered with a water pot. Seeds of every kind of grain grown are put into the grave; sweet potatoes are excluded. The people dance and drink *tembo* for ten days and many oxen are slaughtered. The men wail for ten days, but the women wail every morning for about a year. No one cultivates the fields for ten days.

844 846 *Birth customs.*—On the occasion of a birth, if it is a boy it is kept inside the house for four days, if it is a girl for three days. When a birth takes place the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go to cultivate for about nine days after the birth.

844 608 [304] [553] If a woman has had two children and they have both died, she will upon the birth of the third child take it out of the village on a basket-work tray and place it in the road; an old woman who has had a hint of this will go and pick it up and take it to her house, then the father of the child goes and buys it back for a goat: having recovered it the father bores the lobe of its right ear and inserts a small earring of brass wire. If the child is a boy it is henceforward called Owiti and if a girl it is called Awiti, meaning the child that has been thrown away. The old woman who picked up the child is afterwards called mother in addition to the real mother.

845 [553] [535] Twins are considered lucky, but the infants and their parents have to stay in seclusion in their hut for a whole month. Women neighbours may enter the hut but men may not. The twin born first is called Apio (the one who comes quickly). The twin born second is called Adongo (the one who is delayed). The birth of twins is signalised by dances which extend over a whole month; they are apparently of a somewhat obscene character.

582 583 *Marriage customs.*—Girls are espoused at the [illegible]ven, and they often go to their husband's house at the age of ten or eleven. The suitor commences by making small payments to the father of the girl every month or two. When the man has paid say one cow and twenty sheep he takes the girl to his house.

585 The unmarried girls of the village take the bride to her husband's house. The father of the girl kills an ox and takes the meat and a quantity of *wimo* porridge to the man's village by way of providing a wedding feast. If the man's

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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When A MAN MARRIES

591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 595 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

844 **Birth customs.** A wife who expects her confinement calls in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side.
● 846 During the first three days the father remains near the house in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 846

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 845 [431]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 857 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 882

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thulge* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[301] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut *(Kor emach* — lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor athong* — the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

● 846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

852 After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, simsim is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with simsim seeds, anklets of a wild plant *(ochok)* are strung on plaited grass *(ogunga)* and creeping grass *(mudhuro)* and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowrysshells, ordinary beads, beads of semilircular pieces of ostrich eggs *(rok)* and big iron beads.

When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called [545] to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *ewinjo (ma mumbul, simsim, mixed* with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneads a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(athuonyo shungu)* which she fills with *ewinjo*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(chgolo undo nyathi)*.

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

754 in order to kill him. If a person is thought to be bewitched, the medicine
[683] man concerned is caught and forced to remove the spell, afterwards being punished by a fine. This kind of witchcraft, however, is not thought to be very serious. There is a deeper magic called "jamkingo." Amongst the Gemi tribe this is practised by the blacksmiths. It is of the nature of a secret society, and no doubt means secret poisoning. They have a
695 form of *ordeal* called "kiviri." A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little "wimbi" flour and a bit of "medicine" are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty; if not, he is innocent. Another ordeal is as follows: A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is then poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a leakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent. Another ordeal is arranged in this way: Dry flour is given to the suspected person. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is unable to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty.

787 As regards *omens*: If a bird sings on the left-hand side as a man
777 is starting on a journey, the journey, if for war, will be unlucky; but if it be merely a peaceful visit, it will be a fortunate one. If the bird sings on the right-hand side, it is a good omen for war, but a bad one for an ordinary visit. If a cat crosses the road from right to left, it is a good omen; if from left to right, bad. If a rat is seen on the road, and it runs along the road ahead of the man, it is a good omen; but if it crosses the road from one side to the other, it is an unlucky sign. If on a journey a man strikes the little toe of either foot, it is a very bad sign; if he strikes the big toe, it is propitious. If the eldest child of a man is a boy, and the man sets out to travel, it will be an unlucky sign if the first person he meets is also a man. On the other hand, if his eldest child is a girl, and he meets a woman when he starts on a journey, that is likewise a bad sign. They profess to be able to foretell events by
787 *divining*, and the divination is exercised on the entrails of an ox or sheep. They are a good deal given to prophesying. The chief Odua when quite a lad prophesied the coming of the white man, and this at a time when no white man had entered the country. They believe in rain-makers.

846 On the occasion of a *birth* the infant, if a boy, is kept inside the house
[844] for four days; if a girl, for three days. When a birth takes place, the female neighbours attend, and a goat is killed for the mother and the other women. No man is allowed in the hut until three or four days have elapsed. The father of the child does not eat or sleep again in the

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

437. A MEDICINE MAN FROM NYAKACH, SOUTH SIDE OF KAVIRONDO BAY

When a person *dies*, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is *buried* on its left side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of *mourning* the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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deliver. A person standing behind an expectant mother may also be driven away in the fear that if that person's birth had been difficult the birth of the coming child would be equally difficult. Social regulations connected with greetings are found among the pagans and these may result from the instruction of a medicine man. Thus he may prescribe the length of time in which an expectant mother is not allowed to greet those whom she happens to meet on the road.

Although in the family circle a woman is not allowed to overwork during this period, conditions are such that, if left to themselves, they continue with very strenuous work until the time of birth. In the past, expectant mothers stored food which they ate after giving birth. These foodstuffs might be dried meat, dried fish, ghee, and corn for gruel. Nowadays the availability of fresh meat has made it possible to supply women with sufficient food even although it is very expensive.

The amount of rest given to an expectant mother depends on the husband's position in society. With the poorer families, hard work continues till the time of birth. Thus, at one time a woman called Andege took some ripe bananas to Kisumu in the morning, returned at about 2 p.m., and at 4 p.m. gave birth to her daughter, Rapuoda.

Guessing the child's sex. In guessing at the child's sex before birth, the mothers generally rely on past experience. It is recognized to be very difficult, and even impossible, to predict the sex of the first child. Certain guesses depend on the health of the mother, though such guesses are not made public. For a male child it is believed that the mother should be thin; with a female child, the reverse, and these views are probably based on the assumption that male children sap their mother's energy to a greater degree. This is likewise the basis of

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843 [846] the custom which confines a female child in the hut with its mother for only three days, whereas a male child would stay with its mother for four days, thus giving her a longer rest. In reality, only those women who have given birth to two or more children seem to be able to make any successful guess as to the sex of their expected child.

The Birth of a Child

844 177 *Preparations.* Among the Christian women, customs connected with the preparation for a birth have largely been dropped; but superstition is still a very real factor in the life of every Luo woman. Hence, for example, the preparation of bedding and clothes before a birth is usually neglected on purpose, the position being even worse in families of low income. When women give birth in the maternity wards, the husbands therefore have to make a hasty preparation during the seven days spent by their wives in hospital.

843 177 [302] Among the pagans, the pain or nausea experienced during the first few months of foetal growth is mitigated by the administration of a certain medicine. When this trouble has ceased the woman is expected to grow long hair which should not be shaved until the child is born. Those pagan women who associate much with Christians, however, have abolished this custom of growing hair, though some of them still take the medicine. Among the pagans, the expectant mother takes a light purgative during the sixth month which is believed to free her from any abdominal impurity. Strong purgatives are forbidden in case they may cause abortion or premature birth.

844 *Assistance during delivery.* The assistance a woman receives when giving birth depends on the circumstances in which she finds herself. There is no ruling laid down

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cry of the midwives was heard announcing the birth of twins, the news had to be carried to the parents of the woman. This loud cry was intended to scare the evil spirits which had brought about the double birth. With it began a series of taboos on the couple as well as on the twins, the family being virtually isolated from society. For emptying their bowels a large pot was placed in a hidden corner at the back of the house. If either of the twins died during the early period it was thrown into this pot. In place of the usual clothing, the couple had creepers twined around them. The period of taboo closed with a large gathering at which a great deal of beer was drunk. At this final ceremony the dancing was rather obscene and was accompanied by foul language in reference to the couple. These proceedings lifted the taboo from the shoulders of the parents, but the twins continued to be affected until their deaths. Moreover, anything done to one of the twins had to be done to the other also, because they could not be treated as separate identities. Now the attitude has greatly changed and even among pagans these customs are no longer observed. 845 [177]

Similarly, a birth in which the baby's legs appeared first was dreaded. This was ascribed to the work of the evil spirit.

Renewal of marital relationship. Originally it was the custom for the renewal of a marital relationship to take place on the third day following the birth of a female child, and on the fourth day after a male child. No married relatives were allowed to enter the hut to see the baby before the parents of the child renewed their marital relationship. 846 834

Although none of my informants could testify that this practice still exists, it is possible that it persists in certain places. Some of the informants pointed out that [177]

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846 834 177 modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

751 854 754 854 753 *Protection against witches.* Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

751 [177] Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

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Childless marriages. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children.

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up.

Women's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby.

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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582
There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried women have their own quarters in a village and the young men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however, from another village pay visits to the young women during the day and make love to them, and in the evening the women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed. When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter. The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee. During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste. The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

[595] 836 883 [848] 584 585 [837] 591

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1900) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. 852
After 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(kwanyo nech)*. The feast is prepared much like for a baby-boy, but there is no *owinjo*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with 846
any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has 834
slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the new-born babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chire)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the 837
woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse 834
cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. 684
If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the 848
dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation 587
of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she bears children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of the deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for the girl, which goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave [591]
the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days, not even for nature's call. A hole is dug 945
in the floor of the hut, and an old battered cooking pot is put over it, and this is 852
used as a W. C. During these 20 days new beer is brewed. When the time has [514]
elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents [273]
of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or mgera)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The intersection of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the political importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) or *pachu* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries.

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original man *dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside so many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death.

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ot lyend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*.

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2)

1. *The dho kony*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* VI, 1933, p.161. (2) *Ibid.*, p.159.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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When a man marries
591 a second or third wife, he may select another place for his new wife, either in the village near his former wife, or he may elect to take her to some other village. A man who has wives dwelling in different places lives with them in turn. Married
586 women are careful in regard to their relations with men. Should a woman be lax in her behaviour or encourage men to visit her, her husband will send her back to her parents and divorce her.

842 A wife who is proved to be sterile is not divorced, but her
595 parents send her sister to become the man's wife, and he is expected to pay another sum as a marriage-fee for her; but there is no stated time when the sum shall be paid after the woman goes to live with him. The former wife continues to live with him as his wife.

291 **Distinctive dress of married women.** Each woman after marriage makes a girdle with a long fringe at the back and ties the ends together, which gives it the appearance of a tail. The girdle is worn constantly during the husband's life-time,
[765] but, should he die, she takes it off and puts it on the house-roof over the door during the season of mourning to show that she is a widow and is mourning. After marriage a wife scarifies
304 her sides and back in addition to the scarifications she made at puberty. When a woman has a son born, she makes a
352 clay-mound in the middle of the floor in her house for the
● 852 food pot to rest on when the family are at meals.

Birth customs. A wife who expects her confinement calls
844 in an elderly woman to act as midwife. This woman is a person who has had experience in such matters and is herself a mother. When the child is born, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord on an axe handle if the child is a boy, and on a hoe handle if it is a girl. The placenta of a boy is buried outside on the right side of the doorway and that of a girl on the left side. During the first three days the father remains near the house
846 in which his wife and child lie, but the midwife alone enters and attends to the wants of the mother and child. On the third day the father takes a fowl and rubs it on the child's chest and turns it loose, when it becomes the property of the child. When the new moon appears, the parents bathe, and

844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thuhgo* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[201] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut (*Kor amach* = lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor attung* = the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepsnik — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, *simsim* 852 is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with *simsim* seeds, seedballs of a wild plant (*ochok*) are strung on plaited grass (*oganga*) and creeping grass (*madhono*) and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of smallcircular pieces of ostrich eggs (*rek*) and big iron beads.

When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called [262] to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *awinja* (= pounded *simsim* mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneeds a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it (*othwonyo otonge*) which she fills with *awinja*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child (*ihgado imbo nyathi*).

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Loc FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(kwanyo wish)*. The feast is prepared much like for a baby-boy, but there is no *ewinja*, and the performance with the knife does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the new-born babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chuw)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewed. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or angow)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

845 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and
852 each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks
and waist with *bwembwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance,
[834 scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs,
[786 which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal
535] where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay
over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 *Mond Kama* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has
834 given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some con-
535 siderable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last
786 as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman,
and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after child-
birth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married
tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the
father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make
his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites
a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well
[882] *(jatele)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the
sindu i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *sindu* or the girls of the place go to greet
the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or
prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatele* goes to the hut
of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his
daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatele* what kind of lad the boy is,
whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether
he can pay a decent dowry, etc.

If the father agrees the *jatele* goes back to his friends in the *sindu* and re-
ports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and
then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then
all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night.
They sleep in the *sindu* separately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl
after she had left the *sindu*, and take her to her fiancé's village *(nuke)*. On account
of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this
practice is no longer adhered to.

583 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day
send the *jatele* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry,
585 usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they
catch *(nuke)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have
had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her
out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys
from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. The mother does not go out to cultivate for nine days after the birth. If a woman has had two children previously who have died, she follows the same ceremony as that described among the Bantu Kavirondo. When the child has been brought back by an old woman, it is redeemed by the father, who then bores the lobe of the right ear and inserts an ear-ring of brass wire. The child is thenceforth called "Owiti," if a boy; if a girl, "Awiti," meaning "the child that has been thrown away." The old woman who picks up the child is regarded as its foster-mother. Twins are considered lucky, though their arrival is attended by a good many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances which are of an obscene nature.

[illegible]

When a person dies, the corpse is immediately taken out of the house. If it be a woman, her brothers-in-law dig the grave in the verandah of the house. The corpse is buried on its left side with the head under the head. In the case of a woman's death, her relatives and friends come and wail. Her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat. The mourners stay for three days. The hut in which a person has died is used for a month. The neighbours then meet together and drink beer, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave, and he is buried in the house of his first wife, if she is still living. If she is dead, he is buried in the verandah of his own house. Men only wail for one day. After that only the women wail, at first for three days, and then at dawn for fifteen days.

As a sign of mourning the women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead. They also wear a black tail fringed with white strings for about a month. Others smear themselves with white earth. Relatives of

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

583 chicken, some *mtama*[1] and some native beer. He goes away again, having had no
584 intercourse with his intended, and returns in a few days' time and goes through the form of carrying her off; she stops at his village for some days and the important rite of cooking the first dinner for him is gone through; this may be taken to intimate that she accepts him as her husband. She then goes home and the husband pays a portion of the dowry; he comes again and carries her away and pays another portion, and so on, till the dowry is paid off and the bargain is ratified. Should the woman prove childless, or if she dies shortly after the marriage, the dowry can be reclaimed by the husband, though it is more usual for her sister to take her place. Should she, at the time of marriage, be possessed of children, legitimate or otherwise, they become her husband's property. The dowry is also recoverable if the woman deserts him for another man.

Children are sometimes contracted for marriage at a very early age, but in such a case, the girl remains with her parents until the age of puberty. The value of the dowry has greatly decreased since the cattle plague of 1883, but is again increasing. Before that date twenty head of cattle, besides goats, grain, etc., was not uncommonly asked and obtained. To-day seven head of cattle is a handsome "dot," and the price has been known to fall as low as one bull and twenty goats,
[852] though a heifer and a bull is the usual minimum. The birth of the first child is also an occasion for a feast; frequently, a child is named after the hour at which it
551 was born, *e.g.*, *onyango*, morning; *ocking*, noon; *odiambo*, afternoon; *otieno*, night. On other occasions some deceased relative appears to the mother in her sleep shortly before birth, and his name is adopted; or, if a child be born posthumously, the father's ghost appears and dictates the name. The Jaluo are very fond of nicknames, which are often passed on to descendants, though their significance is lost; *e.g.*, *obele*—the man who owned much *mtama*; *olisch*—the man who killed an elephant. Other nicknames are given on account of some personal peculiarity; *e.g.*, *obongo*—the man like a locust.

763 A funeral, however, is the greatest ceremony of all. While the sick man is dying his relatives howl in chorus round his hut, while the doctors rattle stones in gourds and puff clouds of tobacco smoke around the invalid, their object, undoubtedly, being to drive away the evil spirits. Next day there is a great dance,
764 at which all the deceased's relations and friends turn up; if the dead man is a chief the whole clan is represented. Every man is dressed in full war paint and brings his best bull along with him. For a while they stay in the village lamenting, while the mother or chief wife of the deceased adorns herself with the dead man's goat skin and his tuft of hair, as mentioned above, and then runs round and round the village rattling a gourd and singing incantations. Then the visitors come out, having refreshed the inner man with beer and tobacco, and proceed to charge up and down, hanging on to their bull's tails and pricking the unfortunate beasts to encourage them to go faster. When thoroughly exhausted they collect

[1] Millet.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (*Dhokoo jopidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would remain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 139.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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I

INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Feeding

Under one year. For the first month of a baby's life its chief food is its mother's milk. But when the mother's milk is insufficient, gruel may be given as early as at two to three weeks old. Although cow's milk is now sometimes used instead of gruel, it is still chiefly regarded as a modern introduction by the missionaries in an effort to promote infant health. 853 [177] [197]

Between the ages of one and three months, gruel and breast-feeding play about equal parts. When the mothers go out to work, suckling tends to be limited to mornings and evenings. The average age at which babies are given gruel is one month. From the third to the sixth month milk from the breast and gruel continue to form the child's main diet, but after this, gruel begins to prevail over breast-feeding. Although maize flour is occasionally used in the preparation of gruel, the usual flour for this purpose is obtained from sorghum and eleusine, a species of millet. Whenever possible a little sour milk is added to the mixture. Between five and six months certain children have frequent tastes of adult food given to them by their nurses. [262]

Although nurses are allowed to give gruel to the children, difficulties in handling a baby sometimes result in under-feeding, which is often made worse by the low food-content of the gruel itself. Through training by nurses, babies are accustomed to adult food before their mothers actually give it to them, so it can happen that [254]

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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853 when a mother is eating she will hear her child cry out [154] for some of her food.

From six to nine months, gruel continues to be the staple article of diet. In certain strict families adult food is not given until the child is over a year old. Babies fed on cow's milk begin using adult food during the first or second month.

Restrictions on the suckling of babies. It is considered a [784] breach of taboo for a nursing mother to suckle her [761] neighbour's child. This restriction is based on the fear that some woman with poor milk may, in suckling a [177] baby, kill it. One of my informants pointed out that in the early days of missionary work an attempt to break this taboo had failed. She said that many of the children thus suckled had died, and the attempt had been aban- [603] doned. One exception to the restriction, however, is that of a mother-in-law. In cases of necessity she is permitted to suckle her daughter-in-law's child because it is assumed that her milk has stood the test.

853 595 In rare instances there seems to be different treatment of male and female children in a polygamous home with regard to suckling. Some of my informants stated that inter-suckling is permitted if all the nursing mothers have female babies.

[587] Nevertheless, the taboo against inter-suckling of male babies is reinforced by the fact that it is possible for a son to marry one of his father's younger wives. Hence a woman refuses to suckle a child who might become her husband on the death of the father.

853 [177] The social restriction with regard to the suckling of infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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lips. The mouth is gently raised while a small amount of the gruel is let in. Forcible feeding takes place when children begin to push the container from their lips, preferring their mothers' milk. [853]

In forcible feeding, the child's head is rested against the mother's breast while the feet are firmly held in position between her thighs. If the child is difficult to manage, an assistant may be called to hold its hands. The mother rests the edge of the left hand below the child's lips and pours gruel in the hollow thus formed by the hand. While the child is crying, she closes the nostrils by pressing its upper lip against the openings. Thus in attempting to draw air through the mouth the child takes in a mouthful of gruel. The mother or the nurse may then dip her hand in cold water and wipe the child's abdomen in an attempt to cool the rapidly-swallowed food. After it has drunk a considerable quantity the child is set free. If the mother is present, it may finally be pacified by a short period of suckling.

Although women insist on this form of feeding because of its traditional value, it is also a method they use when they are in a great hurry. To have time to do their other work they must feed their children as quickly as possible. A child which has been given gruel does not cry for food for a long time.

The feeding of younger children is generally left to nurses, though often they are very young and lack experience by European standards. Sometimes a child may be found unconscious through over-feeding or prolonged choking. When this occurs, a responsible person holds the child by the legs, head downward, and then runs with it, shaking out the contents of its stomach; after which the child is laid down in a cool place to regain its strength. In extreme cases the child may die. Some children are quite unable to take gruel, and in [854] [757]

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153 such circumstances they have to depend on their mothers' milk.

Although the time and nature of her work may force a woman to feed her child at certain hours, there is otherwise no fixed time for feeding babies. If the mother is present, the child is suckled whenever it wants to. Thus babies having such treatment grow up with a particularly strong liking for their mothers' breasts. As soon as a baby is big enough, the mother begins to limit her suckling and to increase the frequency of gruel-taking. The frequency of suckling is greater for babies between one and three months, the intervals increasing with the age of the child. Daily absence of the mother when she is working at a distance may also impose longer intervals between the successive sucklings than would be the case if the mother were nearby, or within the village. Chil-
[177] dren in more enlightened families are started on cow's milk after one or two months, and are given gruel after six months.

There is a widespread belief that gruel strengthens the bones, and therefore should be a very important article of diet just before the child begins to walk.

Cleanliness

154 There is a general slackness in the washing of children by Luo mothers, which increases as the children grow older, but sometimes, especially among the more ad-
[178] vanced people, they are kept tidy regularly. It may be of interest to know that, in the past, they were washed early every morning in cold water in the belief that this would make them strong. Whenever the children empty their bowels they are cleaned with old rags or soft leaves. The limited supply of old rags makes the use of leaves more common.

Bedding and clothes. No clothes are especially made for the babies.

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Childless marriages. Failure to have a child is a great disaster in the home. The idea of the perpetuation of their kind is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Luo people that a childless marriage generally culminates in the breaking up of the home concerned, the husband usually being advised by his relatives to marry a second wife. Although results may prove that it is the husband who is defective, priority is always given to men to prove their fecundity. Thus a woman is forbidden by the social conventions to attempt to prove on her own initiative that she can give birth to children.

If through the second marriage the husband is proved to be sterile, his wives may one by one desert him. On the other hand, this great desire for children may lead him to carry on his name through the secret offices of the woman's brothers-in-law. Otherwise he must face the inevitable fate of having his family broken up.

Women's diet after birth. For the first week after childbirth, the mother's food is limited to gruel, fish, and green vegetables. 'Bo', which is one of the vegetable pulses, is excluded on account of the trouble it gives to the stomach. During this early period meat is not eaten because most women complain that it makes the stomach tight. Hard food, such as boiled maize, is also avoided at this time. Although tea and coffee are occasionally drunk by the more fortunate families, the drink which pleases women most at this time is gruel. They are allowed to take a lot of it as people believe that it helps in the formation of the milk which is so important for feeding the new baby.

The period of this considered treatment is brief, lasting for about a month at the most. Much depends on the economic resources of the family concerned, and the poorer the family is, the shorter is the time that careful attention can be given.

20:Omnde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

868 619 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

[842] [593]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own sexual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all, and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the senior head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leaders-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the inviolable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted the rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a youngster sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is more closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

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[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its lifecycle would contain the subdivision of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 139.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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the local prophet (*jabilo*). When he returned to the village from his visit to the *jabilo*, he cursed his wife as follows: "I wish the disease which killed my heifers would kill you, my wife, for your daughter is a whore who has brought the disease of her womb to my cattle." From the evidence, the woman seemed to have planned her death carefully. She made her daughters swear that they would not be married to anyone who would ever give her husband cattle. She distributed all of her belongings to them and placed a curse on the village to the effect that her husband should never be able to marry another wife. She then entered her house and hanged herself.

Since that time, the Luo pointed out, his daughters have all eloped with persons who have not paid bride-wealth and no other woman has ever consented to marry him or to live with him.

The next case is typical of many which involve jealousy at the taking of a second wife, especially without the first wife's permission, or as in this case, expressly against her wishes. My informant was living near the village when the suicide took place and his mother became involved in it. The story was told to me in his mother's presence and she helped with the details.

Suicide Case No. 18.

A man, Okech, who was happily married, invited his wife's sister, Apolo, to come to live at his homestead to act as a nurse-maid for their first child.*

* This is common practice among the Joluo and often the "nurse" (*japidi*) is later married by her brother-in-law, especially if the sisters co-operate and agree to be happy together. Frequently the *japidi* will form a strong attachment to her brother-in-law, and marriage becomes desirable or even necessary. If a man marries a *japidi*, she becomes known as *nyar sinoho*, the wife of the same blood, and the children of both wives share the same but and trace descent through the older sister. The term *sinoho* is also used to describe a girl given to replace a sister who was unable to bear her husband a son; it therefore does have a slight connotation of stigma.

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I

INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Feedwo

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Between the ages of one and three months, gruel and breast-feeding play about equal parts. When the mothers go out to work, suckling tends to be limited to mornings and evenings. The average age at which babies are given gruel is one month. From the third to the sixth month milk from the breast and gruel continue to form the child's main diet, but after this, gruel begins to prevail over breast-feeding. Although maize flour is occasionally used in the preparation of gruel, the usual flour for this purpose is obtained from sorghum and eleusine, a species of millet. Whenever possible a little sour milk is added to the mixture. Between five and six months certain children have frequent tastes of adult food given to them by their nurses.

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[177] infants is still observed with rigidity, and there are no evidences of a change even under the impact of modern ideas.

Methods of feeding. No force is used in feeding young babies. A little gruel in a small container is put to the

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lips. The mouth is gently raised while a small amount of the gruel is let in. Forcible feeding takes place when children begin to push the container from their lips, preferring their mothers' milk. 853

In forcible feeding, the child's head is rested against the mother's breast while the feet are firmly held in position between her thighs. If the child is difficult to manage, an assistant may be called to hold its hands. The mother rests the edge of the left hand below the child's lips and pours gruel in the hollow thus formed by the hand. While the child is crying, she closes the nostrils by pressing its upper lip against the openings. Thus in attempting to draw air through the mouth the child takes in a mouthful of gruel. The mother or the nurse may then dip her hand in cold water and wipe the child's abdomen in an attempt to cool the rapidly-swallowed food. After it has drunk a considerable quantity the child is set free. If the mother is present, it may finally be pacified by a short period of suckling.

Although women insist on this form of feeding because of its traditional value, it is also a method they use when they are in a great hurry. To have time to do their other work they must feed their children as quickly as possible. A child which has been given gruel does not cry for food for a long time.

The feeding of younger children is generally left to nurses, though often they are very young and lack experience by European standards. Sometimes a child may be found unconscious through over-feeding or prolonged choking. When this occurs, a responsible person holds the child by the legs, head downward, and then runs with it, shaking out the contents of its stomach; after which the child is laid down in a cool place to regain its strength. In extreme cases the child may die. Some children are quite unable to take gruel, and in [854] [957]

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153 such circumstances they have to depend on their mothers' milk.

Although the time and nature of her work may force a woman to feed her child at certain hours, there is otherwise no fixed time for feeding babies. If the mother is present, the child is suckled whenever it wants to. Thus babies having such treatment grow up with a particularly strong liking for their mothers' breasts. As soon as a baby is big enough, the mother begins to limit her suckling and to increase the frequency of gruel-taking. The frequency of suckling is greater for babies between one and three months, the intervals increasing with the age of the child. Daily absence of the mother when she is working at a distance may also impose longer intervals between the successive sucklings than would be the case if the mother were nearby, or within the village. Chil-
[177] dren in more enlightened families are started on cow's milk after one or two months, and are given gruel after six months.

There is a widespread belief that gruel strengthens the bones, and therefore should be a very important article of diet just before the child begins to walk.

Cleanliness

• 154 There is a general slackness in the washing of children by Luo mothers, which increases as the children grow older, but sometimes, especially among the more ad-
[178] vanced people, they are kept tidy regularly. It may be of interest to know that, in the past, they were washed early every morning in cold water in the belief that this would make them strong. Whenever the children empty their bowels they are cleaned with old rags or soft leaves. The limited supply of old rags makes the use of leaves more common.

Bedding and clothes. No clothes are especially made for the babies.

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856 constant help from the mother, the nurse, and other members of the family, the child is able to sit up without support.

[854] The practice of straddling the child on the hip begins during the sixth month. From this period there is a rapid development of its manipulative skill. Between the seventh and eighth months the child begins to crawl about on the floor, and will crawl away from wherever it is seated. As the child's manipulative skill develops he begins to pick up things that attract the eyes, often knocking them down repeatedly. The mouth is also used in testing the properties of articles. There is thus some difficulty in preventing the child from putting dirty things into its mouth.

If a child is not watched it may eat a large quantity of soil, a practice facilitated by its surroundings, the floor and ground in front of the house being bare earth. It is [164] therefore not surprising that children of this age frequently suffer from serious stomach trouble. Even before [854] the children begin to sit up, the nurses, who themselves [857] are only between six and eleven years old, do not effectively prevent them from touching dirty things, because they are sometimes tempted to run away to play, leaving the babies to look after themselves.

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According to my observations, cooing and the earliest symptoms of speech begin to come into evidence in the

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857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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NURSE: AYOMA

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modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

Protection against witches. Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these customs have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.

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her with cows. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two leviratic wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

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This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

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This woman was the second wife (*nyachieu*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to cane him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a goat was buried in front of her house to represent her body, for they were certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

[855]

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the babies. With the exception of a few children in progressive households, both pagan and Christian children go without clothes; and even when they have them their provision is meagre. There is, however, a tendency for Christian children to be better clothed than those in pagan families, and the latter continue to walk naked for a much longer time.

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According to the mothers interviewed, the earliest signs of mental and physical development in babies are smiling and lifting of the arms, actions which take place after the second month. This early smile may not be an expression of pleasure but merely an imitation of the mother, who begins to tickle her baby while smiling herself in order to induce it to smile. This induced smile is more noticeable after the third month.

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855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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mother against the child, the child's emotions of anger or suffering have the effect of reminding the mother of their physiological connection. When a mother is unable to pacify her crying child she generally feels a quite personal sense of depression. [855] [152]

On the other hand, signs of pleasure in a child give its mother the greatest satisfaction. If a child has a happy nature, even the most critical of neighbouring relatives are pleased, and frequently comment or compliment the mother upon it. The desire to share the emotions of her children leads a mother to begin laughing with them and tickling them while they are very young. [152]

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II

CHILDHOOD

Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

855 The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking
857 after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child
868 of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name. §47

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot. §24 §55

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life. [§57]

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together. §57 §72

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157 524 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected, when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

857 865 During the period between two and six years, the children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the [864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped. [868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

• 855 863 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years upwards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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862 child. Having in the beginning created the child's liking for her breasts she must resort to crude methods to shift the child's interest to other sources. Hence weaning is not only a break in the time-honoured connection between mother and child, but also a significant psychological factor in the child's development. A closer analytical study of children would help to show how far the fears established during infancy influence their later emotional life.

Parent-child Relationship

856 593 The relationship between parents and children from the age of two to six is principally determined by two factors: discipline and the provision of food. Parents feel that children of both sexes tend to prefer their mother partly because of her frequent contact with them, and even more because their food in its ready form is under her control.

In feeding children a mother's sympathies often prevent her from restricting their food, but the reverse situation may exist and sometimes we find a father who loves his child so much that he will give it all the food it desires. If the father is more severe than the mother in this respect the child naturally prefers the mother, and, similarly, a child will prefer a father who feeds it to a mother who restricts its food.

855 593 603 A further complication arises when the grandparents come into the matter. So delicately balanced is this relationship depending on food and discipline that the slightest difference is sufficient to draw the child towards those who favour it. This means that if the grandparents offer it better conditions, the child will stay with them most of the time. Hence, when I was once talking to a couple I know, I was informed that their daughter would not remain with them but preferred her grand-

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parents—a fact which had already struck me during my visits to the family. Although I have frequently visited them, I have seldom found the children there, and even more rarely at meal times. This situation would have become more pronounced when the children were weaned.

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855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] [252] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

Relationship with elder children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

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The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES
868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

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The strongest tie of relationship exists between the children of one mother. This close relationship extends to the maternal as well as the paternal grandparents. Children may be taken to the maternal relatives while they are still young, or they may sometimes go for visits when they are a little older. Although they share the same father, the relationship of the children with those of the other houses is much less close, because the mother in each house thinks first of the future of her own children. For this reason the undue wealth of any one particular house is viewed with alarm in the other houses and a mother will maintain a constant watch on the other sections of the family lest their successes should overshadow her own children. 595 603

When a child goes to stay with its maternal grandparents it is often spoilt by their too readily shown affection and their unwillingness to teach it discipline. Hence parents complain that children who spend most of their time with their maternal relatives are unruly and difficult to manage when they return to their homes. 603 855

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eighth month. When Ageng'o was eight months old he repeated the same performance every time he saw me come in. First he clapped his hands, uttering a sound like 'Aaa, Aaa'; then he clasped them together, pressing them repeatedly against his lips while he made the sound 'Aa baa ba'. This pleased his mother, who was so excited that she spoke to the child in adult language. In addition, Ageng'o could seize two maize cobs, bring them together in front of him, lie on his stomach and push them round in a circle.

There was also a conspicuous development of pleasure when he began playing. There can be no doubt that he derived great enjoyment from pushing the maize cobs along, because that kind of play was usually accompanied by a great deal of noise not intended to attract the attention of anyone. Having scooped the ground with a stick, he would throw it away and, with his fingers spread out, sweep the ground before him. All this indicated the multiple experiences of a developing mind which aimed at satisfying its own curiosity by exploring into the nature of things. A child of this age has no fear of fire until it is scorched by a glowing ember.

At the time when the child begins to say '*Baa, baa, baa*', the mother trains it to imitate sounds of names like '*ba-ba* (*babu, mama, mamu*)'. But the use of adult language in talking to the baby begins as early as the first month. Thus when taking up a baby of one or two months, a mother may say, '*Bi mama*' (come my mother) or '*Bi wuora*' (come my father), according to whom the child was named after. This of course means nothing to the child at such an early stage. Following '*ba-ba*' and '*ma-ma*', it is taught the names of things and people in the family. Gradually a child gets to know these, as well as the words for a few things including food. Next it is taught how to ask for things. On the whole, children do

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II

CHILDHOOD

Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

855 857 The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 868 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to her-
[594] self as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
● [856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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NURSE: AYOMA

857 consider nursing beneath their dignity, and their revolt
856 is encouraged by increasing association with members of the opposite sex who would disdain talking to a child-nurse.

855 *Feeding.* The girls of this age group eat normal adult
264 food, at the same time as adults, but the younger members of the group occasionally have a little food kept for them by their mothers. The consideration shown them as children depends on whether there are others younger

1 [ie. From six to eleven years old - Analyst.]

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IV

ADOLESCENCE

857 593 In the interim period between childhood and adolescence there comes a time when a girl's ability to deal with domestic work is more advanced than her physical and mental development. It is during this period that the mother, still occupying a central position as adviser and supervisor of the girl's work, finds difficulty in the management of her daughter. Since the domestic work of her household is heavy, the mother uses all kinds of pressure to induce her daughter to do as much as she can.

856 [572] The girl's life at this time is characterized by her increased interest in boys and desire to come into contact with them. The friendships established during childhood with other young girls are weakened by the development of a new object of friendship in the opposite sex. During this time the breasts of most girls develop noticeably. The girls show great interest in this development and employ various means to stimulate it. An instance of this interest can sometimes be seen among those who stuff clothes in their bosoms to exaggerate the size.

On the whole, the period differs only in the fact that the girls definitely aspire to be grown-ups and are also more interested in friendship with boys.

Characteristics of Adolescence

883 This new period is the time when the mother leaves her daughter to bring her knowledge of domestic work to perfection by her own efforts. As compared with the school-going age, there is little or no interference from

RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *won koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted. 789

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' (*jaakingo*) which, among the Gemi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4) 753 756 [754]

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth. 846

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances. 845

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting [857] 881 304

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

241 Besides weeding, there is much to be done to protect the crop,
[789] Hail storms do a lot of damage at times, and to protect the crops a " medicine " is employed called ' migalo magalo pe." This consists of herbs tied in a bunch to the top of a pole about 6—8 feet high, which is stuck in the middle of the field. (Herdsmen too, use this
[231] to keep themselves dry while out with the cattle, and I have seen a herdsman accompanying the cows with these herbs tied to the top
[674] of his spear.) Except in time of famine, stealing from the crop is unknown, which contrasts favourably with complaints made from time to time that Natives steal maize and coffee from European farms. In their own community such an offence is practically unknown. But
241 four-legged depredators are a serious problem in certain localities.
417 Fields are enclosed in fences of the branches of thorn trees, laid on the ground, and these do give a certain protection against wild pigs,
136 monkeys and baboons. But they are of no use against hippo and elephant. To protect crops, mainly sweet potato, against the hippo it is the practice to erect a small temporary hut, which is occupied at night by a guard armed with a couple of spears. It must be a weary business, for the potatoes are cultivated close to the lake edge where mosquitoes swarm, so between the hippo and the mosquitoes the guard
[324] must have a trying time. In old days before the Game laws came in, organized hunts were held, which were very successful.

241 The most difficult animal is, of course, the elephant. These have
136 disappeared from Central Kavirondo but still infest districts like Mirunda and Sakwa in South Kavirondo. They can do heavy damage both to millet and sweet potato. The beating of pots and pans is tried to scare away the elephant, while occasionally the more daring venture forth from the hut to throw stones or otherwise drive away the beasts. This is an operation attended with peril in the dark of the night, and occasionally lives are lost in this way. Lives too are lost through guards mistaking their fellow guards for wild animals. Jok, one of the most famous of ancestors of the Luo, is said to have lost his life in this way. The story is that before going off to drink beer, he told his sons to go on guard in the field that night. They refused to his face, but when he had gone thought better of it, and went on guard. He returned from the beer drink, and went to see what was happening in the field, believing that there was no guard. His sons mistook his footsteps for that of a pig, and speared him with fatal results. Similar things still occur from time to time.

241 Birds, especially weaver birds, are a pest as the grain crop
136 ripens. Scarecrows are employed, both mechanical and human. Of the former an inverted cooking pot on the top of a short pole is a
● 857 common device. Boys are employed in large numbers when the birds are most troublesome, and their harsh cries are quite a part of the

241 life of the country-side. Ofttimes the boys are armed with slings from
136 which stones are projected at random into the midst of the crop, or
857 into the midst of a flock of birds as they rise. One of the reasons why the Luo denude the land of trees is because they give harbourage to their bird enemies.

241 They are wise to insect pests also, and have a greater belief in
136 their remedies than many a farmer has in the aids supplied by our
789 civilization. The medicine is called by two names, " yadh miri " or " yadh lisese." It is employed against a small red and black beetle, called by the Luo " Nyanginja " which eats the flower of the millet, thus preventing a crop. The medicine man who prepares it must be a man of peaceable disposition and character, not a quarreller or disputer with his neighbours. The whole success of the medicine depends on the absence of disputation and quarrelling, and of the grosser forms of vice, like adultery. No adulterer may be supplied
[837] with the medicine, for his very handling of it would nullify its usefulness, not only for himself, but also for his neighbours. All must be peace in the community until the harvest is reaped. Unlike other medicines, which are tied to a pole and left to work their influence, " yadh miri " is made into a decoction, which is sprinkled over the growing crop at eventide. I have seen the operation at a place called Maranda in Sakwa, Central Kavirondo. It was then being used against maize borer. At a time when this pest was giving a good deal of trouble to European farmers, I heard a man who was back in the Reserve on leave from a farm in the Kitale district, pour scorn on the methods used by Europeans with various sprays. He was by way of being one of the more progressive men, but he had nothing but absolute faith in the efficacy of " yadh miri."

578 Crops damaged by domestic stock gave rise to many an angry
685 passion. The owner of the crop had liberty to chastise personally the herdboy (or man) through whose carelessness the stock were left untended. If the herd were a lad he could be cuffed and thumped without being able to proceed against the assailant. Nor did the father protest, provided the chastisement were in reason, for he knew that his son had rendered him liable to a claim for compensation. As likely as not he would add his own quota to the punishment already meted out. If the owner feared that he would get the worst of it in a personal encounter with a herdsman, then he had his remedy at law.

241 When the crop is ready for harvesting it is the duty of the men to do the reaping. In the case of millet, this is a laborious business, calling for judgment, for not all the heads would be ripe, and some must be left to ripen after the bulk has been reaped. It is the task
[462 of the women and children to pack the crop into the grain baskets
857] and carry it to the grain stores. In the case of millet it is quite

241 Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She
841 can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, the would suffer with the other members of the family.

462 From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural
787 labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The
791 only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as
[301] well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a
[431] hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

241 Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to
177 white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting
252 women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means wide-
462 spread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

CHILD LABOUR:

● 857 Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or woman may be seen herding. With the opening up of
593 avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in
[464 other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
651] ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again.

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer.

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

is a most important grouping intermediate between the compound family and its individual members. It is a semi-autonomous domestic unit with its own kitchen economy, its own property rights in cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, land, tools, granaries, and food stocks. Correspondingly it is responsible for its own building and repairs, fuel and water collecting, food provision and allocation from harvest to harvest, and has its own ritual rights and obligations. But the husband is an element common to them all and, having his own rights and duties in respect of these matters, binds them closely together. Livestock are herded co-operatively, not only for all the elementary families of a homestead, but for several homesteads together. The husband is the titular head of a corporate group, not an absolute rightholder.[1] He allocates land, cattle, and other property accruing to the compound family group among its elementary families, and this allocation limits the proportion in which it will eventually be inherited by the sons in each elementary family. He is also able to make levies of property for special purposes from all his elementary families. But in all situations involving social groups wider than the homestead, its head is subject to the decisions of the leader-in-council of the lineage segment to which he belongs. The exclusiveness of elementary families is potentially high, but in practice depends on the skill of the homestead head in securing and maintaining harmony, and on the natural compatibility or otherwise of co-wives. When these factors favour, co-wives may be seen co-operating in many tasks, taking it in turns to supply the husband—or one another's children—with food, combining as a team for garden work, or sharing one another's water-supply. But it cannot be denied that the Luo regard friction between co-wives as being a more normal state of affairs. Behind these situational variations lies the invariable right of the husband to regular cooked food from each wife, of each wife to regular sexual attention from the husband, and the general responsibility of each elementary family for its own self-maintenance granted its rightful assistance from the husband in his proper part of each task.

The rearing of children is woven into this framework. The baby's first contacts are naturally with its mother, who may not finally wean it till it is about two years old, unless as a result of a subsequent pregnancy she has to do so sooner; for suckling a child with a younger sibling in the womb is regarded as robbing and endangering the latter. The baby sleeps in its mother's hut at night and sleeps and later plays near it during the day. It is most closely associated with the other members of its own elementary family, especially the female ones circling round the hearth for the preparation and cooking of food. Other members of the compound family will be hardly less well known from their presence together inside the homestead hedge, but all non-members of the homestead will be comparative strangers except very close relatives or near neighbours who are constant visitors within it.

Babies of either sex are soon each put in the charge of one of the older unmarried girls, probably a real or classificatory sister. This brings them in contact with the world outside the homestead, where a number of these nurse-girls (Dholuo *jopidi*) meet regularly in informal play groups. By the time children can run about on their own they too form play groups, including both girls and boys from several homesteads. Gradually the interests of the two sexes diverge, the boys going off with

[1] The Luo homestead in all phases of its life-cycle would sustain the definition of a corporate group in Weber's sense. See *Theory of Political and Economic Organization*, p. 135.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

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121 later studies can be based. I have also worked on the assumption that a study of one's immediate background is an essential preliminary to wider investigation.

124 In conducting these studies of social life I have followed the questioning method, and having obtained information from individuals I later discussed that information with a number of other people. I was therefore able to check mistakes arising from purely individual opinion. Altogether nineteen women and eight men were interviewed with regard to family conditions and problems of inter-family relations. I also supplemented by personal observation the information given me on the treatment and feeding of babies. When watching children at play I was sometimes obliged to keep out of view, as children normally feel shy when under the direct observation of an adult. The only group whose play I observed closely was composed of a child-nurse of about ten, my brother's son of eight months (born on August 26th, 1946), my sister's daughter of six, a son of four, and another elder son of about nine. At times I actually watched them playing, but on other occasions I had to visit their play-haunts and examine the articles they had left behind. I noticed that the locations varied very little. This small group gave me a good opportunity to study the play preferences of the two sexes.

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123 With the more mature girls I was able to engage in 124 free discussion, making use of the traditional opportunities for conversation at marriage ceremonies. In short, my field observations were distributed throughout a range of life from infancy to maturity.

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September 1949

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856 constant help from the mother, the nurse, and other members of the family, the child is able to sit up without support.

[854] The practice of straddling the child on the hip begins during the sixth month. From this period there is a rapid development of its manipulative skill. Between the seventh and eighth months the child begins to crawl about on the floor, and will crawl away from wherever it is seated. As the child's manipulative skill develops he begins to pick up things that attract the eyes, often knocking them down repeatedly. The mouth is also used in testing the properties of articles. There is thus some difficulty in preventing the child from putting dirty things into its mouth.

If a child is not watched it may eat a large quantity of soil, a practice facilitated by its surroundings, the floor and ground in front of the house being bare earth. It is [164] therefore not surprising that children of this age frequently suffer from serious stomach trouble. Even before [854] the children begin to sit up, the nurses, who themselves [857] are only between six and eleven years old, do not effectively prevent them from touching dirty things, because they are sometimes tempted to run away to play, leaving the babies to look after themselves.

856 A child is persuaded to walk by holding its hands and 868 helping it along. In this process the older person repeats the words 'Taa, taa,' in a monotone. The practice is continued daily until the child is able to walk; but as soon as it can support itself on its feet the mother or nurse may move away a short distance and try to induce it to come nearer. Every member of the family takes a great interest in all this and loses no opportunity to help the child.

According to my observations, cooing and the earliest symptoms of speech begin to come into evidence in the

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II

CHILDHOOD

Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

[855 857] The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 868 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name.

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot.

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life.

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together.

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857 593 As the child grows older it begins to play by itself. Parents also amuse their children, but because they are generally away from the village, the children must either play with the nurses or by themselves. Before the child has learnt to talk, the play between it and the nurse is that of inducement to laughter or fright. Older children between two and five merely copy what the nurses do. These nurses, who are sometimes the children's own sisters, act as their instructors and demonstrators in the different play activities.

857 524 *Play activities.* Dolls like those existing in European society are unknown among Luo children. The children play with things they pick up, like stones, leaves—dry or green—and many other natural articles. In short, they adapt their environment to their own needs. They mostly prefer bright objects, and after the end of the day's play they return home with a load of playthings. These they keep in some corner, ready for the next day. Thus the younger children go on day after day bringing in new toys and throwing away the old. As we shall see later, the older children, or nurses, make their own dolls.

857 526 Once the children can walk and understand other children's language, the older ones may hide, calling for the younger ones to try to find them—a game resembling 'hide and seek'. Some parents maintain that a child 867 of five is able to tell lies merely becuase he or she has had contact with older children already able to tell lies. But the habit of giving wrong interpretations to what they perceive is very common. Thus Otieno, having once suffered from a thorn-prick, mistook any hard object underfoot for a thorn. He was also fond of giving false alarms. I was frequently interrupted by the announcement of his father's return, and these announcements were often untrue.

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There is no rigid separation of the sexes in these play groups, although there is a clear distinction between the tendencies of the two sexes in any single gathering. The activities are largely imitative of real activities in adult life, falling into definite types, which develop progressively. 857

Female children imitate the activities of the women. They also imitate funeral ceremonies in which both men and women take part. A child isolated from its own sex may be found doing things customary to the other sex, with whom it spends its play hours. Male children build houses; dig gardens; mould bulls, motor cars, trains and carts. Female children concentrate on those activities leading to the preparation of food and care of babies. 857 868

Though there is no strictly-defined list into which all these activities may be fitted, it remains for future investigators in the field of psychology to discover the degree of invention and diffusion of children's play activities. At the moment we must be content with mentioning their main features.

In every instance the activities pass from simpler to more complex forms as the mind behind them develops. Certain of these games in their more advanced forms are carried out in hidden places because the children begin to take actual things, like food, for playthings, some being taken during the mother's absence. Hence, we find that the older children are afraid of playing where they would be observed by their parents.

On being introduced to the play activities, a girl-child might begin with the grinding of the soil, which is done over a small area of cleared ground. Later, the grinding is done on a flattish stone, a leaf being placed below to receive the supposed flour. This is an imitation of the mothers or sisters when they are grinding corn,

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857 868 and is an imitation taking place even among children who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief. [861] [858]

Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the [524]

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independent progress of the youngsters towards the activities of adult life. At times they are so proud of their successes that they even show their prepared food to their parents; and parents are generally pleased to taste what their children have prepared, even though the articles may not be well cooked. 857 868

Female children may also imitate activities involving the care of babies. They make a mould of a baby and a nurse-child, using leaves and some rags for bedding and clothes. The mould-child may be given to one of the younger children, who carries it and so learns how to look after babies. Sometimes maize cobs are used instead of the moulded clay. Children may also imitate the death of a child, and all the children in the group join in the mourning. [524]

Female children are very fond of singing the songs they hear older children sing at festivals. At this age they have a greater inclination to sing than male children, and their songs sometimes help them to quiet crying babies. [533]

As a pastime the nurses engage in 'Kora', a game played with small smooth bits of stone or rounded pieces of broken pottery. This game has a series of rules which every player must observe. Younger children imitate the older ones but are not very successful because their minds and muscles are as yet immature, and they lack the steadiness and precision required for the game. It is interesting to watch, and girls as old as even twelve years take an active part in it. The stones are collected in the palm, then thrown into the air while the back of the hand is turned to receive them, the object of the game being that more than one of the stones thrown into the air must come to rest on the back of the hand. Then by a series of trials one stone is thrown into the air while another on the ground is picked up in time to receive also the stone which has been thrown up. This is 857 524

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857 524 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected, when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

857 865 During the period between two and six years, the children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the [864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped. [868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

855 863 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years upwards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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III

THE SCHOOL AGE

From Six to Eleven Years

857 868 The school-going age for the Luo girl is characterised by its transitional nature. It is chiefly a time of useful activity, for it is this age to which society has assigned the duty of nursing, and young girls begin and end their nursing service during this period. The mother now transforms the free day of play activity into real work and mobilizes the potential abilities of the young girl for her traditional education. The benefit reaped by the family is a secondary result, because the training given at this stage is part of a long process of education for married life. So far as the girl is concerned, the interest shown in nursing is more intense in the earlier phase of this age—at about eight to nine years.

With the increasing maturity of her mental life, the young girl begins to take an interest in the household duties of older girls, and thus associates nursing with girls of a younger age. We therefore find among the older girls of the age-group a section which despises nursing. The general domestic work of the age includes collecting firewood, fetching water in small containers, and keeping the fire burning while food cooks during the absence of the mother. Firewood is collected from [313] round the village or sometimes further afield in company with older girls. In the groups the older girls may direct the younger ones where to find good firewood, but most of the collecting is done individually by the [312] girl herself. The quantity carried increases as the child grows older, and the container in which water is carried also varies similarly. When her mother is away, the

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to herself as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-
[594] going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

●857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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NURSE: AYOMA

857 consider nursing beneath their dignity, and their revolt
856 is encouraged by increasing association with members of the opposite sex who would disdain talking to a child-nurse.

855 *Feeding.* The girls of this age group eat normal adult
264 food, at the same time as adults, but the younger members of the group occasionally have a little food kept for them by their mothers. The consideration shown them as children depends on whether there are others younger

1 [i.e. From six to eleven years old - Analyst.]

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

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Relationship with older children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles. [857]

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

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going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age[1] are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

The play groups. The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[1] [i.e. From six to eleven years old.—ANALYST]

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A Selection of Patterns Woven

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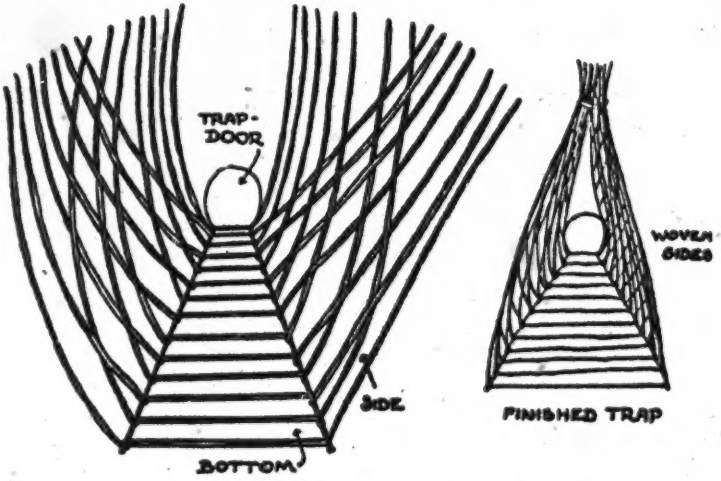
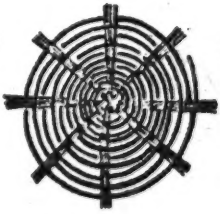
[222]



(*a*) A Grasshopper trap

[301]

(*b*) A Wrist Band



(*c*) Pattern for the bottom of a basket

857 both at and after birth, the younger being instructed and guided by the older ones. Boys of about five are usually found in the play groups of the school-going age, but as they grow older they are drawn away to male play groups.

The groups themselves vary in size from two members upwards, though occasionally a girl of this age may

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be found playing alone. Weaving becomes more popular between these ages, and before the advent of thread this was done by means of grass stalks which were woven into several patterns.

These patterns are still woven sometimes at home and sometimes at play, but although they have not totally disappeared they are no longer much in evidence. Male children are sometimes taught to weave patterns by the girls. At present odd threads gathered from old socks or rags are used while stalks of grass serve as needles.

Age-group friendship. The age-group friendship which characterizes so much of a girl's pre-marital life first makes its appearance during the school-going age. But at this time it is friendship in the simplest sense and is more like a coming-together brought about by common interests. The main feature of the relationship is visiting, combined with moderate entertainment. After taking food the young guests join in the play activities of the friends they visit. The parents also take an interest and put up with the financial burden involved. But the friendship established is essentially external in that it is established between neighbouring girls of two lineages.* Girls visit their friends in groups, and the relationship grows weaker as the girls grow up. It appeared to me that this friendship is strongest just before the advent of their association with males on a sex basis.

As their interest in boys increases, the young girls' natural desire for friendship is fulfilled. Friendships with other girls are very much weakened by marriage and

*Lineages. The term lineages refers to enlarged families with one common ancestor or founder. These may live side by side with the other related lineages. With the common ancestor and the branching family groups, the lineage structure appears as a 'Root System'. As a result of fights between the various lineages in the past, some have been widely dispersed and may be found living among other groups not related to them. Frequent migrations have also tended to complicate the structure.

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857 572 [613] sometimes break up at the slightest provocation or misunderstanding. The lineal character of the friendship is facilitated by the social groupings of the people into lineages living side by side. This character is also assumed by the play groups which begin from the immediate family circle and widen to include other members of the lineage to which the children belong. Although there also exists a considerable degree of friendship among male children it does not seem to be organized as closely as that among the girls. Though I saw frequent examples of individual boyhood friendship I did not come across such a highly-developed arrangement.

The Cultural Pattern

857 858 Girls are born to a ready-made pattern of life and they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. The school-age period is the one in which girls are especially trained to fit into the culture to which [177] they have been born. A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even where civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. This conservatism is maintained through all the early training of the children and domestic activities are still carried on in almost the same traditional way.

In contrast, we find that male children between these ages have a greater degree of freedom. I noticed a larger variety of playthings among boys than among girls of the same school-going age. Day after day the girls repeated imitations of the maternal activities. It was also much more difficult to discover where a group of boys had been playing than to find the favourite playgrounds of the female children. This was perhaps due to the difference in their freedom of movement. The occupations of the girls keep them largely at home while the boys range over a much greater area.

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The sexual life of girls at school-going age. While the sexual interest shown by girls of school-going age is not as pronounced as in the succeeding age group, there is a period of transition among the older members who sometimes begin to take great interest in romantic aspirations. The older girls when talking to their men friends often tolerate the presence of younger girls, and although they are not always accompanied by them their attitude towards younger girls is not hostile as in the case of older boys and their juniors. Hence it is common to find among adolescent girls a number of the school-going age. Girls nearing adolescence usually have a great desire to see the breasts come. These are therefore constantly touched and stimulated.

The horizon of sexual relationship — six to eleven. Although this age group marks the period of separation for the sexes so far as play goes, it is also a time when the older members of the groups of both sexes begin to take a specific interest in one another. The interest probably begins when the children in their imaginative play imitate the marital relationship which exists between adults. This starts with the imitation of a married couple, then proceeds to the imitation of the act of bearing a child. Both sexes take part in this.

But apart from these imitative games, a great curiosity is displayed in the examination of external reproductive organs. Among certain children we find that something approaching a crude sexual intercourse takes place when older members of the family are absent. During the period when the crops are ripening these older children, sometimes accompanied by younger ones who act as sentries, disappear into the cornfields to carry out this practice.

When this stage of development is made known by the younger children, who perhaps from sheer interest

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the older girls among whom the younger girls sleep. Male visitors from the homes of women in adjoining homesteads also provide an opportunity for learning the coquetry and customs of the more mature girls. Although girls of school-going age are inexperienced, they are not despised on these occasions, though the necessity of keeping order in the room forces the older girls to keep an eye on the younger girls to discourage unnecessary laughter.

The family and the school. Modern school education acts as a break in the continuity of education for domestic purposes. The school demands regular attendance, whereas the mother requires the labour of her daughter. For the young girl, the school provides a relief from hard and tedious work for the family, and from her mother's supervision. It also provides an unrestricted field of association with other girls, whereas at home she would rarely have time to see her girl friends. Thus the school gives a very different environment. There is a general tendency to become lazy among schoolgirls passing into adolescence.

The school forces parents to sacrifice themselves; hence there is no great keenness among mothers with regard to their daughters' education. The majority of them ignore it or are actively against it. In most quarters the desired knowledge for girls is limited to reading and writing. Beyond this, women have not been able to appreciate education for girls, and they often delay their daughters' entrance into schools. Thus in the lower Primary stages most of the girls are slightly older than the boys.

Education for girls is also distrusted because at present mothers feel that after it their daughters would not fit into the pattern of life into which they were born. There is also a feeling that the traditional education at home would suffer.

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IV

ADOLESCENCE

857 593 In the interim period between childhood and adolescence there comes a time when a girl's ability to deal with domestic work is more advanced than her physical and mental development. It is during this period that the mother, still occupying a central position as adviser and supervisor of the girl's work, finds difficulty in the management of her daughter. Since the domestic work of her household is heavy, the mother uses all kinds of pressure to induce her daughter to do as much as she can.

856 [572] The girl's life at this time is characterized by her increased interest in boys and desire to come into contact with them. The friendships established during childhood with other young girls are weakened by the development of a new object of friendship in the opposite sex. During this time the breasts of most girls develop noticeably. The girls show great interest in this development and employ various means to stimulate it. An instance of this interest can sometimes be seen among those who stuff clothes in their bosoms to exaggerate the size.

On the whole, the period differs only in the fact that the girls definitely aspire to be grown-ups and are also more interested in friendship with boys.

Characteristics of Adolescence

883 This new period is the time when the mother leaves her daughter to bring her knowledge of domestic work to perfection by her own efforts. As compared with the school-going age, there is little or no interference from

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the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simbi*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbi* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*awa*) and father's sister (*awya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

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868 who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

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The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have
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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

• 858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

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The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

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In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

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Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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ignorant of the previous night's events, notified the police. Thus the story was out.

The Joluo were concerned that the youth should have been arrested and charged with murder. He was acquitted after trial on the grounds of self-defense, but the opinion remained that he should have had praise and not have suffered the indignity of being held in custody which, to the unsophisticated, was punishment and prison.

The Joluo discipline wives and children, when it is thought necessary, by beating and kicking. One or two cases each year come to the courts as a result of excessive force resulting in the death of a victim of discipline. Out of 46 cases between 1949 and 1954, 10 were of this type.

The largest number of murder cases today arises from drunken quarrels during beer parties. Native beer does not have a high alcoholic content, but a beer-drink often begins at mid-morning and continues well into the night and, on special occasions, until the next day. The quantity consumed therefore frequently produces an acute state of drunkenness. Of the 46 cases, no fewer than 12 can be classified as the result of excessive beer drinking. These cases, without exception, were finally treated by the courts as manslaughter.

Family quarrels, often over bride-wealth payments, account for a few cases every year. A typical case of this type is as follows.

Case No. 3.

In 1949, the Accused caught his wife in the act of adultery with an acquaintance. The wife returned to her father's village, as is the custom in such cases, and made several efforts to elope with her lover. On each occasion, her brothers forcefully restrained her and threatened her lover with a severe beating or death, should he attempt to elope with their sister. After several weeks of argument and numerous meetings of the eld-

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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

•861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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857 and is an imitation taking place even among children
868 who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have
[861 been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If
858] this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief.

[524] Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to her-
[594] self as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

• 861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing*. Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] [252] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

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Relationship with older children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying [857] is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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this place they make regular visits to it. Thus the place used by the children for this purpose appears very insanitary. Furthermore, children are in this way exposed to the danger of attack from worms of various kinds. 863

Weaning

There are very few cases where children are not weaned against their will. The maximum period of suckling is determined by the date of the following pregnancy. Thus if the mother is not again pregnant a child is suckled for as long as it wishes. It is considered that once a mother is expecting another child the milk in her breasts naturally belongs to the coming baby and would be poisonous to the older child. It is also believed that children who are suckled when their mothers are pregnant waste away and eventually die if the feeding is not stopped. 862

Methods of weaning. Methods of weaning do not vary much between different mothers. First, the child may be persuaded that the milk is 'pus', and as such should not be taken. Certain children are deliberately disgusted and are weaned immediately in this way.

The second method involves smearing with the bitter aloe sap, or a substance which irritates the mouth, like pepper. Much pain is inflicted on children weaned in this manner, and no doubt psychological studies of these children would bring to light the tremendous effects created by different methods of weaning. [824]

Another method used is that of discouragement through fright. A mother may play on the sensory nerves of the child's face at night by touching it with grass, telling the nursing child that the grass is a caterpillar. As children are afraid of caterpillars this greatly upsets them, and the mother succeeds in severing the last physiological connection between herself and her [825]

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862 child. Having in the beginning created the child's liking for her breasts she must resort to crude methods to shift the child's interest to other sources. Hence weaning is not only a break in the time-honoured connection between mother and child, but also a significant psychological factor in the child's development. A closer analytical study of children would help to show how far the fears established during infancy influence their later emotional life.

Parent-child Relationship

855 593 The relationship between parents and children from the age of two to six is principally determined by two factors: discipline and the provision of food. Parents feel that children of both sexes tend to prefer their mother partly because of her frequent contact with them, and even more because their food in its ready form is under her control.

In feeding children a mother's sympathies often prevent her from restricting their food, but the reverse situation may exist and sometimes we find a father who loves his child so much that he will give it all the food it desires. If the father is more severe than the mother in this respect the child naturally prefers the mother, and, similarly, a child will prefer a father who feeds it to a mother who restricts its food.

855 593 603 A further complication arises when the grandparents come into the matter. So delicately balanced is this relationship depending on food and discipline that the slightest difference is sufficient to draw the child towards those who favour it. This means that if the grandparents offer it better conditions, the child will stay with them most of the time. Hence, when I was once talking to a couple I know, I was informed that their daughter would not remain with them but preferred her grand-

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857 524 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected, when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

857 865 During the period between two and six years, the children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the [864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped. [868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

855 863 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years upwards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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The sexual life of girls at school-going age. While the sexual interest shown by girls of school-going age is not as pronounced as in the succeeding age group, there is a period of transition among the older members who sometimes begin to take great interest in romantic aspirations. The older girls when talking to their men friends often tolerate the presence of younger girls, and although they are not always accompanied by them their attitude towards younger girls is not hostile as in the case of older boys and their juniors. Hence it is common to find among adolescent girls a number of the school-going age. Girls nearing adolescence usually have a great desire to see the breasts come. These are therefore constantly touched and stimulated.

The horizon of sexual relationship — six to eleven. Although this age group marks the period of separation for the sexes so far as play goes, it is also a time when the older members of the groups of both sexes begin to take a specific interest in one another. The interest probably begins when the children in their imaginative play imitate the marital relationship which exists between adults. This starts with the imitation of a married couple, then proceeds to the imitation of the act of bearing a child. Both sexes take part in this.

But apart from these imitative games, a great curiosity is displayed in the examination of external reproductive organs. Among certain children we find that something approaching a crude sexual intercourse takes place when older members of the family are absent. During the period when the crops are ripening these older children, sometimes accompanied by younger ones who act as sentries, disappear into the cornfields to carry out this practice.

When this stage of development is made known by the younger children, who perhaps from sheer interest

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864 report to the parents what they have seen, the reaction of the grown-ups is to reproach the children and restrict them from playing with members of the opposite sex. But it is only occasionally that such cases are reported. As a rule, children have such experiences when they are well out of reach. On the whole, the practice is not taken very seriously.

864 867 The child first experiences the restrictions of exogamy when she is stopped from having sexual interest in any other child in her family. For instance, she is reproached when found playing with her cousins. Her growing interest in sex then extends itself to others outside the family. Through the orders of her adult relatives the child is forced to agree to have no sexual relationship with those related to her. These restrictions imposed on the younger generation follow the lineal structure, and it is the duty of the adult members of the community to tell the child the social code regarding sexual relationships. Up to the age of eleven the child accepts restrictions as a matter of course, her ideas of kinship being immature.

867 The child's knowledge of the boundaries of exogamy is uncertain till adolescence, when it takes its final form. Before that, its knowledge is arrived at by two processes: first, the child hears of some boys from a particular lineage and gets in touch with them; next the adult members of the community become aware of the existing relationship and set about to discourage it. The process is repeated elsewhere with the same result, a full knowledge of the boundaries of exogamy coming only with maturity. That it happens by this method of trial and error is clear from instances of marriage proposals being turned down between men and women who are related.

864 A great deal of knowledge about sex is acquired from

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the older girls among whom the younger girls sleep. Male visitors from the homes of women in adjoining homesteads also provide an opportunity for learning the coquetry and customs of the more mature girls. Although girls of school-going age are inexperienced, they are not despised on these occasions, though the necessity of keeping order in the room forces the older girls to keep an eye on the younger girls to discourage unnecessary laughter.

The family and the school. Modern school education acts as a break in the continuity of education for domestic purposes. The school demands regular attendance, whereas the mother requires the labour of her daughter. *For the young girl, the school provides a relief from* hard and tedious work for the family, and from her mother's supervision. It also provides an unrestricted field of association with other girls, whereas at home she would rarely have time to see her girl friends. Thus the school gives a very different environment. There is a general tendency to become lazy among schoolgirls passing into adolescence.

The school forces parents to sacrifice themselves; hence there is no great keenness among mothers with regard to their daughters' education. The majority of them ignore it or are actively against it. In most quarters the desired knowledge for girls is limited to reading and writing. Beyond this, women have not been able to appreciate education for girls, and they often delay their daughters' entrance into schools. Thus in the lower Primary stages most of the girls are slightly older than the boys.

Education for girls is also distrusted because at present mothers feel that after it their daughters would not fit into the pattern of life into which they were born. There is also a feeling that the traditional education at home would suffer.

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883 On the whole, girls dislike those men whose chief object
●864 is sexual satisfaction. Their caution is often the result of
881 talks on the nature of sexual relationship which girls hold in their communal sleeping places, and with older women.

When newly-married women return to their maternal homes, they freely discuss among themselves—especially during sleeping hours—their experiences with their husbands. This affords an opportunity for the unmarried adolescent girl to obtain first-hand information on the nature of relationships in married life.

883 *Opportunities for contact.* The normal first meeting between girls and those with whom they may have sexual relations, takes place by conscious or deliberate arrangements made by the parties concerned, at marriage ceremonies or in public places like market centres or towns. They first make each other's acquaintance somewhere between the girl's and the man's house, particularly when the two live in close proximity. These are distinguished from any other meetings in that they are arranged between the male friends and the older adolescent girls or those on the threshold of adolescence.

The meetings which take place during marriage ceremonies are observed with great interest by girls of the nursing age, who watch the older girls' behaviour towards their men friends with keen curiosity. In many instances introductions are managed through the brothers of the girls. Introductions resulting in marriage
584 may also come about through a girl first acquainting
883 herself with sisters who introduce their brother to her. Brothers of adolescent girls would, like all members of the family, disapprove of a prolonged friendship without any sign of betrothal and would do all they could to persuade the girl to look for another friend.

881 *Sex education of adolescent girls.* Girls in the old tradi-
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865 children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the
[864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped.
[868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

855 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years up-
863 wards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

The play groups. The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[i.e. From six to eleven years old.—
ANALYST]

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6. Liver and remaining ribs and offal: for all the women of the homestead.
7. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends.
8. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother.
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by *bulo*, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Luo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the men who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps.

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indicated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of *riso*.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceedingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or for the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage segments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the representatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

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The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name.

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot.

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life.

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together.

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857 As the child grows older it begins to play by itself.
593 Parents also amuse their children, but because they are generally away from the village, the children must either play with the nurses or by themselves. Before the child has learnt to talk, the play between it and the nurse is that of inducement to laughter or fright. Older children between two and five merely copy what the nurses do. These nurses, who are sometimes the children's own sisters, act as their instructors and demonstrators in the different play activities.

857 *Play activities.* Dolls like those existing in European
524 society are unknown among Luo children. The children play with things they pick up, like stones, leaves—dry or green—and many other natural articles. In short, they adapt their environment to their own needs. They mostly prefer bright objects, and after the end of the day's play they return home with a load of playthings. These they keep in some corner, ready for the next day. Thus the younger children go on day after day bringing in new toys and throwing away the old. As we shall see later, the older children, or nurses, make their own dolls.

857 Once the children can walk and understand other
521 children's language, the older ones may hide, calling for the younger ones to try to find them—a game resembling 'hide and seek'. Some parents maintain that a child
867 of five is able to tell lies merely becuase he or she has had contact with older children already able to tell lies. But the habit of giving wrong interpretations to what they perceive is very common. Thus Otieno, having once suffered from a thorn-prick, mistook any hard object underfoot for a thorn. He was also fond of giving false alarms. I was frequently interrupted by the announcement of his father's return, and these announcements were often untrue.

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864 report to the parents what they have seen, the reaction of the grown-ups is to reproach the children and restrict them from playing with members of the opposite sex. But it is only occasionally that such cases are reported. As a rule, children have such experiences when they are well out of reach. On the whole, the practice is not taken very seriously.

864 867 The child first experiences the restrictions of exogamy when she is stopped from having sexual interest in any other child in her family. For instance, she is reproached when found playing with her cousins. Her growing interest in sex then extends itself to others outside the family. Through the orders of her adult relatives the child is forced to agree to have no sexual relationship with those related to her. These restrictions imposed on the younger generation follow the lineal structure, and it is the duty of the adult members of the community to tell the child the social code regarding sexual relationships. Up to the age of eleven the child accepts restrictions as a matter of course, her ideas of kinship being immature.

867 The child's knowledge of the boundaries of exogamy is uncertain till adolescence, when it takes its final form. Before that, its knowledge is arrived at by two processes: first, the child hears of some boys from a particular lineage and gets in touch with them; next the adult members of the community become aware of the existing relationship and set about to discourage it. The process is repeated elsewhere with the same result, a full knowledge of the boundaries of exogamy coming only with maturity. That it happens by this method of trial and error is clear from instances of marriage proposals being turned down between men and women who are related.

864 A great deal of knowledge about sex is acquired from

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856 constant help from the mother, the nurse, and other members of the family, the child is able to sit up without support.

[854] The practice of straddling the child on the hip begins during the sixth month. From this period there is a rapid development of its manipulative skill. Between the seventh and eighth months the child begins to crawl about on the floor, and will crawl away from wherever it is seated. As the child's manipulative skill develops he begins to pick up things that attract the eyes, often knocking them down repeatedly. The mouth is also used in testing the properties of articles. There is thus some difficulty in preventing the child from putting dirty things into its mouth.

If a child is not watched it may eat a large quantity of soil, a practice facilitated by its surroundings, the floor and ground in front of the house being bare earth. It is [164] therefore not surprising that children of this age frequently suffer from serious stomach trouble. Even before [854] the children begin to sit up, the nurses, who themselves [857] are only between six and eleven years old, do not effectively prevent them from touching dirty things, because they are sometimes tempted to run away to play, leaving the babies to look after themselves.

856 A child is persuaded to walk by holding its hands and ● 868 helping it along. In this process the older person repeats the words 'Taa, taa,' in a monotone. The practice is continued daily until the child is able to walk; but as soon as it can support itself on its feet the mother or nurse may move away a short distance and try to induce it to come nearer. Every member of the family takes a great interest in all this and loses no opportunity to help the child.

According to my observations, cooing and the earliest symptoms of speech begin to come into evidence in the

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eighth month. When Ageng'o was eight months old he repeated the same performance every time he saw me come in. First he clapped his hands, uttering a sound like 'Aaa, Aaa'; then he clasped them together, pressing them repeatedly against his lips while he made the sound 'Aa baa ba'. This pleased his mother, who was so excited that she spoke to the child in adult language. In addition, Ageng'o could seize two maize cobs, bring them together in front of him, lie on his stomach and push them round in a circle.

There was also a conspicuous development of pleasure when he began playing. There can be no doubt that he derived great enjoyment from pushing the maize cobs along, because that kind of play was usually accompanied by a great deal of noise not intended to attract the attention of anyone. Having scooped the ground with a stick, he would throw it away and, with his fingers spread out, sweep the ground before him. All this indicated the multiple experiences of a developing mind which aimed at satisfying its own curiosity by exploring into the nature of things. A child of this age has no fear of fire until it is scorched by a glowing ember.

At the time when the child begins to say '*Baa, baa, baa*', the mother trains it to imitate sounds of names like '*ba-ba* (*babu, mama, mamu*)'. But the use of adult language in talking to the baby begins as early as the first month. Thus when taking up a baby of one or two months, a mother may say, '*Bi mama*' (come my mother) or '*Bi wuora*' (come my father), according to whom the child was named after. This of course means nothing to the child at such an early stage. Following '*ba-ba*' and '*ma-ma*', it is taught the names of things and people in the family. Gradually a child gets to know these, as well as the words for a few things including food. Next it is taught how to ask for things. On the whole, children do

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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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II

CHILDHOOD

Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

[855 857] The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 868 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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There is no rigid separation of the sexes in these play groups, although there is a clear distinction between the tendencies of the two sexes in any single gathering. The activities are largely imitative of real activities in adult life, falling into definite types, which develop progressively. 857

Female children imitate the activities of the women. They also imitate funeral ceremonies in which both men and women take part. A child isolated from its own sex may be found doing things customary to the other sex, with whom it spends its play hours. Male children build houses; dig gardens; mould bulls, motor cars, trains and carts. Female children concentrate on those activities leading to the preparation of food and care of babies. 857 868

Though there is no strictly-defined list into which all these activities may be fitted, it remains for future investigators in the field of psychology to discover the degree of invention and diffusion of children's play activities. At the moment we must be content with mentioning their main features.

In every instance the activities pass from simpler to more complex forms as the mind behind them develops. Certain of these games in their more advanced forms are carried out in hidden places because the children begin to take actual things, like food, for playthings, some being taken during the mother's absence. Hence, we find that the older children are afraid of playing where they would be observed by their parents.

On being introduced to the play activities, a girl-child might begin with the grinding of the soil, which is done over a small area of cleared ground. Later, the grinding is done on a flattish stone, a leaf being placed below to receive the supposed flour. This is an imitation of the mothers or sisters when they are grinding corn,

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and is an imitation taking place even among children who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief.

Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

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independent progress of the youngsters towards the activities of adult life. At times they are so proud of their successes that they even show their prepared food to their parents; and parents are generally pleased to taste what their children have prepared, even though the articles may not be well cooked.

Female children may also imitate activities involving the care of babies. They make a mould of a baby and a nurse-child, using leaves and some rags for bedding and clothes. The mould-child may be given to one of the younger children, who carries it and so learns how to look after babies. Sometimes maize cobs are used instead of the moulded clay. Children may also imitate the death of a child, and all the children in the group join in the mourning.

Female children are very fond of singing the songs they hear older children sing at festivals. At this age they have a greater inclination to sing than male children, and their songs sometimes help them to quiet crying babies.

As a pastime the nurses engage in 'Kora', a game played with small smooth bits of stone or rounded pieces of broken pottery. This game has a series of rules which every player must observe. Younger children imitate the older ones but are not very successful because their minds and muscles are as yet immature, and they lack the steadiness and precision required for the game. It is interesting to watch, and girls as old as even twelve years take an active part in it. The stones are collected in the palm, then thrown into the air while the back of the hand is turned to receive them, the object of the game being that more than one of the stones thrown into the air must come to rest on the back of the hand. Then by a series of trials one stone is thrown into the air while another on the ground is picked up in time to receive also the stone which has been thrown up. This is

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857 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected,
524 when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

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865 children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the
[864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped.
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863 wards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

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III

THE SCHOOL AGE

From Six to Eleven Years

857 The school-going age for the Luo girl is characterised
868 by its transitional nature. It is chiefly a time of useful activity, for it is this age to which society has assigned the duty of nursing, and young girls begin and end their nursing service during this period. The mother now transforms the free day of play activity into real work and mobilizes the potential abilities of the young girl for her traditional education. The benefit reaped by the family is a secondary result, because the training given at this stage is part of a long process of education for married life. So far as the girl is concerned, the interest shown in nursing is more intense in the earlier phase of this age—at about eight to nine years.

With the increasing maturity of her mental life, the young girl begins to take an interest in the household duties of older girls, and thus associates nursing with girls of a younger age. We therefore find among the older girls of the age-group a section which despises nursing. The general domestic work of the age includes collecting firewood, fetching water in small containers, and keeping the fire burning while food cooks during the absence of the mother. Firewood is collected from [313] round the village or sometimes further afield in company with older girls. In the groups the older girls may direct the younger ones where to find good firewood, but most of the collecting is done individually by the girl herself. The quantity carried increases as the child [312] grows older, and the container in which water is carried also varies similarly. When her mother is away, the

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young girl is responsible for seeing that the food already prepared is given to the male and younger female members of the family. Males are by tradition not allowed to dip their hands in the food pot, this being exclusively a woman's duty.

Apart from these strictly utilitarian activities, young girls slip off at intervals to play with their companions. It is during this period that male children part company with females and form their own separate play groups. Those who continue to play with girls to a later age are reproached. Although girls in the earlier phase of this age group do a considerable amount of domestic work, it is mainly of an introductory nature. Thus the mother cannot go away for a night and leave the young girl in charge. The errands given to her are simple and in accordance with her capabilities.

A later phase—ten to eleven. Again this is not an age of independence in domestic work. The young girl's duties are still limited by her inexperience. But now the mother concentrates on making the girl do more thoroughly the few duties she has learned. Two of the more important of these activities are fetching firewood and water. The mother begins to expect her daughter to make several journeys daily to the stream and at least one trip to fetch firewood without being told. If the girl forgets, she may be reproached or beaten. At this time a start is also made in the preparation of adult food.

Discipline

The disciplinary training of girls of school-going age is theoretically a paternal as well as a maternal responsibility; but in practice the mother plays a much more important role than the father. It is against her mother that future blame for inefficiency in normal domestic duties will be directed. The young daughter is strictly

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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to her-
[594] self as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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855 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd
264 times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates
312 to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a
[241] desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about
[252] eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to
252 prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes
861 very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

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Relationship with older children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

[857]

The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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593 855 with the male children. Maternal control over the young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 868 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES

The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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going age have little to do beyond playing in gangs. It is thus very common to come across gangs of male children engaged in social games. Because girls are occupied with their household duties it is much easier for boys of this age to go to school, causing less family disruption.

With her time for play diminishing, the young girl struggles between work given by her mother and the powerful attraction of the play groups from which her domestic duties tend to exclude her. Therefore if she is to discharge her traditional task of education, a mother must labour to keep her daughter from associating with these groups.

The girls' early training enables them to take on family duties at which boys of the same age would fail, for in their training for responsibility the girls of this age are far in advance of their male counterpart. But the limited time in which the training must be completed has the effect of overloading a girl's school-going period.

The play groups. The activities carried on by girls from six to eleven years old are a continuation of those of the previous age group from two to five, but the play becomes more mature and better organized. The older girl assumes the role of organizer of the play activities of her younger sisters. Thus the activities become more complex and besides those involving the imitation of grinding corn, other articles of food appear such as meat, fish, and leaves to represent vegetables.

During my observations I noticed a tendency amongst young girls at play to give female names to their dolls, which probably indicates that they identify the dolls with themselves. Thus, when I suggested male names for the dolls, they were rejected. In assuming the role of the doll's mother it again seems clear that the girl identifies herself with her own mother.

Girls may also be found playing the part of a mother

[1 i.e. From six to eleven years old.—ANALYST]

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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614 very large degree. Their family system remains strong and
178 largely unimpaired by the impact of Western civilization. The patriarch of the extended family unit, the *jokakwaro*, remains the local authority. Because a series of family groups together form a territorial unit, the sub-clan, the strength and solidity of the Luo family and lineage structure remain supreme. Obviously there have been changes. Basically, however, the changes are superficial.

562 The role of women in Luo society is a subordinate one. Indigenously they play no part in the major ceremonies or rituals and have never had political authority. They do not organize in age groups or societies as in other cultures, and remain primarily the property of their father and his lineage or, on marriage, the property of their husband and his clan.

595 Polygyny is still the ideal and goal of the majority of Luo men. A recent village survey showed that taking a sample of 744 homesteads, which varied between a simple monogamous family and the very large unit of the extended polygamous family, 55 per cent were monogamous units, of which 9 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives, thus making them socially polygamous units; 45 per cent were polygamous homesteads, of which 11 per cent had a leviratic wife or wives. Only 27 per cent of the total sample were found to be simple monogamous households, that is one in four of the family type associated with Western culture: a man, his wife and children. The remainder were either polygamous or had leviratic wives or were of the extended family type. Of this 27 per cent, moreover, it was the ideal of the vast majority to become polygamous later.

●871 Education among the Joluo has increased rapidly in recent years, and it was found in our sample that 63 per cent of the boys of school age were either at school or had been to school for more than one year. The figure was 30 per cent for the girls. Of the adult males, however, only 26 per cent had been to school, and of the married females, only 7 per cent. The standard attained, moreover, was not high. More than half the male

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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group had less than three years' education and over half of the female group had less than two years' education. This pattern, however, as already indicated, is changing rapidly. The majority of the Joluo are nominally Christians, although half of those who called themselves Christians were polygamists. Historically, of course, all of the schools in Luo were Mission schools and therefore those who go to school tend to call themselves "Christians," and most of them in fact have a basic understanding of the Christian religion.

One aspect of Joluo life which has changed considerably is the tremendous increase in spatial mobility. Prior to European ascendancy, the Joluo did not move among the tribal units because of the continual wars between them. Moreover, banishment from the tribe usually meant death at the hands of the neighboring Nandi, Kipsigis, or Masai. Lately, however, the village census established that most Luo males had been out of their district and well over half had been to Nairobi or beyond. At any given point in time nearly one half of the adult male population is engaged in employment away from the tribal area. Nearly one half of the Joluo adult women in the sample, 40 per cent, had been outside of their district, although only 11 per cent had been to Nairobi or beyond. It is the custom, therefore, for married men to migrate for labor and to leave their wives and families in their family locations to cultivate the gardens.[1]

HOMICIDE AMONG JOLUO

The Nilotic Joluo regard violence as an unnecessary loss of control, or at best a calculated necessary last resort to secure

[1] Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has written a study of the Luo in his "Luo Tribes and Clans" (*Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 7), and description of the marriage customs of the Luo in his "Marriage Customs of the Luo of Kenya" (*Africa*, Vol. xx, No. 1, 1950). Dr. A. Southall has published a memorandum entitled "Lineage Formation among the Luo," Memorandum xxvi, International African Institute, London, 1952. My own work among the Luo, *Law and Custom of the Joluo People of Kenya*, is forthcoming.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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9. This example is used time and time again by the Luo to prove the point that the tendency to commit suicide is inherited or caused by ancestors. 159 762 828

I was able to follow one particular series of events in connection with Luo marriage laws and customs over three years, which began with the elopement of a girl and her lover, and ended in suicide only a month before this chapter was written.

Marriage in Luo is traditionally arranged by the family of the boy and the family of the girl. Not infrequently, because of debt or close friendship, a father may promise his daughter in marriage to a friend or creditor while the girl is still very young. He obtains the animals to which he is entitled (*dho i keny'*) approximately one half of the final bride-wealth, at that time and the girl is known as *nyar kiseke*, "the wife of the beer reed," as this arrangement is usually contracted and finalized at a beer party. So it was in the case we are about to describe. 584 159 762

Suicide Case No. 10.

The girl in this case had been promised by her father when she was but three years of age to a friend of his own age group. The father, Opio[2], was a well educated Jaluo, and by the time his daughter, Akech, was ready to be taken in marriage, at the age of 18, he was employed as the headmaster of an intermediate school administered by a local mission. He had insisted that his daughter be educated to enhance the final payment (*dho miluhini*) of her bride-wealth. She was, for an African woman, a well educated girl. She had received a secondary school education where, in this particular segment of the Joluo tribe, fewer than 1 per cent of the girls have had as much education. [871]

Akech had been prepared for this event all her life. She knew her future husband and from a child, each time he visited

[2] All names are fictitious, but common Joluo names.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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the older girls among whom the younger girls sleep. Male visitors from the homes of women in adjoining homesteads also provide an opportunity for learning the coquetry and customs of the more mature girls. Although girls of school-going age are inexperienced, they are not despised on these occasions, though the necessity of keeping order in the room forces the older girls to keep an eye on the younger girls to discourage unnecessary laughter.

The family and the school. Modern school education acts as a break in the continuity of education for domestic purposes. The school demands regular attendance, whereas the mother requires the labour of her daughter. For the young girl, the school provides a relief from hard and tedious work for the family, and from her mother's supervision. It also provides an unrestricted field of association with other girls, whereas at home she would rarely have time to see her girl friends. Thus the school gives a very different environment. There is a general tendency to become lazy among schoolgirls passing into adolescence.

The school forces parents to sacrifice themselves; hence there is no great keenness among mothers with regard to their daughters' education. The majority of them ignore it or are actively against it. In most quarters the desired knowledge for girls is limited to reading and writing. Beyond this, women have not been able to appreciate education for girls, and they often delay their daughters' entrance into schools. Thus in the lower Primary stages most of the girls are slightly older than the boys.

Education for girls is also distrusted because at present mothers feel that after it their daughters would not fit into the pattern of life into which they were born. There is also a feeling that the traditional education at home would suffer.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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848 source of much social rejoicing to discover that a [836] married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a [585] bride was given a high prestige among the other women. [554] In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man [595] with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and [583] the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

848 Examples of such pregnancies are very common at 17·8 present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable 684 to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

●871 Progress in the education of adolescent girls is ham- 883 pered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suit- 562 ability to the environment of their women. To the 178 majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that men take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

[582] The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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584 881 on their own initiative, the object being to familiarise them with the relationship between husband and wife and with the prospective husband's goods and to establish a good understanding. At present there is no instruction on the care of babies, such knowledge being acquired after the woman has given birth.

•871 178 [881] The difference between the traditional training of brides and their modern education, even in its elementary stages, is tremendous. While traditional education is constantly weakening, modern education tends to develop along its own independent lines, omitting rather than assisting those elements it is intended to improve. It is likely that a stronger foundation could be built through modern education if the latter paid more heed to those features of community life which most urgently require improvement, but which in themselves provide a groundwork of practical knowledge.

The pace of progress in Luo society is bound to be slow while the sphere of women's life remains still radically conservative. It is arguable that modern education emphasizes literary theory too much, yet the traditional education which stresses practical work from early childhood, gives only a limited time for theory, even in maturity. However this may be, there is no doubt that [881] there now exists too much ignorance of the requisite knowledge about sex, for girls and young women can be met who plainly profess ignorance on certain fundamental features of the traditional training.

It therefore seems necessary that if education is to be of real use and interest to girls, some features of practical value to society should be included. This presupposes a thorough study of the subject concerned and a wise selection of those elements which would inspire the pupils to improve themselves and the society in which they move.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

over 5,000 people are spraying; here, with sixteen times the population, not 500 are. In the whole of Nyanza, with its 300,000 families, we have only sixty-seven Sahiwal bulls.

'On cattle, most of them won't budge. For instance, a man's prestige is somehow linked with that of his bulls, and they are most reluctant to castrate anything. Pioneers who try improved methods are unpopular and their neighbours are apt to gun for them; one man, for instance, had his pigs burnt alive. Still, we plug on. We have controlled rinderpest, if not East Coast fever—every year we give about 200,000 rinderpest inoculations. We export half a million hides and skins and are trying to improve their quality.'

It is perhaps worth noting that crops, whose improvement is considerable, are grown by women, but livestock is the exclusive concern of the men.

'In the years ahead,' this rather disillusioned vet concluded, 'we have only got to get across two basic principles: that a cow wants food all the year round, and that a calf needs milk. But it will take another twenty years before we make any real dent in Nyanza.'

On the other hand, some things unexpectedly catch on. A district officer who had seen fish-ponds in Malaya made half a dozen and stocked them with tilapia. Local people observed the ponds and, without any serious propaganda, dug others like them. Now there are over a thousand in Nyanza. They cost nothing, the Government provides free fingerlings and is full of plans for fish-ponds everywhere as the basis of a small industry.

V

Maseno is a dynamo of education. It was started by the Church Missionary Society. 'The general plan of campaign was based on the model of Iona,' wrote the Rev. John Willis, later Bishop of Uganda, who with Bishop Tucker chose the site in 1904. On 14th January, 1906, the first resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Savile, moved in—there was not much to move into, merely a grass hut under a tree that housed both the Saviles and a primitive dispensary. Nearly

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

fifty years later their son, Mr. Paddy Savile, after many years' service in Tanganyika, was to become Chief Agriculturalist to the Government and help to make a path for Progress through the land of his birth. Maseno mission was envisaged as 'a Christian base from which the Gospel might be carried far and wide into the surrounding country, with a school for the sons of Luo chiefs at which future leaders of the country would be trained in a Christian atmosphere.'

Four small boys called Onduso, Odindo, Owiti and Oroa were drafted from Kaimosi to form a nucleus and every 'chief' was asked to contribute two sons. 'Chief' was an arbitrary term, and the leading Luo objected strongly to the disappearance of their sons, probably regarding it as another form of slavery. In those days the Luo went stark naked, used beads or hoes for currency, and prized most highly the black ostrich feathers which warriors wore as head-dresses.

'In five years' time a hundred small boys from the school were sent out, two by two, for a fortnight at a time, to teach in Kisumu and in the villages. Then they came back to Maseno for a month for further teaching. In this way the original Iona idea began to be realized and Maseno became a base of Christian influence.' Bishop Willis developed this idea in a letter: 'It affords a shelter amid a sea of temptation; it makes Christian teaching applicable and Christian living a possibility.'*

So from four small and doubtless bewildered boys under a tree, Maseno developed until by the time of its golden jubilee it embraced primary, intermediate and secondary schools, a teacher-training college, a Jeanes school for adult education, a college for agricultural instructors and veterinary scouts. Even the girls had by this time been included, although their education for years lagged far behind that of their brothers.

At the time of my visit this part of Nyanza was a-buzz with rumour and diatribe, for the District Council in Kisumu had just been dissolved by Governor's decree. To balance the official line on this, I asked to meet a firebrand or two, and everyone agreed that Maseno was the place for a crackle of

*From *Fifty Years in Nyanza*, by Elizabeth Richards, M.A. Maseno Press. 1956.

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo FL11

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RAIN-MAKING

Little information is available on the processes of rain-making among the Luo. Roscoe states that it is an important ceremony and is performed by a *musoga* priests who lives among the people for this purpose.(1) According to Northcote, the rain-maker is greatly esteemed, and his homestead is usually found near a big tree which is considered sacred. When rain is wanted, he gathers some herbs, puts them in a large pot of water and boils them under the tree. He draws off a little into another pot and, sucking it up through a reed, squirts it into the air, after first blowing through the reed and making the pot bubble.(2) Evans-Pritchard mentions that the Luo rain-maker is called the *won koth* and that sometimes his functions are combined with those of the *jabilo*. Rain-makers among the neighbouring Bantu seem to have a higher reputation than Luo *jakoth* and are often consulted.

WITCHCRAFT

Sickness is thought to be due either to the malevolence of a ghost or, more frequently, to magic worked by some envious person who wishes to bring misfortune on his victim.(3) In either case the aid of a witchdoctor is sought and he, by means of various incantations, discovers the cause and the culprit. A sorcerer may cause death by spearing the shadow of his victim, by working spells, by hiding certain objects near the house which bring sickness to the inmates. If a ghost is causing trouble the witchdoctor prescribes offerings and sacrifices necessary for appeasement. He also discovers thieves, conducts ordeals and divines the causes of events. He makes counter-magic to defend people against the activities of sorcerers and is the general prescriber of all cures. Johnston mentions a 'deeper magic' *(jamkingo)* which, among the Gesi tribe is practised by the blacksmiths.(4)

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

After the birth of a boy the mother stays inside the house for four days; for a girl, she stays inside for three days. The father of the child does not eat or sleep in the hut until the child begins to cut its teeth.

Twins are considered lucky; their arrival is attended by many ceremonies and by propitiatory dances.

PUBERTY

Until marriage, girls help their mothers in the fields and assist them in cooking and carrying. Boys help in herding the animals. At puberty both boys and girls have their front lower teeth extracted and for four days they remain in their homes. After this period they go about visiting

(1) Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, p.292.
(2) Northcote, *J.R.A.I.*, 1907, p.64. (3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol.II, 1902.

881 304 friends and receiving presents of fowls. Girls, in addition, have their bodies scarified on the sides and back. From this time on until marriage the boys live in the bachelors' hut and the girls in the unmarried women's quarters. There is no mention by any of the authorities of an age-set system.

DEATH

764 The dead are buried close to their homes, a man on his right side with the hand under the head and a woman on her left side, also with the hand under the head.(1)

765 Friends and relatives gather shortly after death and, if the deceased was a man of importance, the whole of his clan is represented. Every man brings his companion bull and rides it. All dress up as if for war and the *buru* party takes place. If the dead man was not very important the mourning is limited to shaving the head and painting the body with white clay. Offerings are put on the grave of the deceased.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 846

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox, cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung, and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 845 [431]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 857 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 882

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883 On the whole, girls dislike those men whose chief object
864 is sexual satisfaction. Their caution is often the result of
881 talks on the nature of sexual relationship which girls hold in their communal sleeping places, and with older women.

When newly-married women return to their maternal homes, they freely discuss among themselves—especially during sleeping hours—their experiences with their husbands. This affords an opportunity for the unmarried adolescent girl to obtain first-hand information on the nature of relationships in married life.

883 *Opportunities for contact.* The normal first meeting between girls and those with whom they may have sexual relations, takes place by conscious or deliberate arrangements made by the parties concerned, at marriage ceremonies or in public places like market centres or towns. They first make each other's acquaintance somewhere between the girl's and the man's house, particularly when the two live in close proximity. These are distinguished from any other meetings in that they are arranged between the male friends and the older adolescent girls or those on the threshold of adolescence.

The meetings which take place during marriage ceremonies are observed with great interest by girls of the nursing age, who watch the older girls' behaviour towards their men friends with keen curiosity. In many instances introductions are managed through the
584 brothers of the girls. Introductions resulting in marriage
883 may also come about through a girl first acquainting herself with sisters who introduce their brother to her. Brothers of adolescent girls would, like all members of the family, disapprove of a prolonged friendship without any sign of betrothal and would do all they could to persuade the girl to look for another friend.

881 *Sex education of adolescent girls.* Girls in the old tradi-
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20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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group of girls or young women meet, there is comment on what has been said about so-and-so in certain quarters. Mixed with this unwelcome gossip may come other features of great encouragement. Thus there is much emotional strain in the years preceding marriage. It is a time when both parties to the engagement are uncertain about what may develop next.

Amidst all this, the woman still has the freedom of talking to any young men she meets, and the emotional uncertainty, which is much stronger with a girl, compels her at times not to put all her hopes in one man. Although her relationship with former friends becomes relatively weak, she does not lose interest in them until she eventually gets married. A great deal of persuasion is employed. Each time she meets her friends her sympathies are tested. In this difficult period the male and female relatives of the man should play a beneficial part. Some carefully arranged marriages are broken owing to lack of such support.

In general, a betrothed woman is an object of competition. Once engaged, the forces that work against her engagement are let loose. Reports true and false are continually passed on. In the girl's family, the mother continues to instruct her on how to address the relatives whom she will meet in her new home. If the marriage is to be cancelled, the dowry paid by the first candidate must be paid back before the cattle of the other are accepted. Should the girl run away with someone else, she will, on her return, be beaten, and it is only after a long interval that the offence will be forgotten.

Pre-nuptial and modern education. There is no special attempt to educate mature girls just before marriage. The nature of the training they receive is merely a continuation of that given to them in their adolescence. Thus they obtain information about their future status

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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584 on their own initiative, the object being to familiarise
881 them with the relationship between husband and wife and with the prospective husband's moods and to establish a good understanding. At this time there is no instruction on the care of babies, such knowledge being acquired after the woman has given birth.

871 The difference between the traditional training of
178 brides and their modern education, even in its elemen-
[881] tary stages, is tremendous. While traditional education is constantly weakening, modern education tends to develop along its own independent lines, omitting rather than assisting those elements it is intended to improve. It is likely that a stronger foundation could be built through modern education if the latter paid more heed to those features of community life which most urgently require improvement, but which in themselves provide a groundwork of practical knowledge.

The pace of progress in Luo society is bound to be slow while the sphere of women's life remains still radically conservative. It is arguable that modern education emphasizes literary theory too much, yet the traditional education which stresses practical work from early childhood, gives only a limited time for theory, even in maturity. However this may be, there is no doubt that
[881] there now exists too much ignorance of the requisite knowledge about sex, for girls and young women can be met who plainly profess ignorance on certain fundamental features of the traditional training.

It therefore seems necessary that if education is to be of real use and interest to girls, some features of practical value to society should be included. This presupposes a thorough study of the subject concerned and a wise selection of those elements which would inspire the pupils to improve themselves and the society in which they move.

3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.[1]

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann[2] and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,[3] early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simbo

Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love to girls (*ndo*) in the *simbo* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simbo*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *rim*, the final ceremony of marriage. I was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simbo* more often than once or twice a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

[1] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

[2] M. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo', *Anthropos*, 1908.

[3] K. C. Shaw, 'Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A. & U.N.H.S.*, 1950.

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Luo FL11

shave their heads, taking care to keep separate the hair which is cut off. This hair is hidden away in some place near, by preference in a rat-hole or in some hole where it is not likely to be found again. 846

Birth of twins. At the birth of twins the parents remain together in one house for ten days, and the midwife waits on them. When this time of seclusion ends, a small pot of blood is drawn from the neck of an ox cooked and given to the parents to eat. After the meal they are escorted to the river, washed, and their heads shaved. Their house is then swept and the floor smeared with cow-dung and friends come and dance in the village and drink beer. The mother takes the twins a round of visits which lasts several days, but she returns home each night to sleep. At each house she visits the people give her presents of grain. When the visits have been made the mother brews beer with the grain she has received in presents, and her friends again gather to dance and to drink the beer. 845 [431]

Initiation ceremonies. Children live in the same village with their parents and under their control. Until marriage they lead a free and happy life, with few wants and cares. The boys assist in herding cattle, and the girls help their mothers in their fields and also carry wood and water and assist in cooking. Their duties are light and there is no force beyond argument used to make them work. Children imitate their elders in seeking ornaments to wear and in smearing their bodies with oil and red or white paint. When they come to the age of puberty, their four front teeth in the lower jaw are extracted and they are initiated in the customs of the clan. For four days they remain in the house, after which they go about visiting their friends and receive presents of fowls. Girls go through the same ceremony as boys in having their teeth extracted, but, in addition, their bodies are scarified on the sides and back. Should there be excessive haemorrhage when teeth are extracted, the parents send to the man who has the bracelets of the deceased person after whom the boy is named and borrow them, and the youth wears them until the bleeding ceases. When the ceremony of extracting the teeth is over, the boys are sent to live in the boys' quarters 857 [302] 881 304 [431] [752] 882

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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882 with the youths of the village, and girls go to the young women's quarters, and both cease to live in the house of their parents. From this time until marriage these young people live in their communities and have much freedom, their morals not being considered, but each following the leading of natural impulse.

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920)1928 FL11 Luo FL11

945 smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and
852 each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks
and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance;
[831 scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs,
786] which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal
535] where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

852 *Mirnd Kumu* is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has
831 given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some con-
535 siderable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last
786 as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after child-birth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

584 Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well
● [882] *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simbu* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simbu* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. *The father will inquire from the jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simbu* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simbu* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

583 Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simbu*, and take her to her fiance's village *(muko)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

583 The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day
585 send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(muko)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

101 174 inhabited Northern Unyoro (where a fragment of them remains), and that the Bahima and their Bantu subjects drove this branch of the Nilotic people across the Albert Nile to the north-west (where they remain as the Aluru) and into Busoga (across the Victoria Nile) on the south-east. From Busoga they appear to have been driven on by the Bantu right through the Kavirondo country until they finally settled and throve round the shores of Kavirondo Bay, where they at present bear the name of Ja-luo or Nyifwa. It is a remarkable fact that the Ja-luo to this day are

[501]

497. A BOAT RACE OF NATIVE BOATMEN, WHITE NILE

called by their Bantu neighbours "Abanyoro," which would indicate that this theory of their origin is correct.

361 The Ja-luo reside in fixed villages of from ten to fifty huts, which are surrounded by hedges of aloe and euphorbia. Formerly they built mud [178] or stone walls round their settlements in imitation of the Bantu Kavirondo [312] to the north. But this is a custom which has now died out. The houses are similar in appearance to those of the Bantu tribes around them, as is the arrangement about the two fireplaces. Young unmarried girls usually 513 sleep together in one large hut under the care of an old woman. The 482 young men and boys of the village also sleep by themselves, generally

14: Johnston G-4, 5 (no date) 1904 FL11 Luo FL11

near the entrance to the village, so that they can watch over any attempt to steal cattle. The hut which is directly opposite the gate of the village is usually that of the principal wife of the village head-man. There is much the same superstition as among the Bantu Kavirondo about shutting the door of a house behind a person who has just left it. [1]

Unmarried men go naked. Married men who have children wear a

[illegible]

small piece of goat skin, which, though quite inadequate for purposes of decency, is, nevertheless, a very important thing in etiquette; for a married man with a child must on no account call on his mother-in-law without wearing this piece of goat skin. To call on her in a state of absolute nudity would be regarded as a serious insult, only to be atoned for by the payment of goats. Even if under the new dispensation a man

[1] [i.e., a very bad omen; among the Bantu equivalent to divorce if it occurs between husband and wife. (see p. 757-not processed). - Rudy.]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the guest hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simbe*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of mobile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbe* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to close important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nen*) and father's sister (*awe*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a mobile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced normal intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a female woman.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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882 There is therefore frequent friction between some
593 mothers and daughters.

The father, while maintaining an interest of his own, does not exhibit his liking for his daughter so openly. The economic value of a girl to society is gauged by the extent to which a man may be excused his debts on the ground that after his daughter's marriage he will be able to pay them.

Allowances given to girls are not very generous despite the fact that daughters have a higher economic value than sons. There is a feeling that not much money should be lavished on someone who will not remain in the family to help the father in his old age. The main desire is to see the girl married, and it is a source of worry if she does not associate with men. The girl is also expected to be sociable towards neighbouring women, because if she is unpopular with them they might speak against her in the presence of her suitor or his relatives.

At this time disciplinary control by the parents slackens, since in order to contact men the girl requires a certain amount of freedom. Disciplinary measures may be exercised only in the event of misconduct, such as running away with a young man without notice to parents or having relations which are morally prejudicial to the community life. The mother, however, loses her dominating influence during the school age and the task of disciplining the older girl becomes the duty of the father or her older brothers.

The Sexual Life and Attitude of Adolescents

836 The sexual life of the adolescent is conditioned by the
883 prevailing social conventions on the nature of sexual relationship between males and females. Thus, though it may appear on the surface that Luo society makes no allowance for unrestricted sexual contact, in fact a

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

Their huts are very similar to those of the Bantu Kavirondo, but they are a trifle lower, and are generally built solely of reeds (*mabua*). The huts are dug out inside to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet; the hut is plastered with the earth dug out from the interior. 342

There are two fire-places in each hut, and the customs previously enumerated about stopping at the first or second cooking place are the same as among the Bantu Kavirondo. 354

Young girls sleep in a hut with the other girls of the village in the care of an old woman. The boys of the village sleep in a hut by themselves. The villages are roughly circular. The huts are not arranged in any particular order, but the huts of one man are generally side by side. The huts of the young men are usually near the gates, and they are supposed to watch the gates in case of any attempt being made to steal the cattle. 513 361 883

On entering a village the hut directly opposite the gate is generally the hut of the principal wife of the headman of the village, or the headman of that part of the village. 361

Food products.—Mtama, sweet potatoes, a little *wimbi*, Indian corn, and also pumpkins, semsem, and pulse (*pojo*). Bananas are occasionally grown, but they do not flourish, as the country is a little too dry for them. A little tobacco and Indian hemp are grown. The Indian corn is not ground but generally eaten in an unripe state. 241

Ironwork.—They do not smelt iron, neither do they forge their hoes, which are all imported from Samia. They however forge spears, knives, bill hooks, axes, etc., from Samia iron. Among the Gemi tribe only people belonging to a clan called Uvino forge iron; the smiths are called Yothet-th. A rough kind of salt is made from the ashes of reeds and grass, and salt is also imported from Kisingiri. 325 439 258

Death customs.—When a person dies the body is immediately taken out of the house. Upon the death of a woman the brothers-in-law of the deceased dig the grave in the verandah of the house of the deceased; the corpse is buried on its left side with the hand under the head; the body is doubled up. A man, on the contrary, is buried on his right side with the hand under the head. In the case of a woman her relations and friends come and wail; her husband presents each clan that attends with a goat, the mourners stay three days. 764

The hut in which a person has died is used for a month; the neighbours then meet and drink *tembe*, and the house is broken down. Upon the death of a man his brother digs his grave; if the first wife he married is still alive he is buried in her house; if she is dead the man is buried in the verandah of the hut in which he died. [768]

Men only wail for one day, after that only women wail; the women wail for the whole of the first three days; after that the women of the village wail at dawn for fifteen days. 765

Signs of mourning.—Women wear a string of banana fibre round the forehead, they also wear a tail of white strings for about a month; the tail usually

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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582
There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man [595]
may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom
he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young 836
woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only 883
careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried
women have their own quarters in a village and the young
men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse
than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however,
from another village pay visits to the young women during
the day and make love to them, and in the evening the
women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with
them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene
character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is
not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is
a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such [848]
relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed.
When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses 584
a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to
the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the
amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents
consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been 585
paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the
young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during
this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house
where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part
in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents
give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast
the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in
turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter.
The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to
obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee.
During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband [837]
to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to
live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as
before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride
claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste.
The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's 591
village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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IV

ADOLESCENCE

857 593 In the interim period between childhood and adolescence there comes a time when a girl's ability to deal with domestic work is more advanced than her physical and mental development. It is during this period that the mother, still occupying a central position as adviser and supervisor of the girl's work, finds difficulty in the management of her daughter. Since the domestic work of her household is heavy, the mother uses all kinds of pressure to induce her daughter to do as much as she can.

856 [572] The girl's life at this time is characterized by her increased interest in boys and desire to come into contact with them. The friendships established during childhood with other young girls are weakened by the development of a new object of friendship in the opposite sex. During this time the breasts of most girls develop noticeably. The girls show great interest in this development and employ various means to stimulate it. An instance of this interest can sometimes be seen among those who stuff clothes in their bosoms to exaggerate the size.

On the whole, the period differs only in the fact that the girls definitely aspire to be grown-ups and are also more interested in friendship with boys.

Characteristics of Adolescence

813 This new period is the time when the mother leaves her daughter to bring her knowledge of domestic work to perfection by her own efforts. As compared with the school-going age, there is little or no interference from

20:Orninde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
FL11 Luo FL11

the mother. Thus the adolescent girl enjoys the freedom of being able to do most of her domestic work independently. Unless strict discipline is exercised she spends much of her time meeting her male friends. The thought of marriage begins to assume a reality and to become an influential factor in her attitude and movements. The self-love which made its first conspicuous appearance during the preceding age now takes the form of an effort to make herself look more attractive. Holes may be made in the ears from which to suspend ear-rings, and all sorts of armlets or bands are worn round the wrists. Clothes or head-dresses of bright colours are specially chosen. Although the practice is fast dying out, girls of this age used also to be addicted to tattooing their backs. Better clothing is among the most pressing needs of adolescent girls, and their families must either make sacrifices or else persuade the girl to make do with what is available.

The attitude of the parents. The attitude of parents towards an adolescent girl is greatly concerned with her economic value and her ability to do domestic work efficiently. An added consideration is the girl's conduct, both in and outside the family circle.

Hence, a girl's ability to work well in the house gives her mother a satisfaction which finds an outlet in conversation with other women. The mother strives to put forward the merits of her daughter as well as her social conduct in the community, while the young girl becomes almost mistress of the house, her mother hardly touching the work—especially when there is more than one adolescent daughter. The shock experienced when the girl is married is a matter which some of the envious neighbours do not refrain from mentioning.

On the other hand, a daughter who is inefficient in domestic work is no credit to her mother's reputation.

20:Omnibe I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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882 There is therefore frequent friction between some
593 mothers and daughters.

The father, while maintaining an interest of his own, does not exhibit his liking for his daughter so openly. The economic value of a girl to society is gauged by the extent to which a man may be excused his debts on the ground that after his daughter's marriage he will be able to pay them.

Allowances given to girls are not very generous despite the fact that daughters have a higher economic value than sons. There is a feeling that not much money should be lavished on someone who will not remain in the family to help the father in his old age. The main desire is to see the girl married, and it is a source of worry if she does not associate with men. The girl is also expected to be sociable towards neighbouring women, because if she is unpopular with them they might speak against her in the presence of her suitor or his relatives.

At this time disciplinary control by the parents slackens, since in order to contact men the girl requires a certain amount of freedom. Disciplinary measures may be exercised only in the event of misconduct, such as running away with a young man without notice to parents or having relations which are morally prejudicial to the community life. The mother, however, loses her dominating influence during the school age and the task of disciplining the older girl becomes the duty of the father or her older brothers.

The Sexual Life and Attitude of Adolescents

836 The sexual life of the adolescent is conditioned by the
883 prevailing social conventions on the nature of sexual relationship between males and females. Thus, though it may appear on the surface that Luo society makes no allowance for unrestricted sexual contact, in fact a

20:Orminde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

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883 On the whole, girls dislike those men whose chief object
864 is sexual satisfaction. Their caution is often the result of
881 talks on the nature of sexual relationship which girls hold in their communal sleeping places, and with older women.

When newly-married women return to their maternal homes, they freely discuss among themselves—especially during sleeping hours—their experiences with their husbands. This affords an opportunity for the unmarried adolescent girl to obtain first-hand information on the nature of relationships in married life.

883 *Opportunities for contact.* The normal first meeting between girls and those with whom they may have sexual relations, takes place by conscious or deliberate arrangements made by the parties concerned, at marriage ceremonies or in public places like market centres or towns. They first make each other's acquaintance somewhere between the girl's and the man's house, particularly when the two live in close proximity. These are distinguished from any other meetings in that they are arranged between the male friends and the older adolescent girls or those on the threshold of adolescence.

The meetings which take place during marriage ceremonies are observed with great interest by girls of the nursing age, who watch the older girls' behaviour towards their men friends with keen curiosity. In many instances introductions are managed through the
584 brothers of the girls. Introductions resulting in marriage
883 may also come about through a girl first acquainting herself with sisters who introduce their brother to her. Brothers of adolescent girls would, like all members of the family, disapprove of a prolonged friendship without any sign of betrothal and would do all they could to persuade the girl to look for another friend.

881 *Sex education of adolescent girls.* Girls in the old tradi-
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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships.

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry.

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions.

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

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raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

On attaining Maturity

The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

The social position of a girl on reaching maturity. The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

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source of much social rejoicing to discover that a married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a bride was given a high prestige among the other women.

In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man with a number of wives. There was no possibility of occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was taken by the man who legally married her, but she was not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

Examples of such pregnancies are very common at present. But although social disapproval is still keenly felt, modern conditions have become more favourable to women in this situation, and an increasing number of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some communities, no death punishment was ever given. If the occurrence takes place between close relatives the matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple could be exiled.

Modern Education and Adolescent Girls

Progress in the education of adolescent girls is hampered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suitability to the environment of their women. To the majority, modern education is associated with clerical work and the many other jobs that *men* take up after a school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not clearly envisaged.

The social importance attached to marriage is having to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high esteem for the traditional education which it tends to interrupt and weaken.

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this number, 90 were male suicides and 130 female. I have selected for the purpose of this chapter 10 male cases and 13 female cases as typical, and these were investigated in more detail to provide examples. Considerable time was spent among the villagers in each case, and full discussions were held with the elders in an attempt to determine the motive and the events which led up to the suicide. For obvious reasons, I shall not use correct names when describing these cases.

MALE SUICIDES

Male suicides in Luo usually follow loss of status. Seven of the ten cases can be so classified. The first five are of the type which involved intense emotional feelings of shame, loss of honor and status within the framework of the indigenous culture. Following these are two case histories of suicides which involved loss of status in the acquired or modern sense. Two cases will be described which involved the loss of status through poverty and the loss of traditional respect of sons, and finally one case which resulted from social ostracism.

The first suicide concerned a man whose younger brother married before he did. In Joluo society, men of the extended family marry in strict order of status, that is, the senior son of the senior wife must marry first. It may happen that he is younger in chronological age than, perhaps, a son of a more junior wife, but even in this circumstance, the younger son in years, who is senior in status, is technically married before his brother—that is, the payment of the first animals for a young girl allow the senior son to marry.

Suicide Case No. 1.

A young man who was the senior son of a senior wife was chronologically the oldest of all the sons in the village. His father and mother were both dead and, although he would eventually become head of the homestead, until he married he

115 to write down the authorised version of whatever occurrence it was
184 that I wished to describe. Moreover they warned me not only that customs differed slightly from clan to clan and location to location in North and Central Kavirondo, but that the Luo who had crossed the Gulf and gone to live in South Kavirondo differed in a good many ways from the Luo who had remained on the north side of the water. It must therefore be understood that the customs which I am about to describe are those of a group of Luo clans living in a small area in Central Kavirondo, and that there may be discrepancies between my account of these customs and those of other observers in other parts of the tribal area.

II. The Marriage Customs.

582 In the old days, before the Europeans took over the government
721 of the Luo country, it seems that a man did not normally marry until he was nearer forty than thirty, and girls did not marry until they were nineteen or twenty. In the case of a man this delay was apparently connected with his duties as a warrior. It was considered that a man fought better if he were free from the ties of married life. Though the Luo were never a fighting tribe in the grand manner like the Masai they had for some hundreds of years been pressing southwards through the surrounding Bantu tribes. Raiding for fresh land or even for cattle alone, and the consequent reprisals on the part of the raided, played an important part in tribal life, and every able-bodied man from the age of seventeen or eighteen up to the time of his marriage had to hold himself in constant readi-
561 ness for a scrap. The term for a man of fighting age was *wuoro*,
885 that for a married man *jaôt*, while that for a man who delayed to marry until much later than usual was *mazzeche*. After marriage a man seems to have been exempt from all warlike duties and allowed to settle down and devote himself entirely to his family life.

582 It is likely that this postponement of marriage to a comparatively
583 late age was, apart from its connection with the defence of the tribe, an instance of the reluctance of the older men to surrender even a part of their wealth and power to their sons. A man could not marry without his father's permission, for it was only from his father (except under special circumstances into which I need not enter here) that he could obtain the cattle with which to acquire a bride, and primitive fathers are often no more anxious than some civilised ones to part with large quantities of their worldly goods for the benefit of their children. There was, however, no hard and fast convention as to the age at which a man might marry. Circumstances altered cases. A mother, for instance, who was without an unmarried daughter, and who wanted another woman to help her in the household work and cultivation, might insist that her son should bring a wife into the family, even if he had not yet reached ordinary marriageable age. Again if there

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organisations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

[Text continues on p.55]

241 791 " Jabilo " or leading medicine-man of the community concerned performed a sacrifice or " misango " the purpose of which was to render ineffectual any harmful magic left behind in the soil by those from whom it had been taken. It occasionally happens even to-day that a cultivator will suspect that an enemy has buried " yath " or harmful medicine in a field. In this case no preparation of the soil of this field for a crop is begun until a diviner has been consulted in order to find out the enemy. The Luo have a great faith in the power of the diviner to discover an enemy. That the diviner denounces people, and that he is oft times right, cannot be denied. Sometimes it may be guess work, as when there has been a notorious quarrel and it is simple to suspect the other party in the quarrel, but at times the medicine man has more certain sources of information. In the year 1910 I had the good fortune to get into rather friendly relationships with a medicine man who had become a Christian. In one of our conversations, I asked him how it was possible to divine a wrongdoer. He told me that it was generally very easy. If a man wished to put down medicine, he had to procure it from a medicine man. Or, if he proposed to rob his neighbour he applied to the medicine man for protective medicine. Following upon the injury or the robbery, the injured party applied to the local medicine man in order to find out the enemy. If the injured person was prepared to pay a fee exceeding that paid by the enemy, the medicine man had no scruples about giving his client away. But I do not say that this is a complete explanation of all the powers of divination exercised by medicine men. Still, there can be no doubt that often both parties consult the same diviner, just as at times in our own social life both parties to a lawsuit will approach the same lawyer. Perhaps I had better safeguard myself. I am not, please, to be understood as implying that a lawyer will give his client away.

241 In the preparation of the soil for the crop, all members of the family who are fit, take their share. Only in bush country, where there is heavy clearing to be done, is the work left to the men. This operation is called " beto." In all other types of land there is no discrimination between the sexes, even where tall grass, called " olonge," has to be dug up. But there is a certain amount of discrimination amongst the age groups. When a man has advanced in 241 ● 887 years, and younger members of his family are sufficient for food production, he leaves it to them, while he devotes himself to less arduous tasks, possibly herding, or some form of social service such as the elders perform in settling the lawsuits of the clan.

241 The next operation after "beto " is " puro," the turning over of the soil. Where weeds or grass have been heavy, this is followed by " wang'o " or burning. In sandy, stony or red soil, sowing the seed

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

411 poisoned arrows have fallen into disuse; there was a medicine man in Gemi country named Opondo who used to make and vend the poison. The Kisumu people also had an arrow poison maker. The poison is said to be composed of snake poison and certain herbs. Nearly all of these people wear sandals of a
281 single thickness of skin when travelling.
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Musical instruments.—Their harps have eight strings and are the same as
534 those of Northern Kavirondo (Figs. 8, 10); the drum is covered with cow hide; they are called *Thâm*. Their drums are also similar to those of Northern Kavirondo and are called *Bûl* (Fig. 9). The women also make hand harps of *saisme* stalks called *Odundu*.

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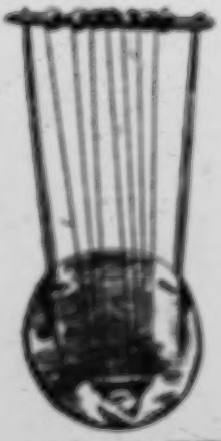

FIG. 8.—HARP: WILDEN KAVIRONDO.

FIG. 9.—MAPITE OF LEMI TRIBE, JA-LUO GROUP, PROTEROZOIC RANGE.

FIG. 10.—HAND HARP FROM KAVIRONDO.

276 *Tobacco and bhang.*—These people smoke and chew tobacco; only a few take snuff. Both sexes smoke and chew tobacco. *Bhang* or Indian hemp is smoked separately in a water pipe. Only men smoke *bhang*. Young fighting men are not allowed to smoke it.

273 *Tembo or pombe.*—This is made from *saisme* or *wâshi* either singly or
[illegible] mixed. Both sexes drink; young women do not drink with the men, the old
922 women however do so.

8:Shaw G-5 (ca. 1930)1932 FL11 Luo FL11

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON LUO MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

By K. C. Shaw.

I. Introductory.

This account of Luo marriage customs was given to me by half a dozen elders of the Luo tribe, living in a location called Nyahera about seven miles from Kisumu. All of them were over fifty, and two at least must have been nearing seventy, if they were not older. The question of the age of my informants may seem irrelevant, but in fact it is not. In the first place their advanced age, as age is counted among primitive people, entailed that they had been brought up, and had passed their early manhood during a period when the customs of the tribe had still not been affected by contact with European civilisation. Their view of life, and of their duties as members of the Luo tribe was the view that had been taken by their fathers and their grandfathers before them. In this they differed from their own sons and grandsons whose attitude towards tribal customs has been and continues to be profoundly modified by white influences. This falling away from the traditional ways on the part of the younger generation is not only a source of grief to the old men: it is also a source of profound annoyance. For it robs them of a large part of the prestige and authority which among the Luo, as among other primitive people, is traditionally the due of those who attain to a ripe age. In the old days this prestige and this authority carried great weight. It was the head and fount of power in the tribe, and the exercise and enjoyment of this power became the chief interest of a man's life as his years increased and his sons grew up and took from his shoulders the family duties and cares of his earlier days. It follows that the decay in the importance of the old men, which is such a marked feature in nearly all the Kenya tribes to-day, makes the elders not only resentful, but also very willing to dwell on the old days, the good days, when their word was law, and the young were still in due subjection to the old and the wise. For these two reasons then, their exact personal knowledge of the traditional mode of life of the tribe, and their interest in the days when this mode of life was still the accepted one, the advanced age of my informants was a valuable factor. Also it pleased and flattered them to be appealed to as authorities, and from the beginning to the end of our intercourse they were only too pleased to tell me all they could of the days when they were young. Apart from a natural inclination to view the past through rosy spectacles they took great pains to give me an accurate account of what the tribal customs used to be before the white man came. Long discussions used to go on over points of detail, and it was only when they were all agreed that I was allowed

543 ous parents to make his contribution to the family hut tax. The most unruly elements, again speaking generally, are these lads when they return to the Reserves, though some of them come back much benefitted in every way so far as one can tell.

PROVISION FOR THE AGED:

888 178 There is nothing in the social life of the Luo in the way of organized old age relief. The aged look to the younger members of the family to support them. In days gone by when there was no Hut and Poll Tax, and when all the clothing needed was a goatskin, all that the younger members had to provide was food and shelter, with an occasional fee to the medicine man, in the case of illness. Even funerals, when the aged died, were simpler than now. If the parents outlived their offspring there was always the wider circle of the sub-clan or clan to appeal to. And outside the clan were the relations-in-law, upon whom many more claims are made than is customary with us.

But, now, the whole problem of the support of the aged is vastly more difficult, and this in spite of the fact that health measures are beginning to increase the chances of the younger elements surviving to adult life. As against this can be offset the fact that many of the [166] younger members of a family leave the Reserves and remain away for years, and indeed some never are heard of again. Also, there is more than a tendency for the younger generation to go its own way, and commit itself to a more civilized mode of life. There is a definite cleavage between the lives of the younger and the older generations. This is accompanied by weakening ties of common interest and filial duty.

888 178 651 Under our regime, and particularly under our system of hut tax, we have driven a wedge into the solidarity of family life which has given a grievous blow to the foundations upon which community life rests. The old are felt to be a burden as never before in the history of the Luo. It is inevitable that more and more burdens should be placed upon the younger elements in tribal life, but we have added to them with, in many cases, a certain element of ruthlessness which is very keenly felt and resented. I quote one instance of what I mean. An old couple in the Reserves with two sons, one a ne'er-do-well a worthless fellow, a jailbird. The other son just rising Poll Tax age. The old couple lived in a rather tumble-down hut, and were known as having no resources, no cattle, sheep or goats. A few fowls formed their "wealth." The old father, while by no means decrepit, was long since past the stage when he could cultivate extensively or go out wage-earning. The old mother had indifferent health, and at times could hardly drag herself back from the well with the pot of

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water. The young son could not find employment and was wandering about trying to scrape together the money for his poll tax. Upon the father came the demand for hut tax. He had no money and could not pay. Next year another demand was made, this time for the current year and for that of the previous year. Again he could not pay. The third year he was dunned for three hut taxes, and as he was unable to pay his hut was confiscated to Government, the door was sealed up, and his aged wife driven to seek shelter among neighbours. Homeless, the old man made a frantic effort amongst his relations, who were already liable to pay their own dues, and by dint of much supplication managed to get enough to satisfy the tax for the first of the three years, whereupon his hut was unsealed. Is it any wonder that the younger generation regard the aged as a liability as never before? Demands for hut tax upon the penurious aged is one of the greatest solvents of filial affection in the Reserves to-day, for the burden falls largely on the young.

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

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An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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Homicide and Suicide among the Joluo of Kenya

village straight to the hut which houses the body and to fall prostrate on it, wailing and crying. However, on this occasion, the woman walked very slowly into the village as if in a daze and without crying and without wailing and without saying a word to anyone. She entered her house and locked the door. Those in the village immediately became suspicious and broke the door down but within those five minutes she was found dead from hanging. The villagers told me that she believed the curse of her father had killed the man she loved, so she went to join him.

159 762 [764]

Suicide Case No. 23.

An elderly woman, whose husband had died, depended on her children for sustenance. In her old age she contracted a disease similar to leprosy. Her son, as is customary on such occasions, destroyed her house in the compound and built one for her outside of the homestead. One morning they found that she had hanged herself because, they stated, of the pain and trouble she experienced through her illness and because she was so unhappy that she could not take her grandchildren to teach and love as was her role in life as a grandmother. Her illness barred her from all of the village activities, and she felt that she was no longer part of the family. Her ghost was not considered to be any more dangerous than that of a person who died a normal death because she was old and her suicide was from old age and weariness. She held no grudge against anyone.

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